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THE
HISTORY OF DUNDEE;

BEING AN ACCOUNT OF

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE BURGH
FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD ;
EMBRACING A DESCRIPTION OF ITS ANTIQUITIES,
TOPOGRAPHY, PUBLIC WORKS AND BUILDINGS, MANUFACTURES
AND COMMERCE, MUNICIPAL, EDUCATIONAL,
AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS, WITH BIOGRAPHICAL
SKETCHES OF EMINENT MEN.

A NEW AND ENLARGED EDITION

OF THE WORK, PUBLISHED IN 1847, BY

JAMES THOMSON;

EDITED AND CONTINUED TO THE PRESENT TIME, WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS, BY

JAMES MACLAREN.

DUNDEE:

JOHN DURHAM & SON, 49 HIGH STREET.

1874.

DUNDEE :
PRINTED AND STEREOTYPED BY
JOHN DURHAM & SON.

TO

JAMES COX, ESQUIRE,

Of Clement Park,

PROVOST OF DUNDEE,

THIS HISTORY OF THE TOWN

Is respectfully Dedicated.

P R E F A C E.

IN justification of a new book, and more especially one of historical character, two things may fairly be required,—that the subject should possess some interest in itself, and that it should be presented with some degree of skill and completeness.

That the first of these conditions will be apparent in this case the author is well assured, however diffident he may feel as to the merits of his performance. That was undertaken more from regard to the necessity of meeting a want long felt to exist than from any sense of special fitness for the task. Until the appearance of THOMSON'S work in 1847, no proper History of the town existed. Dr SMALL'S contribution to the Statistical Account of Scotland, published toward the end of last century, although valuable in its way, did not profess to cover the ground required in an exhaustive history of the town. Since 1847, the researches of a host of able writers have thrown much light on local as well as national history, and made the incompleteness of the original edition, in many respects, more obvious; besides which it has long been out of print. In proceeding to supply the want referred to, the intention at first was to reproduce the original work so far as it went, with such corrections as might be derived from later authorities, and accordingly the earlier sheets were revised, with the emendations indicated in the text, or put in the form of notes. Before proceeding very far, however, it became apparent, from the necessity of large excisions and additions, that this course was unsatisfactory, and the greater part of the work has therefore been re-written. The desire to give adequate prominence to the later development of the town, its industries, and institutions, having en-

larged the scope of the work, has considerably increased its compass. To this cause, and the inability of the author to devote more than the scanty leisure permitted by professional duties, the delay in its publication is attributable, for which it is hoped the greater comprehensiveness of the book may be regarded as compensating.

In addition to the acknowledgments made throughout the work to explorers in the same field of whose labours I have availed myself, I must express my obligations to many townsmen who have kindly afforded me the use of materials in their possession, or communicated information tending to make the work more accurate and complete. I must specially mention the valuable assistance rendered by Mr JAMES DUFF, now the oldest representative of the typographic art in Dundee, in the supervision of the work while passing through the press. To all who have encouraged and aided in the work, as to myself, it will be the best reward if the book now submitted to the indulgent consideration of the public should promote in some degree an intelligent interest in the annals of Dundee, and serve to mark the important part which it has played in the past history, and now occupies in the commercial enterprise of Scotland.

J. M.

DUNDEE, *February*, 1874.

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ADDITIONS & CORRECTIONS.

- Page 145.—At the general election in February 1874, Mr J. EDWARD JENKINS, barrister-at-law, was elected M.P. for the burgh, in the place of Sir JOHN OGILVY. Mr JENKINS, who was born in 1837, his father being the Rev Dr JENKINS of Montreal, was educated in America, and called to the English bar in 1864. He is well known as an author, and at the time of his election was absent on a lecturing tour in America. In politics it is needless to say he is an advanced Liberal.
- „ 210.—After line 18th, insert "1874—THOMAS MARTIN."
- „ 176.—9th line from top, by a transposition, GAINSBOROUGH is made the painter of Admiral DUNCAN's portrait instead of that of GEORGE DEMPSTER.
- „ 251.—10th line from bottom, for £5 read *all*.
- „ „ —6th line from bottom, for thirty read *twenty-eight*.
- „ 169.—(Note), Our intention of giving a sketch map of the town in the 16th century, having been anticipated in another work, it has been thought unnecessary to offer another, although it would have differed materially from the one referred to.

INTRODUCTION.

THE obscurity of the early part of Scottish history is principally owing to the equivocal policy of Edward I. of England; who, not content with turning his arms against the inhabitants of Scotland, warred also against their records, in the vain hope that the destruction of them would efface all remembrance, as well as evidence, of their having been an independent people. The absence of the national archives left ample room for the prolific genius of the cloister; and, accordingly, the conventual penmen have filled up the void with beings and transactions of their own creation. Very little that is said to have occurred before the accession of Malcolm II., in the year 1004, can be relied on, and much betwixt that and the reign of Malcolm III., who mounted the throne in the year 1057, is extremely doubtful. Such being the case with the general history of Scotland, little confidence can be placed in the accounts given of the particular history of a municipality which, however celebrated in modern times, was for many ages unknown, and continued for centuries comparatively obscure. The ecclesiastical writers, prejudiced in favour of their country, were by no means scrupulous as to what they wrote, and the superstitious credulity of the people induced them to believe whatever their ghostly directors told them. As we do not pretend to be qualified for piercing the thick veil which the well-meant, but ill-managed labours of ancient writers have thrown over the events of former times, we must, where authentic history fails us, have recourse to conjecture to fill up the space which otherwise would remain a blank.

The Celts, the aborigines of Europe, were the first discoverers and occupiers of the British Islands, but the time when that discovery and occupation took place is unknown; and although the investigation of the point might be gratifying to curiosity, yet, as nothing of solid advantage would accrue from it, it is the less to be regretted that an impenetrable cloud covers the subject. When Cæsar brought the Roman arms into Britain, a mixed race was in possession of the sea-coasts, but farther inland the Romans found the people unmixed and pure; and when Agricola penetrated into Scotland, he found the same characteristic applicable to its inhabitants. The predominant habits of the people

▲

on the sea coast corresponded strikingly with those of the inhabitants of the opposite continental shore, which was the natural result of an intercourse that had existed for ages between the two countries ; and, as settlers from the Continent were found in Scotland, in like manner settlers from Scotland would be found on the Continent. During the time such intercourse had existed before the arrival of the Romans, there can be little doubt that, in many instances, the manners of the two nations would be considerably assimilated ; that customs and observances would be communicated by the one to the other, and other customs and manners would be so weakened or altered from their original strength, by imitation and improvement, that in time it would be difficult to ascribe them entirely to either people. That a reciprocal interchange of observances would take place may be safely assumed ; for we cannot suppose that either would be so blind as not to perceive what was excellent and worthy of imitation in the institutions of the other, and adopt it into their own practice. If this had not been the case, it would be difficult to account for the agreement found by the Romans in the manners of the two nations in many points, though so much remained unassimilated and unadulterated as to show that they were totally distinct and independent nations—independent in name, in character, and in country ; and dependent only in so far as intercourse created wants and desires which each respectively possessed the means of gratifying ; in which sense all countries that have commercial intercourse are dependent on each other.

In the origin of nations we seldom find a single person centering in himself the powers and wielding the energies of a people. Greece, for instance, became early and continued long divided into a multiplicity of states and tyrannies ; and when the liberties or existence of the whole, or any number of parts in confederation, were threatened, then one powerful person was appointed dictator over the others while the crisis lasted. In like manner, Britain was divided into a plurality of states and kingdoms. Britain, says an ancient writer, abounds in nations and kings of nations.¹ As in Greece, when danger threatened, one king was elected *pro tempore*, supreme over all ; and when the cause of his election ceased to exist, he returned to his original position among his brother rulers. M'Pherson, in his Dissertations prefixed to Ossian's poems, gives a rather fanciful account of the origin of positive monarchy in Scotland, to which the reader is referred. The

¹ Pom. Mela. de Sit. Orb. L. iii.

various states and kingdoms which originally existed in Scotland—defined in boundary, limited in extent, and fluctuating in both, in the vicissitudes of collision, as must have been the case—are, with the sovereigns who ruled in them, alike unknown. The original names by which they were distinguished have passed away, and only the Latin terms remain; but, as the Romans are not to be supposed to have invented names to designate the different nations, perhaps the roots of the native national names are to be found in the Latin derivative appellations. Angus, or Forfarshire, is well known to represent the ancient Horestia or Forestia, probably so named from the quantity of wood which it contained at the period of the Roman invasion. Forfar has been considered to originate in the Latin—Forestia; but it is also said to be a corruption of the original term, For-Fare, which literally signifies a guard; but we leave this point to etymologists. Angus, or Forfarshire, the original Forestia, formed, in part or in whole, a kingdom, tyranny, or phylarchate of the aboriginal possessors of the country, until, in course of time, from a coalition or union of states, the two grand divisions of the Roman Caledonii and Picti, subsequently called Scots and Picts, were formed; and as Forestia was located among and below the Grampian chain which formed the line of demarcation between the two nations, it declined from an independent territory into a province of Pictavia, Pictin, or Pictland.

At the time of the arrival of Agricola, the Romans found the Picti and Caledonii, though rude and uncultivated in comparison to themselves, possessed of a degree of civilization superior to most nations with whom they had come in contact; which was the more surprising, as they inhabited an obscure corner of the world, were scarcely known to any other people, and owed all their improvement to their own efforts and exertions.¹ In proportion to the degree of civilization

¹ At the period of the Roman invasion, about A.D. 84, the Caledonians certainly displayed a military organization and generalship on the part of Galgacus their leader, not to be expected from rude barbarians. The researches of Prof. Stuart have fixed with tolerable certainty the site of the great battle of the Grampians on the high ground above Stonehaven. Galgacus, with consummate strategy, held back his forces until Agricola had divided the Roman army into three parts, and pushed the famous ninth legion through Strathmore to the point where the Grampian Hills approach so near the sea that the invaders could march no farther to the north without crossing them. On this well-chosen field Galgacus gave battle. Tacitus claims the result of the engagement as favourable to the Romans, but acknowledges the bravery of the Caledonians, and admits that Agricola instantly abandoned the expedition, and fell back on his reserves in Strathearn. No more is heard of the ninth legion; and the presumption is not unfounded that the onset of the Caledonians was more fatal to the invaders than their historian cared to admit.—ED.

enjoyed by them, it is to be presumed that care would be bestowed to have comfortable means of habitation ; and the natural inability of one to protect himself and property from the attacks of banded aggressors, as well as the pleasures and conveniences of society, would induce the erection of a number of habitations at one place. These would spread out in time into towns, more or less extensive. The dwellings would be formed of whatever materials occurred most readily and best adapted to the purpose ; and as wood was plentiful, it would be extensively used, and in fact we have ample evidence that it was. These log buildings, in course of improvement, gave place to the more durable erections of stone ; and the dwelling of one apartment yielded to that of many. In the infancy of the arts, simple conveniences are all that are sought. It is in an advanced stage of society that desires increase beyond the power of gratification. The simple child of nature is contented with his cave or mud-walled hut, and with his roots, or bread and water—the pampered son of art must have his splendid palace and his luscious viands. Simplicity and nature have long since bidden adieu to the abodes of man, and left to art the uncontrolled government of all.

In the formation of towns the paramount object was mutual protection and facility of defence. The luxury of carriages, the active bustle of commercial enterprise on an extensive scale, were both unknown ; hence there was no occasion for having spacious streets, the narrow crooked lanes being sufficient to answer all the necessary purposes of passage. Accordingly, we find that in the olden time, towns in their extent were comprehended within narrow limits ; the streets were few, and laid out with little regard to regularity ; the houses were crowded close upon one another, as if the builders aimed to exclude the light of the sun ; heterogeneous materials were used as convenience or necessity dictated ; but, as time in its course brought knowledge, and suggested improvements, the old state of things began to be viewed with disgust, and measures were resorted to in order to remedy defects, by introducing regularity and method in building, and giving capacity of accommodation to thoroughfares. We have witnessed the march of improvement begun. Dundee, formerly a limited, obscure, and gloomy prison, as it were, has, for a considerable time, been making rapid progress in the course of renovation, and will ere long be able to dispute the palm of elegance and convenience with the first towns in Scotland.

THE HISTORY OF DUNDEE.

Section I.

**NAME AND PROBABLE ORIGIN OF THE TOWN—WAR BETWEEN THE SCOTS AND PICTS—
BATTLE OF DUNDÉE -SCOTS DEFEATED, AND ALPIN THEIR KING BEHEADED.**

INQUIRIES which have for their object the elucidation of a point placed beyond the reach of written records, degenerate into traditionary conjectures, which are only to be admitted, and with great caution, when other evidence cannot be procured. Traditions are commonly grounded upon some principle flattering to individual vanity, and the influence lent them by time will not blind the candid and impartial inquirer. For this reason, we reject the ordinary derivations of the term Dundee as childish, or at least merely fanciful—containing nothing calculated to gratify the curious, or to satisfy the philologist. We will allow, however, the reader to judge for himself. Dr Small informs us that Dundee “formerly, and even so late as the beginning of the present (18th) century, was generally spelled Dondè or Dondie, and in Queen Mary’s charter, Dondel. In Law-Latin it is Deidonum, and we have been assured by various Highlanders that they consider it as signifying what this Latin imports, the “gift,” or otherwise the “hill of God.” These circumstances give probability to the tradition that it obtained the name towards the end of the 12th century, from David, Earl of Huntingdon, who, landing here after a dreadful storm, on his return from the Holy Wars, designed by it to express his gratitude for his deliverance, and in consequence of a vow, built the old Parish Church. He certainly at this time received the town as a present from his brother, King William. Had the signification been the Hill of Tay or Taodunum, according to Buchanan, it would in Gaelic have been

pronounced Duntaw. The ancient name was *Alec*, in Boece's Latin *Alectum*, and by this it is still distinguished in the Highlands. The signification of *Alec* is said to be pleasant and beautiful."¹

Irvine also informs us that "Taodunum, the Hill of Tay, is the name of Dundee or Duntay—taken from the hill that riseth above the town called Dundee-law; but this seemeth not to be the *vera ratio nominis*,—for besides that there are many duns or hills on the banks of Tay on both sides, more conspicuous than this, which might give it more justly that name, we find it in our histories to have taken this name from the safe arrival of David, Earl of Huntingdon, King William's brother, who, in his return from the Holy War, in a great storm, from the sight of this hill received first comfort, and next his crazy vessel safe harboured at St Nicolas' Rock, upon which emergency he called it *Donum-dei*, because it was the first assurance he had that his prayers were heard."²

The various spellings of the name in the former of these quotations and others that may be added, such as Downdie, Doundie, Dunde, Dundei, &c., are of no importance, as they only show the orthography used at different times, until the word was finally settled *Dundee*, and this we have seen indifferently adopted with the former in deeds and indentures between the years 1550 and 1600. We suspect that the story of the Earl of Huntingdon is the invention of some inhabitant of the cloister, in his anxiety to give a spiritual turn to the incident of David's arrival, who was a considerable benefactor to the church; nor in this view of the matter had he called it the Gift of Mary, or the Gift of Peter, or the Gift of any other Saint, would it have been less in keeping with the general custom of that remote period. Equally suspicious is the derivation from *Alec*, however respectable it may appear under the venerable shelter of Hector Boece's authority. Our acquaintance with the Gaelic is indeed limited; but we are afraid that, instead of *Alec* signifying "pleasant" or "beautiful," it will be found, upon being analysed—*Ail-lech* or *Ailach*—to signify a *stony place* or *rocky field*, neither very pleasant nor very beautiful—a singular root for the vernacular Scottish expression, "Bonnie Dundee."³

¹ Statistical Account of Dundee, 1792 and 1842.

² Nomenclature of Scottish History, 1817, Montrose.

³ In corroboration of this it may be added, that in the Irish, a cognate language with the Gaelic, *Alec* or *Aileach*, signifies a "stone house or habitation," as applied to the residence of the Irish Kings. "In all the Irish histories the palace of the northern Irish kings is designated by the name *Aileach* simply—Grianan-Aileach,

The quotation from Irvine tends to support the derivation from Deidonum, and connects St Nicolas' Rock or Crag with it, which, to be sure, was in existence then; but there is no evidence that it was so early known by that name. It was Deidonum, the gift of God, indeed, to the Earl of Huntingdon to see the Law; but it is very strange it should have been the first friendly land he saw. He might have seen it before he saw the heights to the eastward, but not before the summits of Sidlaw and Fife were visible. Upon the whole, any reasoning upon this, as well as other legends of the cloister, must be considered as thrown uselessly away.

Having thus rejected the commonly received derivations of the name Dundee, we will venture to bring forward one in place of them, which, if not certain, is at least plausible. Buchanan, we are aware, has given the same, but without adducing a reason for it. This is now to be done; and indeed it is surprising that this derivation has not been adopted to the exclusion of all others. In the vicinity of the harbour there was formerly an immense dark-coloured rock, through which Castle Street was cut, and of which a portion yet remains. On the summit of this rock, when entire, stood the castle, which was demolished during the wars between England and Scotland, after the death of the infant queen, Margaret, niece and successor of Alexander III.¹ At an early period, before Dundee was in being, the natural strength of this rocky eminence—one of three, the others being to the north of the High Street, and the Windmill-hill, adjoining the Wards—would point it out as an eligible situation for a fortress, such as was

Aileach-Neid, or *Aileach-Frin*. The signification of this name, *Aileach*, is obviously 'stone house or habitation;' and it is so explained by Michael O'Clery, the chief of the Four Masters, in his Glossary of Ancient Irish Words:—'*Aileac* no *Ailteac* a *aimin ain vaile tugad a clocaib*.—*Aileac*, or *Ailteach*, i.e., a name for a habitation which was given from STONES.' The epithets *NEID* and *FRIGREANN* (pronounced *Frin*) are proper names of men."—*Ordnance Survey of Ireland, Parish of Templemore, &c.*, Vol. I, 223, Dublin, 1837. Thus *Alec*, or more correctly *Aileach* (the former appearing to have been written from the pronunciation), seems to be a very tough root for the euphonic branch "Bonnie Dundee" to spring from; but the epithet *bonnie* neither applies to beauty of aspect nor amenity of situation, but is simply the French adjective *bonne*, good, and, in concurrence with the extensive practice of ancient times, is applied to the town as representing the inhabitants, being merely a complimentary expression.

¹ Some of our historians call Margaret the grand-daughter of Alexander; but the Declaration of the clergy at Dundee, 1309, calls her his niece. So near the time, they were likely to know the relationship. Vide a copy of the original, in *Hales' Annals of Scotland*, Appendix, and translation in the present work.

used by our remote progenitors under the Druidical regime. Eminences and places of strength were by our Celtic ancestors denominated *Duns*, not from the want of terms in their language, but from their practice of calling things from the use to which they were applied; hence Dun, a hill, height, or eminence, would become the figurative appellation of whatever was erected on it. The name of the hill having thus been transferred to the fortress, the town, formed under its protection, and built on the brink of the river, united the names of both in the compound Dun-Taw, changed into Taodunum by Carey in his "Macbeth." This term Duntaw, in English the hill or fort of Tay, is now corrupted into Dundee, which in fact is the old British expression of Blackhill, a name which well corresponds with the black colour of the rock. The import of the term Taw is heat; and hence, from a property, observed in ancient times, possessed by the water, the name Loch-taw or Tay, that is, the Warm Lake, is derived. Taw comes from the name of the Celtic deity Teuthaighthe (*Teutates* lat.), i.e. warm or warmed.

With regard to the origin of the town, Heron¹ says that David, Earl of Huntingdon, at his return from the crusade in which he had accompanied Richard I. of England, landed nearly on the site of the future town of Dundee; and again in his notes adds, that the burgh of Dundee was certainly not of earlier origin than the end of the 11th century. It is rather difficult to ascertain the meaning of the historian—to say nothing of the difference of nearly three-fourths of a century, between the end of the eleventh century and the time of the arrival of David, on "nearly the situation of the future town of Dundee"—whether he refers to it as a royal burgh, or simply a collection of houses not incorporated. He seems to have been under the influence of the silly disputes about precedency that formerly agitated the lieges of Dundee and Perth;² and to have ascribed an earlier

¹ Hist. Scot. B. II. a. ii. c. 6, and Notes to his first vol.

² In the fifth muse of Adamson's "Muses Threnodie," originally published about 1620, and again about 1775, these disputes are alluded to. Gall being urged to repeat the story of the assault on Perth, or battle of the bridge of Tay, declines to do it, thus:

"No, no, Gall did reply,
Lest I offend our *neighbour town* near by,
When they shall hear how malice did provoke them;
Ambition them guide, and avarice choak them."

A foot note to this passage shows "our neighbour town" signifies Dundee. In another part of this work we will have occasion to revert to this subject.

origin to the former would have risked galling the kibe of the latter. If Heron refers to the origin of Dundee as a royal burgh, we will not dispute with him ; but, if as a town or large village, we must protest against his assertion, for this reason, that though kings no more than their subjects are bound to the possession of wisdom, William the Lion could not act so preposterously foolish a part as to bestow a charter on, and erect into a royal burgh, a place that was *in nubibus*. That Dundee is far more ancient than the time of William need not be questioned ; and it is our belief that, so soon as the fortifications which at first occupied the summit of Duntaw were in a state to yield efficient protection, houses would begin to be formed in its neighbourhood to enjoy that protection ; and these houses, continuing to increase in number, would form the town near which King Alpin was defeated and beheaded (834), in which Malcolm II. refreshed his troops before the battle of Barrie (1012), and which William the Lion subsequently incorporated—if the bestowal of a charter constitutes incorporation—and conferred upon his brother David, Earl of Huntingdon. This is proved by several charters which are extant, given by the Earl, in particular one to the Abbey of Arbroath, in which he calls the town *meo burgi de Dundee*.¹

Some of our ancient historians, indulging in their *penchant* for the marvellous, inform us that Dundee was a place of strength and importance at the time Agricola brought the Roman eagles into Scotland, and point it out as the place where Catanach, King of the Picts, entered into an agreement or league, offensive and defensive of course, with Galde—the Galgacus of the Latin historians—King of the Scots, against their common enemy, the Romans. They also inform us that their castle was strongly fortified, and the residence of Donald I. We, no more than the historians who record these things, know anything about them ; but, when we call to remembrance that the Romans found the inhabitants of Caledonia acquainted with many of the useful and convenient arts—the use of money and the nature of traffic, whether by purchase or exchange, possessed of a system of religion, living under government, and not altogether ignorant of the abstruse branches of knowledge—we must needs own that they were not wholly barbarians ; and when such was the case, they must necessarily have had some idea of erecting a residence. The possession of a residence would suggest some method of strengthening it—and a strong residence

¹ See note p. 20.

would suggest the improved notion of a fortification ; different, indeed, from those of modern times, but not the less a fortification. The practice of their field warfare would, moreover, suggest the propriety of strengthening the weak parts of a position. Turf, stones, wood—the readiest materials that occurred—would be applied to that purpose ; and these articles, not being conveniently portable, would, on a change of position, be left behind, ready to be used on any succeeding emergency. This would also suggest the utility of places of strength, ready prepared for occupation as circumstances should direct ; at first a mound of earth, or rude rampart of stones, or breastwork of felled wood, as each of them might most easily be erected ; the second of which methods may be conceived as that adopted in the first erection on Duntaw. To this method of defence we may suppose the vitrified erections succeeded ; which, being superseded by the tower of masonry, opened the way to the erection of the almost innumerable buildings which soon took place in all the varieties of square and circular towers, separate and mixed. Though nothing is known of the state of Dundee, nor that its castle or Dun was anywise remarkable for strength more than any other in the time of Donald I., whose reign is referred to the end of the second, and beginning of the third century—if there were ever a king Donald—yet it cannot be assumed that the town was not in being at that time, neither can it be said that before that time no kind of fortification had ever been erected near it, for that would be denying more than can be proved ; yet, all things considered, the practice of the people and capabilities of the place, it may be safely assumed that there was a Duntaw—the rudiment or first element of Dundee—in being at the time ascribed to the league between Catanach and Galde. Nothing positive can be advanced concerning this ; for it is as probable that such was the case as that it was not, and may be adopted by any one without subjecting his judgment to question, being purely a matter of opinion.

Frequent mention of Dundee in ancient chronicle is not to be expected, and accordingly a mighty void occurs in its history from the year 209, the year in which the doubtful King, Donald I., died, until 834, when we find it the head quarters of Alpin, King of the Scots, whose army lay encamped in its vicinity, a war having taken place between him and the Picts. At this time the territory of the Scots, called the kingdom of Dalriadæ, a name which has made no small noise

among antiquaries, consisted of the Western Islands, with the countries of Lorn, Argyle, Knapdale, Kintire, Lochaber, and Breadalbane, on the main land. [The Pictish kingdom extended from the Firth of Forth northward, bounded by the sea on the east, and by the territory of the Scots on the west, the precise boundary line being unknown. Like the Scots, whose chief seat was in Ireland—now generally admitted to be the ancient Scot-land—the Picts were a Celtic race, and in all probability the first known inhabitants of North Britain, if not also the Caledonii of Roman authors.]

Alpin became King of the Scots in the year 831, and being, by his mother, grandson to Hungus, King of Pictland, laid claim to that kingdom also, the family of his grandfather having been all carried off by violent deaths. After several vicissitudes of fortune the Picts chose Brude for their king, who immediately took measures to retrieve the loss of a recent battle fought with Alpin near Forfar. Henry Maule of Melgund, in his History of the Picts, thus narrates the story: "Brude, King of the Picts, taking it highly to heart that Alpin, King of Scots, with two thousand men, should have invaded Louthian, exercising all cruelty on the inhabitants, spairing sex nor age, in the preceding year, levies a great army, crosses the Tay at the castle of *Caledonia* [Dunkeld], and marches with all the speed he could to the country of *Horestia* [Angus], where he encamped on the side of a hill some thirteen or fourteen furlongs from the town of *Alectum* [Dundee], where he is met by King Alpin with twenty thousand Scots. With much blood was it foughten for many hours together, till Alpin with great force giving a fresh charge on his enemies was unfortunately taken; the Scots no sooner seeing their king taken, but they betake themselves to the moutains, so that the Picts that day remained victors, who take their prisoner, King Alpin, and beheaded him, leaving his body behind them, and carrying his head to their city of *Camelon*,¹ where, in derision, they affixed it aloft on a pole in the middle of their city."²

There is one circumstance omitted by Maule, but noticed by other writers, which decided the day in favour of the Picts. During the battle, Brude caused all the attendants and women in his camp to put themselves in array, and, as a fresh reinforcement, make a show of

¹ Supposed to be Abernethy in Stratherne, which at that time was their capital, civil and ecclesiastical, according to the Register of St Andrews

² Hist. Picts, Chap. X. Edin. 1706 and 1818, 12mo.

attacking the Scots, a stratagem resorted to by Robert I. at Bannockburn, and attended, as in this case, with complete success.

At the time the armies joined battle, Alpin was looking on from the castle on the Law, and observing one of his wings begin to give way, he sallied out, with his attendants and the garrison, to support his troops; he arrived at the field, and gave the fresh charge, which, as Maule notices, proved fatal to him.

The place where Alpin was decapitated by the victorious Picts was, and is, called Pitalpy, formed by a corruption, or rather an elision of the final *n* in Alpin. Pitalpy is close to the road leading from Dundee to Coupar Angus, somewhat more than three miles from the former, and about one from the field of battle. At this place Alpin's body was buried, and hence its name—Pit-Alpin, the Hole or Grave of Alpin.¹

Dundee at this period must have been a place of some consequence, since it was able to accommodate an army of twenty thousand men. It is not necessary to account for the maintenance of such a number, as every one knows that, down to a late period, the maintenance of a Scottish soldier was not an expensive matter. That our ancestors were brought up in a very hardy manner is notorious; and though, during the time that elapsed before the battle, the soldiers would have suffered no inconvenience from remaining in the field, yet still the presence of such an army forcibly induces the notion that the town, even at this early period, must have been of considerable extent. From being situated within the acknowledged territory of the Picts, and also occupied by Alpin, it would seem that conquest had been at work, gradually narrowing the limits of the Pictish sovereignty and extending that of the Scottish, until the reign of Kenneth, the son and successor of Alpin, who overthrew the Pictish dynasty altogether, annexed the dominions of that crown to his own, and became, by so doing, the first sole monarch of all Scotland. Before the battle which decided the fate of Pictland, Kenneth, according to Boece, offered to make peace with the Picts upon condition of receiving in absolute

¹ Boece relates that Alpin was beheaded on the stone on which he raised his standard; and at the N.W. corner of the parliamentary boundary of Dundee a stone is still pointed out as the veritable block. What is far more certain is that some years ago a human skeleton was found near this spot; and some eighty years ago, several graves formed of rude flag-stones. A fine "snake bracelet" was also found there in 1782, which is preserved in the Antiquarian Museum, Edinburgh.—Ed.

sovereignty the provinces of Fife, Forfar, and Mearns. As Alpin, before his defeat, was in possession of a part, if not the whole of Angus, which, with Mearns, formed the ancient Horestia, it is probable that the Picts had recovered it again; and it is also probable that, from his father having been possessed of it, in part or in whole, Kenneth had considered it as belonging rightfully to himself, and that the peaceable and absolute cession to him of it, with Fife and Mearns, should be the price of peace. Kenneth's terms were rejected—battle joined, and, in refusing to yield a part, the Pictish Government lost all; and thus Dundee came to form a part of the Scottish dominions.

[This version of the battle of Pitalpin has been freely accepted by our local annalists; but on reference to historians of greater weight, its accuracy, in many essential particulars, may well be questioned. Taking such authorities as Tytler, Skene, Pinkerton, Chalmers, &c., we find that Alpin, king of the Scots, who had a brief reign of only two years, did fight a bloody battle about 836, in which he was numbered with the slain; but the scene of the conflict was in the parish of Dalmellington in Ayrshire, and not on the western slope of Dundee Law. The Register of St Andrews says that Alpin's only attempts to extend his territory, beyond his native mountains of Argyle, were directed to the district of Ayr and Galloway. Moreover, Drust IX. was then king of the Picts, Brude or Bridei being the chief who fought Egfrid and his Northumbrians at *Duin-Nechtán* [Dunnichen] in 685,—a century and a-half before he is made to figure on the field of Pitalpin. The latest writer we have consulted (Mr Jervise, in *Memorials of Angus*, p. 21), resolves the difficulty so far, by putting back the date of the battle to 730, and holding that Aengus was the Pictish leader who defeated Elpin, king of the Scots, at Pitalpin. There was an Alpin or Elpin who flourished 775—779; but, apart from the discrepancy of dates, he was a *Pictish* monarch (Chalmers' *Caledonia*; Ritson's *Annals*, vol. ii.); still, if we may assume, what is probable enough, that Alpin or Elpin was a name taken by a line of Dalriad kings, one of whom may have borne it about 730, this solution might be adopted, and justify us in believing the battle of Pitalpin to be matter of history.]

Section II.

INVASION OF THE DANES—BATTLE OF BARRIE—ACCESSION OF MALCOLM III.—DAVID
EARL OF HUNTINGDON, RETURNS FROM THE CRUSADE—LANDS AT DUNDEE, WHICH IS
ERECTED INTO A BURGH.

FROM the death of Alpin we find nothing remarkable occurring, in which Dundee was concerned, until the year 1012, when Malcolm II. defeated the Danes, under Camus their general, at Barrie or Carnoustie, about ten miles to the eastward of the town. Not long before this [1010], Malcolm had overthrown the Danes with great slaughter at Mortlach, in Aberdeenshire; which untoward event being related to Sweyn, King of Denmark, instead of deterring him from any farther attempt on Scotland, encouraged him more; the rather that, having recently reduced England, he was determined to reduce Scotland also. For this purpose he fitted out two fleets, one in Norway, the other in England, and placed both under the command of Camus, one of the ablest of his officers. Disappointed in effecting a landing in the Firth, Camus bore away northwards, and, anchoring in Lunan Bay, landed his troops in the vicinity of the Red-head, a few miles beyond Arbroath.¹ Proceeding to Brechin, he laid siege to the Castle; but not being able to reduce it, in the true spirit of northern barbarism, he set fire to the town and church, and reduced them to ashes. Leaving this scene of blazing desolation, he proceeded southward across the country towards Balbride, or Panbride—plundering and burning every place in his route, among which, tradition says, was the church of Aberrelliot or Arbirlot. Pitching his camp at Carnoustie, he waited the approach of Malcolm, who, he learned, was approaching with his army from Dundee, where he had rested a few days. Malcolm took up his position at Barrie, in front of, and about a mile distant from the lines of the invaders. Both armies prepared for battle—a battle of the highest moment to Scotland, as upon the issue of it her fate depended. Effectually to rouse the Danish soldiers, it is said, that on disembarking, Camus destroyed or sent

¹ Another account makes one portion of the Northmen land at the mouth of the Southesk, near Montrose, a second at Lunan Bay. and a third detachment at Barrie.—ED.

away his ships, thus showing his troops that they were to rely wholly upon their swords. The morning of the day of battle at length dawned, and the Danes confidently expected to gain the victory; but, instead of Scotland becoming a feudatory or dependent of the Danish crown, victory sat on the helmet of her monarch, and hurled defeat and overwhelming disgrace upon the arms of the north. The Danish lines were broken; and complete disarray, disorganization, confusion, and flight were the results. An old local rhyme preserves the tradition of the great slaughter that attended this conflict—

“Lochty, Lochty, is red, red, red,
For it has run three days wi’ bluid.”

Camus himself was overtaken, and slain on the summit of Downie hill, near Monikie, where a tumulus received his remains, and a stone cross, sculptured with rude figures, was erected, which still points out the spot.¹ Cairns were heaped over the gathered bodies of those who fell in the low plain, whence the name Carnoustie—the Cairn or Tomb of the Host—is derived.

Malcolm, improving his victory, pursued the flying Danes, and overtaking them at Aberlemno, gave them a second overthrow, and erected commemorative memorials of his victory, which, with several tumuli, are still existing. The shattered remains of these two battles, still pursuing their route northwards, were followed by Malcolm, breathing nothing but destruction, and finally put to the sword in a third battle, at Cruden in Aberdeenshire; which name is an abbreviation of *Cruor Danorum*, that is, the Blood of the Danes, and was so called by the ecclesiastical writers of the time.

Notwithstanding the numerous, and almost incessant, invasions of Scotland by the northern nations, it does not appear that Dundee was ever a sufferer by these irruptions. If it ever did experience any damage from them, it has escaped record; and it is not likely, if an enemy had reduced it, that such an incident would have been overlooked,—the more so, that places of comparatively inferior importance are particularly specified, as well as the occurrences which imparted the little importance that distinguishes them. There are only two instances recorded of the Norsemen having been at all near Dun-

¹ About 1620, the tumulus was opened by order of Sir Patrick Maule, in the presence of a number of gentlemen, when a large skeleton was found, with a part of the skull cut away; also a rude clay urn, and bracelet of gold, which are preserved at Brechin Castle. These are figured in *Mem. Ang.* p. 22.—Ed.

dee,—the one when they were defeated at Luncarty, to which they advanced from the south by Perth ; the other when, as above, they advanced from the north and east towards Panbride, which is only about eleven or twelve miles distant. Some accounts, indeed, state that those Danes who were defeated at Luncarty landed at Montrose, and proceeded westward, plundering and burning every place in their progress. It is stated that they besieged Perth ; but as no mention is made of Dundee, we must conclude it to have been too strong for them to reduce, or that it must be added to those places which were plundered and burned. As it was the only place of importance, wealth, and strength between Montrose, where the invaders disembarked, and Perth, where their progress was arrested, if it had been invested or reduced, this doubtless would have been recorded, hence we are rather authorized to conclude either that it resisted successfully the attacks of the Danes, or that the march of the invaders from Montrose to Perth was through Strathmore—a supposition which derives probability from the alleged burning of Brechin in their progress.

Nothing further of importance occurred in which Dundee had any share until the year 1057, when Malcolm III. mounted the throne of his father, which had been unjustly withheld from him by the usurpation of Macbeth. The marriage of Malcolm to the English princess, Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling (who, on the demise of Edward the Confessor, ought to have been King of England), took place about 1069, and was the occasion of a palace being erected in Dundee, if indeed, there had not been one before, which is probable from the court not being permanently fixed at one place, but ambulatory. This arose from the rents of the Crown demesnes being paid in kind before the introduction of metallic currency, and which continued in part after money was coined. This method of paying rents rendered it necessary for the monarch to remove from place to place with his attendants, to use his rents where they were produced ; and for this purpose residences would be erected for these perambulatory visitations, which would of course vary in duration at the different places, according as there was a greater or lesser extent of crown lands near them. Hence we are led to conclude that there had been a royal house at Dundee before the accession of Malcolm, occupied, in the absence of the monarch, by his thane or steward, the Maormor.¹ This house

¹ The derivation seems to be from the Gaelic *maor* steward, and *maor*, great. The Maormor has been confounded with the Thane ; but the former, besides being more

we consider to have been the palace called after Queen Margaret, because she had resided in it. Margaret was pious, and a generous benefactress to the clergy, who, in gratitude to her memory, placed her name in the calendar after her death; and in commemoration of her virtues, the place where the palace stood still bears her name.¹ Though the favourite residence of Malcolm Canmore was Dunfermline, yet lands in the neighbourhood of Forfar were set apart for the dowry of the queen; and it is tolerably certain that a royal residence or castle existed in that town. It is natural to suppose that she would frequently visit what was peculiarly her own, by free gift and act of the crown, and it is also likely that the royal pair would sometimes visit Dundee.

[King Malcolm Canmore, after a prosperous reign of thirty-six years, fell at the siege of Alnwick Castle, Nov. 13, 1093. His brother, Donald Bane, Maormor or Earl of Gowrie, whose lands extended almost to the walls of Dundee,² returned from exile in the Western Isles, and usurped the kingdom. He was dethroned in the following year by Duncan II. (elder son of Malcolm by his first marriage with Earl Thorfin's widow); but Duncan himself was treacherously slain in 1095 by Maolpeder, Maormor of the Mearns. Donald Bane a second time seized the throne, but, being attacked in 1098 by a southern army led by Edgar Atheling and his nephews, he was a second time overthrown. Having been taken prisoner, his eyes were put out, and he, who had been twice a king, was doomed to end his

ancient, of strictly Celtic origin, and hereditary descent, had a dignity and jurisdiction next to the sovereign himself, and in the progress of the feudal system, took the title of Earl. The thane on the other hand, was a title introduced at a much later period (with the Anglo-Saxons), to the Eastern district of Scotland, to which it was confined. The thane's duties were very much those of a land-steward upon a barony, and he is supposed to have ranked only with an Earl's son. While it is historically certain that thanes were unknown in Scotland in the time of Macbeth, it is well observed that "sober enquiry resists in vain the overpowering magic of Shakespere, which will for ever convince the eye and the understanding that 'the thane of Cawdor lives.'" (*Caledonia* vol. i. p. 716). The Maormor—royal deputy or high steward—of Angus is supposed to have had a residence about four miles west from Arbroath, where, in a commanding situation overlooking a fine stretch of country, the two farms of "Balmirmer" may mark the locality of the house or town of the Maormor.—ED.

¹ This is pure conjecture; and it is rather negatived by the fact that the locality pointed at is a considerable distance from the most ancient part of the town—the east side and immediate neighbourhood of the Castle.—ED.

² Balfour's *Annals*, vol. i. p. 6.

days a helpless captive in the Castle of Rescobie. Edgar, son of Malcolm and Margaret, now assumed the government.]

The state of the country at this period was such that the most vigorous exertions of authority were necessary to preserve the public peace, and repair the disorders which had occurred during the contest for the succession. Robberies and murders were so frequent that it became imperative on the government to adopt some method to repress them, and bring the perpetrators to justice. With a view to effect this, fortresses were erected and garrisoned at different places; and to restrain the freebooters that infested the Carse of Gowrie and the mountainous district adjacent, a castle was founded at Bal-Edgar-no—the house of Edgar, so named from the king. Baledgarno is about eight miles west of Dundee, close to the west wall of Rossie Priory park. While superintending the erection of this fortress, Edgar fell sick, and being carried to the *regium donum* in Dundee, died on the 10th January, 1106-7, after a peaceable reign of nine years, and was buried at Dunfermline.

[He was succeeded by his brother Alexander I., who also appears to have identified himself with Dundee, for it is related that in 1107 he was surprised in his castle of Invergowrie by a party of rebels from Morayshire and the Mearns.¹ The site of this stronghold has been referred to the ruins called Hurley Hawkin, situated near the Church of Liff.]

Thus we have seen that one prince at least resided in Dundee, and that others occasionally visited it may be easily supposed. These incidental visits of royalty bespeak its consequence and importance, and would contribute to make it more important and more opulent. Although these sojournings were temporary, and the springs of wealth opened by their occurrence would cease with their cause, the effect they would have upon the growing wealth, extent, and progressive improvement of the town, would undoubtedly be considerable. Towards the end of the twelfth century, Dundee owed its farther progress to a circumstance which, trivial and absurd in itself, was attended with the most beneficial and durable consequences.

During the course of the twelfth century, the idea of recovering Palestine from the thraldom of the followers of Islamism was started; and, though fraught with danger, folly, and absurdity, such was the effect of fanatic zeal, that thousands, including kings, princes, and

¹ Wyntown's Cronykil, i. 282; 284.

nobles, embraced it. Estates were sold and sovereignties pawned to enable those who disposed of them to carry their pious design, of exterminating the infidels and recovering the Holy Sepulchre, into execution. It is not to be denied that the infidels—that is, the professors of Islamism—treated the superstitious Christians, in their pilgrimages to Jerusalem, with the most sovereign contempt, and that this folly operated powerfully to irritate them; for, be it observed, that the votaries of fanaticism are never remarkable for humility or reverence to any of a different faith. They retorted accordingly, and thus brought persecution upon themselves with all its train of humiliating sufferings; for how were the Saracens to allow superstitious wanderers, entering by mere sufferance within their confines, to dictate to them, the occupiers of the country and lords of the soil?

The idea of recovering the Holy Land out of the hands of the infidels took like a contagion; and as the Church affixed a high value on human merit, it seemed the most meritorious deed that man could perform, and one worthy of the best rewards of Heaven, to subjugate Palestine, drive out its infidel possessors, and plant the banner of the Cross upon the walls of the ancient metropolis of Israel. Besides the novelty of the thought, there was something in it so accordant with the romantic spirit of chivalry which then prevailed, that all ranks eagerly enrolled themselves in the crusade, which their spiritual directors assured them was the immediate service of Heaven, and as such, could not fail in accomplishing its object. Error and disaster were the consequences; for although, during the first and second crusades, Jerusalem was taken and erected into a kingdom (the capital of which it continued for ninety years), in the end it was finally and irrecoverably lost, as were all the Asiatic acquisitions of the Christians.

In the year 1189 Richard I. of England was induced to join Philippe of France and Frederick of Germany in the third Crusade for the recovery of Palestine, in which David, Earl of Huntingdon, Prince of Scotland, and brother to King William the Lion, took part. The history of this scion of our royal house is a remarkable one, and forms the groundwork of Scott's brilliant story, "The Talisman." Shortly after his marriage with Matildis, daughter of Ranulph, Earl of Chester, he joined the Crusaders, who, arriving in the Levant, met with nothing but barren successes for a time, followed by disunion among themselves, and ending in defeat and destruction to their followers. Ultimately a treaty was concluded between Richard and Saladin, and the

scattered remnants of the crusaders turned homewards. Earl David found the retreat as hazardous as the advance : he was shipwrecked on the coast of Egypt, taken prisoner, and sold as a slave to a Venetian merchant, who carried him to Constantinople. In that city the Prince was recognized by some English merchants, who procured his freedom, and provided the means of conveying him to Scotland. In prosecution of his voyage, David met with more misfortunes, among which a narrow escape from shipwreck on the coast of Norway was not the least. In his distress, we are told, he supplicated the aid of Heaven ; and, according to the practice of the times, vowed to build a church in honour of the Virgin Mary, if he should reach his native shore in safety. Thereupon the raging sea subsided, and the wind becoming favourable, he soon beheld the summit of Dundee Law, and entering the Tay, he resolved to build near that hill, the sight of which "gave him the comfortable assurance that his prayers were heard ;" and accordingly he landed at the rock or craig afterwards called St Nicolas' Craig. Soon after his arrival it is said that David, in fulfilment of his vow, built a magnificent church and dedicated it to the Virgin Mary, who thus became the tutelary saint of the town.¹

King William hearing of the safe arrival of his brother, to whom he was affectionately attached, hastened to meet him at Dundee, after adventures so various and unfortunate : religious processions were ordered, and celebrated all over the kingdom to signalise the event ; and Dundee, erected at this time [about 1174] into a burgh, with all the immunities pertaining thereto, was conferred upon the Earl by his royal brother.²

¹ Henry de Brechin, natural son of Earl David, is a witness to the gift of a toft of land in Dundee to the Abbey of Arbroath, in which deed David calls the town *meo burgi de Dundee*. The Earl was by birth and inheritance, as well as by his adventures, a prominent noble. The grandson of King David I., he possessed in early life the earldom of Lennox ; he was also created Earl of Garioch by his brother the King, and held the Lordship of Strathbogie, with the lands of Inverbervie, Lindores, Longforgan, and Inchmartine. He was the father of the two princesses from whom Bruce and Baliol were descended—the nuptials of Margaret, the elder daughter, with Allan Lord of Galloway having been celebrated at Dundee about 1209. Earl David died in England in 1219.

² These incidents are related by Fuller (*Holy Warre*, p. 268), but evidently on the authority of Boece, who, being himself a native of Dundee, is supposed by Mr Jervise to have given the story as told and believed in his youthful days. The lapse of three centuries, however, may justify us in receiving it with much of that

Section III.

SITUATION OF DUNDEE FAVOURABLE TO COMMERCE—ALEXANDER III. RENEWS ITS PRIVILEGES—DIES—CONTEST FOR THE CROWN—JOHN BALLIOL PREFERRED—EDWARD I. INVADES SCOTLAND—DUNDEE IS TAKEN—CAPTIVITY OF BALLIOL—SIR WILLIAM WALLACE AT DUNDEE—SIEGE OF THE CASTLE BY ALEXANDER SCRYMGEOUR—RESIGNATION OF WALLACE—HIS RAID ON THE KNIGHT OF MURDOCH—BETRAYAL AND DEATH.

[The stately Abbey of Arbroath had now been completed, and frequent visits were paid to it by King William, its founder, and his successors, Alexander II. and III.¹ Courts were held within its precincts, at which charters were granted, and other public business transacted; and there can be no doubt Dundee had at least a passing visit from these sovereigns on such occasions. Beyond what may thus be inferred, history is silent regarding it, until the time of the dispute between Bruce and Balliol for the Crown.

In the meantime a new spirit had been infused into the social life and polity of the nation. Paganism was rooted out, and had given place to Christianity; writing was coming into use; land was held by written tenures; and the statute law began to be respected. Beginning in the days of Malcolm Canmore and his Saxon Queen, but more largely developed during the brilliant reign of David I.—the Arthur of Scotland—an immigration of southern colonists poured over the border, and spread along the eastern seaboard of Scotland. Encouraged by lands gifted to them as feudatories of the Crown, these Norman knights and Saxon thegns, with their followers, soon made their influence felt among the native population.]² The favourable situation of our newly created burgh for commercial exertions induced many to take up their residence within its walls, for the purpose of pursuing

reserve which other stories of the old chronicler have evoked. Pennant (*Tour*, vol. iii. 125) tells us that Earl David, being unable to erect the church himself, obtained a Papal mandate recommending a collection throughout Christendom, but there is no evidence of this having been done. Apart from these traditions, what we learn from trustworthy sources is, that Earl David founded the Abbey of Lindores (*circa* 1178), dedicating it to the Virgin Mary; that he granted to this abbey (1200) the church of Dundee; and that the latter is not found mentioned as St Mary's in any writing until about 1406 (*Reg. Brechin*, i. 24; *Liber S. Mariæ de Lundoris*, 38; *Cardonnel* i. 12; *Anderson's Scot. Nation* i. 28.)—*Ed.*

¹ *Reg. Vet. de Aberb.*, 79.

² *Innes, Sketches Scot. Hist.*, p. 10.

their various avocations with more success and security than they could do in the country. This, as it increased the number of inhabitants, necessarily tended to the accumulation of riches ; and there need be little hesitation in saying that at this period, and long after, Dundee was the first town in the kingdom for wealth, population, and general consequence to the State—as at a period long subsequent, it only yielded to Edinburgh, which, when it became the permanent residence of royalty, soon exceeded all others. The increasing consequence of Dundee, situated on an arm of the sea, on the east side of the kingdom, and having ready access to all existing marts and emporiums of commerce, attracted the attention of Alexander III. [1249-1285], who renewed and confirmed the privileges and immunities granted by his royal predecessors ; which would not fail in producing a corresponding effect on the character of the town, and adding new vigour to its commercial enterprises.

The most serious evil which Dundee experienced in ancient times arose out of the disputed succession to the Crown, at the death of the infant queen Margaret, daughter of Eric, King of Norway, and niece of Alexander III. Margaret died at Orkney [1290], while on her passage to take possession of her uncle's crown, which fatal circumstance raised no less than thirteen competitors for the vacant throne ; but practically the competition lay between John Balliol, great-grandson to David, Earl of Huntingdon, through his eldest daughter, and Robert Bruce, grandson, through his second daughter. These two claimants were strongly supported by powerful factions ; and as war appeared to threaten, they agreed to refer the matter to the arbitration of Edward I. of England, and to abide by his decision, Edward readily accepted the office of arbiter, and met the Scottish nobility and clergy at Norham, 10th May, 1291. In the meantime, eager to acquire the sovereignty of Scotland, which several of his predecessors had unsuccessfully sought, he practised upon the easy nature of Balliol ; who, more dazzled with the empty glitter of royalty than anxious to possess an independent diadem, consented to hold his kingdom as a feudatory of Edward ; who, on the other side, engaged to give him, at all hazards, possession of the crown of Scotland. Previous to this, Edward had made an attempt to subjugate Scotland to his power, by means of a marriage between his son, afterwards Edward II., and the niece of Alexander III., while she yet resided in Norway with her father, Eric, or Haquin, as some have called him.

In a parliament which was held at Brechin, Edward had the support of a powerful faction, through whose exertions the proposed marriage was carried against all opposition, and an ambassador appointed to proceed to Norway, to notify to Eric the acquiescence of the estates of Scotland in the proposals made by Edward. Eric cautiously avoided coming to any explicit expression of his sentiments, dissatisfied, perhaps, that the person and interests of his daughter should go from under the shelter of her natural protector. The caution of the Norwegian monarch alarmed Edward; but he had no other remedy than patience; and before any other measures to induce compliance with his wishes could be adopted, the death of Margaret dissipated all his hopes of acquiring Scotland by a matrimonial connection. The competition for the succession which then arose brought the sceptre of Scotland almost within his grasp; for, when the time arrived for the decision of the claims of the two competitors, Edward, on 17th Nov., 1292, declared for Balliol, prefacing this declaration with another, in which he assumed to himself the superiority of Scotland, as lord paramount. Foreseeing that these declarations would not be palatable to the Scots, Edward had prepared to compel their consent; for his armies, already assembled on the borders, poured into Scotland to take possession of it for him, as superior lord, and for Balliol, as king, and England's feudatory; but ere long he began to perceive that, though the candidates for the Crown were willing to receive him as superior lord, the nation at large was actuated by a spirit very different, and in consequence he demanded to be put in possession of all the forts and places of strength. The candidates, and many of the nobility in the kingdom readily yielded their castles, in which English garrisons were placed; but Gilbert de Umfraville, who in right of his wife was Earl of Angus, with great integrity and spirit, refused to deliver up those of Dundee and Forfar, of which he was governor—declaring that, as he had been intrusted with them by the people of Scotland, he knew of no foreign power that had a right to demand them. These castles, however, were rendered by Umfraville, in the end of 1291, upon a promise of indemnification from Edward and the competitors for the Crown.¹

In receiving his crown, Balliol found that it was not entirely one of roses. He found that his dignity was a delusion, and his power a

¹ Rym. Fœdera, ii. 531.

mark for insult upon insult, which at length provoked even his tame and servile spirit to rebel against one who had mocked him with the shadow of royalty. Having obtained the Pope's absolution from the oaths which he had taken, Balliol sent commissioners to France, in the year 1295, to negotiate a treaty of offence and defence with that kingdom; and to make himself the more certain of effectual assistance from the French, the commissioners were charged with a secret treaty, proposing that Edward, the eldest son of Balliol, should marry the daughter of Charles of Anjou, the king of France's brother. The second article of the treaty mentions the dowry of the French princess, and also the revenues which, in conjunction with her husband, she should enjoy in Scotland, which were fifteen hundred pounds sterling—two-thirds out of the rents of Balliol's lands in France, and the other third out of the proceeds of his lands in Scotland and the Castellany of Dundee.

Edward received the intelligence that Balliol renounced his allegiance with contempt. "The foolish traitor," said he to the messenger, "since he will not come to us, we will go to him." Marching his army into Scotland, he defeated the Scots at Dunbar, 28th April, 1296, and put the inhabitants to the sword. The castles of Edinburgh and Stirling thereafter fell into his hands; for Balliol, with no aid whatever from France, and a divided support from his own countrymen, could make no stand against the ruthless invaders. In June, the English reached Dundee; but it does not appear that any serious resistance was offered to their progress, the castle, in all probability, being then held by Brian Fitz Alan, the English governor, to whom Umphraville had resigned it. Passing onwards to Brechin, Edward besieged and took its castle; and, on the 10th July, 1296, in the kirkyard of Stracathro, the humiliating spectacle was witnessed of the King of Scotland, dressed by his captors in the insignia of royalty only to have ermine, crown, and sceptre rudely torn from his person, and, standing on the bare ground all but naked, with a white wand in his hand, doing penance before the haughty Edward.¹ Having des-

¹ It is usually stated that a formal deed, renouncing the kingdom, was executed by Balliol at Brechin a few days afterwards; and Mr Jervise adds that the Abbot of Arbroath put this writing into Edward's hands (*Memorials*, p. 146). Recent researches show that Baldred Bisset, the Scottish envoy at Rome, in 1300, strenuously denied the fact of Balliol's renunciation, declaring that Edward took the seals forcibly from the Chancellor, and used them upon forged letters of resignation.

pitched his royal captive to the Tower of London. Edward visited Arbroath to receive the homage of Abbot Henry. On the 6th August, he proceeded to Dundee; on the following day, he was at "the redde castell" of Baledgarno, on his way to Perth, whence, after a brief stay, he proceeded southwards.

Edward's usurpation, and the cruelty with which he had enforced it, aroused the Scottish people to a sense of their deplorable condition. The higher nobles had sworn fealty to the English king; the lesser barons shrank from renewing the unequal struggle; the citizens of every town were overawed and oppressed by English garrisons;—in a word, that liberty for which the nation had so long struggled, seemed to be wrested from it for ever. In this crisis, William Wallace appeared on the stage, and, by a series of brilliant and successful exploits, took his place as leader in the War of Independence, which resulted in the liberation of Scotland from foreign domination.

The early life of Wallace, and even the date and place of his birth, are involved in obscurity. Many doubtful legends have gathered round his name; but it is satisfactory to know that our latest and most reliable historians have been able to give an authentic outline of his career, and fully corroborate the popular estimate of the national hero.¹ In his boyhood, Wallace was sent to complete his education in Dundee, where he contracted a friendship with John Blair, a Benedictine monk, who afterwards became his chaplain; and who, in conjunction with Thomas Gray, parson of Liberton, compiled a history in Latin of Wallace's deeds. The few fragments of that work which survived, formed the basis of Harry the Minstrel's vernacular poem,

(Innes, *Sketches*, p. 181). This seems to derive colour from the remarkable fact that Wallace, two years after the alleged renunciation, styles himself "Guardian of Scotland," acting in the name of an illustrious prince, John, by the grace of God, King of Scots;" the same forms being observed so late as 1302. When Wallace, a man actuated with the loftiest patriotism, and associated with the king in his unavailing resistance to the English, can pay him such a tribute, we are constrained to believe that historians have scarcely done John Balliol justice. "His attempt," says Lord Hailes, "to shake off a foreign yoke speaks him of a high spirit, impatient of injuries. He erred in enterprising beyond his strength: in the cause of liberty it was a meritorious error. He confided in the valour and unanimity of his subjects, and in the assistance of France. The efforts of his subjects were languid and discordant, and France beheld his ruin with the indifference of an unconcerned spectator." (*Annals*, vol i, p. 241)

¹ Tytler's *History*; and Scott. *Worthies*, vol. i.; Burton's *Hist. Scot. passim*.

commemorating the achievements of our hero.¹ The wanton outrages of the English soldiery so roused the indignation of Wallace and his comrades that they formed a confraternity to punish the aggressors. Having been insulted by Selby, the son of the constable of the Castle, Wallace drew his dagger and struck him dead on the spot ; and, though surrounded by the English, he effected his escape, after despatching two or three others who sought to intercept his flight. Blind Harry thus narrates the fray :—

“ Upon a day to Dundee he was send,
 Off cruelnes full little yai hym kend.
 Ye constable, a felloun man of wer,
 Yat to ye Scotts he did full mekill der,
 Selbie he hecht, dispitfull and owtrage,
 A sone he had ner xx zer of age :
 Into ye toune he usyt ilka day,
 Thre men or four yer went with hym to play ;
 A hely schrew, wanton in his entent,
 Wallace he saw, and towart him he went ;
 Liklie he was, right bige, and weyle beseyne,
 Intill a wyde of gudly garmand greynne ;
 He callyt on hym, and said, yow Scott, abyde,
 Quha dewill ye grathis in so gay a wyde ;
 Ane Ersche mantill it was yi kynd to wer,
 A Scotts thewittill under yi belt to ber,
 Rouch rowlyngs apon yi harlot fete—
 Giff me yi knyff, quhat dois yi ger sa mete ?
 Till him he zied, hys knyff to tak him fra.
 Fast by the collar Wallace couth hym ta ;
 Undyr hys hand ye knyff he bradit owt,
 For all hys men yat semblyt hym about ;
 Bot help himself, he wist of no remede,
 Without reskew he stykit him to dede.
 Ye squier fell—Of hym yar was na mar.
 Hys men folowed on Wallace wondyr sair ;
 The press was thick, and cummerit yaim full fast,
 Wallace was spedy, and gretelye als agast ;
 Ye bludy knyff bar drawin in his hand,
 He sparyt nane yat he befor hym fand.”

For this deed Wallace was outlawed, and forced to betake himself to concealment and disguise. His undaunted courage and fertility of resources, combined with a patriotism as ardent as it was disinterested,

¹ “ Ye Actis and Deidis of ye Illuster and Vailzeand Campioun, Schir Wilham Wallace.” The MS. is preserved in the Advocates’ Library, bearing the date of 1488. Of the author himself nothing but the half of his name is known.

soon brought to his side a band of men whom oppression had rendered desperate.

For a time they seem to have practised a guerilla warfare upon the convoys and foraging parties of the English; and Wallace himself was in the habit of visiting in disguise the garrisoned towns to ascertain the strength of the enemy, and the support to be expected from his countrymen. After the battle of Dunbar, he had become well known as the champion of the national cause, and a goodly circle of patriots, among whom was Alexander Scrymgeour of Dudhope, rallied to his standard. After a series of successes against the English in the south and west of Scotland, Wallace found himself at the head of an army capable of taking the field. He captured Glasgow; and, marching rapidly to Scone, surprised and put to flight the English forces there; then, passing into the western Highlands, his progress was everywhere marked by victory. In the autumn of 1297, he appeared in Angus, and, after capturing Forfar and Brechin, proceeded to invest Dundee; but had scarcely taken up his position when he was apprized of the approach of an English army under the Earl of Surrey. Leaving the citizens to prosecute the siege, Wallace hastened to meet the enemy, and, on the 11th September, gained the celebrated battle of Stirling. Returning to Dundee in the flush of victory, the garrison saw the hopelessness of resistance and surrendered. The strongholds of Dumbarton and Berwick having also yielded, the country was cleared of the invaders.¹

The inhabitants of Dundee appear to have had both the will and the means to encourage the liberator of Scotland, for we find them presenting Wallace on this occasion with a handsome gift of money and arms. There are traces, too, of a special interest being taken by the illustrious patriot in the town where, but a few years previously, the march of events had hurried him from study to warfare. "There lately was found," says Mr Burton,² "in the old commercial city of

¹ Blind Harry says that Wallace directed Scrymgeour to demolish the castle of Dundee, in order to prevent the English from again holding it—

"Masons, minouris, with Scrymgeour furth send,
Kest down Dundee, and tharoff maid ane end."

If so, it must have been speedily rebuilt, as we find it standing two sieges within a few years afterwards. It has also been narrated that it was retaken by an English captain named Morton before its demolition, and again relieved by Scrymgeour; but the narrative given above is the one adopted by the latest writers as authentic.

² *Hist. Scot.* ii. 296; *Wallace Papers*, 159.

Lubeck, a short document, which happens to be the only authentic vestige of Wallace's movements immediately after the battle [of Stirling]. It is dated 11th Oct. 1297, and is a communication to the towns of Lubeck and Hamburg, in the name of Andrew de Moray and William Wallace, generals of the army of the kingdom and community of Scotland. They thank the worthy friends of their country in these towns for services and attentions which the unfortunate condition of their country had hindered its people from duly acknowledging. They assure their distant trading friends, however, that commerce with the ports of Scotland will now be restored; for the kingdom of Scotland, thanks be to God, has been recovered by battle from the power of the English. We have seen that Scotland was becoming an actively trading nation before her troubles broke out; and this little document is a touching testimony to the prevalence of those peaceful pursuits, which were so cruelly crushed by the remorseless invaders." This letter bears to have been written "in Scotland;" but its date and purport seem to identify it with Dundee. A few weeks later, Wallace proceeded to the south to organise the reprisals which his famine-stricken countrymen were making upon the English territory. Returning from his incursion laden with spoil, he was chosen, by a convention in Selkirkshire, Guardian of Scotland; and it is interesting to know that immediately on assuming this function, he issued a writ—the only one which has been preserved of his reign—rewarding Alexander Scrymgeour for his faithful services to the national cause.¹

Meanwhile the English king was moving northwards another formidable army of 80,000 foot, and 7000 mounted men-at-arms. With a force less than one-third in number, and utterly disproportionate in equipment, Wallace prepared to dispute his progress. By consummate generalship the Scottish leader had well nigh succeeded in thwarting the invaders, when it is said the treachery of two earls revealed his tactics to the enemy. Edward hurried forward his forces, and confronted the Scots at Falkirk on the 22d July, 1298. The issue could scarcely be doubtful; yet the military genius of Wallace so handled his troops as to hurl back for a time the onsets of the English cavalry; and, but for the desertion of a division under the Lord of Badenoch, the field might not have been lost. As it was, Wallace conducted his shattered forces in safety to the north, burning Stirling on his way;

¹ See Appendix, Note A.

and Edward, after a fruitless victory, dragged his starving army back to Carlisle.

Resigning the Guardianship, owing, it is said, to the jealous hostility of the nobles, Wallace passed over to France, probably in the hopes of obtaining succour from Philip; and there is some reason to believe he proceeded to Rome—the Papal influence being then all powerful; for Edward, in replying to remonstrances from Rome charging him with violating the rights of Scotland, complains of certain “enemies of peace and sons of rebellion” then residing there—referring to an embassy from Scotland.

In the autumn of 1302, Wallace was again in Scotland, and is supposed to have assisted, if he did not lead, the Scots in surprising an English force at Roslin. In 1303, Edward led an army, spoken of as large beyond the possibility of resistance, for the final subjugation of Scotland. His progress was a triumphant procession; for, as Tytler says, “the historian has only to tell a tale of sullen submission and pitiless ravage; he has little to do but to follow in dejection the chariot wheels of the conqueror, and to hear them crushing under their iron weight all that was free and brave in a devoted country.”¹ Establishing his head-quarters at Dunfermline, where he destroyed one of its finest buildings, because the Scots had held rebellious meetings within its walls, Edward proceeded northward as far as Caithness, marking his track with robbery, devastation, and ruin. In June, he appeared in Dundee, took the castle, and sacked the town,—the inhabitants submitting to a power which it was impossible for them to resist. Tradition affirms that the terrified citizens collected all that was valuable and dear to them, and took refuge in the churches. But the fury of Edward and his soldiery could not be averted even by the shelter of the sanctuary, and the hapless people escaped the sword only to be devoured by the flames. Passing onwards to Brechin, Edward was detained at the siege of its castle for twenty days; and it surrendered only after Sir Thomas Maule, its gallant commander, was killed on the walls. After penetrating as far as Kildrummy in Aberdeenshire, the English returned to Dundee on the 20th October, but their stay on this occasion had been brief, for we find them, on 1st November, at Cambuskenneth.

In these days of calamity for Dundee, we may well conceive the citizens, reduced as they were to the verge of despair, hoping against

¹ History, i. 173.

hope for help from their former deliverer. History sheds an uncertain light upon the movements of the patriot at this juncture: he hovered about with a handful of faithful followers, harassing the enemy, and retreating to the hills when pursued. Undoubted evidence, however, has recently been found of the presence of Wallace in the neighbourhood of the town about this period; and which at least gives probability to the tradition associating his name with Auchterhouse. The "*Calendarium Genealogicum*" contains a fragment from the ancient records of England narrating that an inquest was held at Perth, in September 1305, by the Earl of Stratherne, custodier of the northern district of Scotland, at which a certain Michael de Miggel (Meigle) excused himself for non-attendance at a previous court by taking oath that he had been forcibly seized by William le Waleys. Michael twice got off, and was twice recaptured by armed accomplices of the said Waleys, narrowly escaping with his life. The date is indicated only by *dudum*, "lately."¹ As the betrayal of Wallace by Menteith occurred near Glasgow in July 1305, the raid upon the knight of Meigle must have occurred some time previously; and thus gives colour to Blind Harry's circumstantial account of Wallace's presence at Ochtyrhous, with

"Schir Jhon Ramsay, that worthie was and wycht."²

We have dwelt, perhaps, too long on the brief period during which the name of Wallace was associated with our history, but the sequel is soon told. After fifteen years of incessant effort—during which, at a vast expenditure of blood and treasure, he had hurled five armies into Scotland—Edward now beheld the country garrisoned everywhere by his troops,—its king a captive,—its nobility sworn to his rule,—its people prostrate under a load of misery and suffering. One ruthless passion only remained unsatisfied: one man alone stood firm and undaunted, a solitary figure amidst the wreck of the nation's hopes—one who could neither be conquered nor corrupted, and whose patriotism

¹ *Calend. Gen.*, p. 703, quoted in Burton's *Hist.*, i. 334.—Mr Burton calls this a tantalising reference to Wallace's movements; but a local knowledge of Auchterhouse, on the Sidlaw Hills, within four or five miles of the fertile lands of Meigle, seems to indicate the solution now submitted, which is surely more probable than straining the *dudum*, as he suggests, to the time when Wallace was in power, eight years before.

² Harry's Wallace, p. 243, where Barklay, Ruwan, and Schyr Thomas are mentioned as other compatriots.

became almost sublime in its isolation. For Wallace there was no amnesty : he was inexorably marked out for death. When treachery at last gave up the victim, and every refinement of cruelty had been exhausted in his execution—when the ghastly head was set up on London Bridge, and his mutilated limbs bleached over the gates of Scottish towns—Edward believed the last act of the drama was played. Never was tyrant more deceived ; for, within a few months after these bloody trophies of the Scottish hero were displayed to his countrymen, the nation awoke, and with a giant effort once more achieved its freedom.

Section XV.

ACCESSION OF ROBERT I.—DECLARATION OF THE CLERGY IN HIS FAVOUR—CONFIRMS THE PRIVILEGES OF DUNDEE—CASTLE TAKEN BY SIR EDWARD BRUCE—CHARACTER OF KING ROBERT—ACCESSION OF DAVID I.—NAVAL WORTHIES—DISPUTES BETWEEN THE CONSTABLE AND BURGESSES—RIVALRY OF PERTH—FURTHER CHARTERS GRANTED.

THE execution of Sir William Wallace took place on the 24th August, 1305. In June of the year preceding, his friend Lamberton, Bishop of St Andrews, met Robert Bruce at the Abbey of Cambuskenneth. A concurrence of events made this interview a momentous one for Scotland. Wallace was being hunted down ; Comyn, who succeeded him as Guardian, and represented the Balliols, had formally resigned the government to Edward ; and the elder Bruce, a supporter of the English king, had just died. His son, as Earl of Carrick, had now great territorial influence to back his undoubted claim to the throne. Hitherto irresolute, and even hostile to Wallace and the national party, the Bishop is said to have so mingled his reproaches on Bruce, with entreaties to redeem the past, as to have moved him to tears. By a solemn league they bound themselves to stand by each other at all hazards.¹ Edward, through the treachery of Comyn, whom Bruce had taken into his confidence, became aware of this compact ; and the better to watch Bruce's movements, required his presence at London, where he resided at the time of Wallace's execution. Whether or no

¹ Palgrave gives it at length in his *Documents, &c.*, p. 323.

that spectacle had moved his pity, and hastened his resolution to act, is not known ; but, on the 3d of February, 1306, he secretly left London, and hurried to Dumfries, where he met and slew Comyn before the altar of the church. The die was now cast ; and on the 27th of March, Bruce was solemnly crowned at Scone. His reign began in disaster ; for, on the 19th June, another English army under Pembroke had reached Perth, and defeated the royalist forces at Methven. After various movements in the Highlands, the King with a handful of followers passed to the Western Isles. In 1307, he crossed into Galloway, from which he was obliged to retire to the north. At Inverury, although so enfeebled by sickness that he had to be supported on his horse, he defeated the English, 24th May, 1308 ; after which fortune favoured his arms, and many of the barons joined his standard. On his way southward, he captured the castle of Forfar, but Dundee does not seem to have been secured.¹ In the following year, however, it gave him a moral support of great value, in the form of a declaration from a national council of the clergy, held within the church of the Minorite Friars, which asserted the independence of Scotland under King Robert.² By thus attaching the clergy to his cause, and by a generous policy towards the nobles who adhered to him, the king rapidly consolidated the power acquired by his arms. On Jan. 1311, he laid siege to Perth, which, after a desperate resistance of six weeks' duration, was captured by a night assault, the king himself leading the storming party, by wading the moat with the water up to his neck, and the second who scaled the wall. Dundee appears to have been invested about this period, and so obstinately held by William de Montfichet, the governor, that a treaty was concluded to give it up within a stipulated time. Edward no sooner heard of this than he ordered it to be disregarded under the penalty of death : he also wrote flattering letters to the officers and authorities of the town exhorting them to persevere in their resistance ; and fresh orders were sent to Newcastle and Berwick to hurry forward supplies and reinforcements by sea.³ King Robert being absent in the Isle of Man, his impetuous

¹ The castle was still held by the English on the 12th May, 1309, of which date orders were issued in London to forward supplies of corn, malt, pease, beans, and wine to eight garrisons in Scotland, of which Dundee was one.—*Rot. Scot. m. x.*, p. 63.

² See Appendix, Note B.

³ *Rotuli Scot. I.*, p. 108,

brother, Sir Edward Bruce, attacked and captured Dundee (1312-13), and immediately after invested Stirling, the last stronghold remaining in the hands of the English. A similar agreement for capitulation was here made, which the king on his return perceived to be in the highest degree prejudicial to his interest, but disdained to imitate the mean conduct of Edward in the case of Dundee. The consequence was that a grand army was launched into Scotland for the relief of Stirling, and, on 24th June, 1314, was fought the memorable battle of Bannockburn, which gave Bruce the undisputed sovereignty of Scotland. After restoring the monarchy to its former lustre, and establishing himself upon the throne of his ancestors, King Robert visited the different districts of his kingdom, rectifying and correcting the disorders which a state of almost incessant war had introduced. In the eighth year of his reign, namely, in 1314, we find him residing in Dundee, and exercising the best prerogative of royalty—the dispensation of kindness. While here, among other gifts, he bestowed the keeping of the forest of Stocket on the burgh of Aberdeen, the charter of which is dated at Dundee, 24th October of that year.

In April 1320, the king convened a parliament at Arbroath, which answered the Pope's threatened excommunication, by a memorable assertion of national independence, which declared that "so long as there shall but one hundred of us remain alive, we will never subject ourselves to the dominion of England. For it is not glory," they continue, "it is not riches, neither is it honour; but it is liberty alone that we fight and contend for, which no honest man will lose but with his life."¹ Among the signatories to this deed we find several local names:—David, Lord of Brechin, Sir David Lindsay of Finhaven, Sir John Fenton of Baikie, Sir William Montealt of Fearn, Sir William Ramsay of Auchterhouse, and Sir William Montfitchet, formerly governor of Dundee in the English interest. Strange to say, the same Lord of Brechin, a nephew of King Robert, and the recipient of royal favours, was put on his trial five months after, before the "Black Parliament" at Scone; and being convicted on the clearest evidence of connivance in a plot to assassinate his sovereign, expiated his treason on the scaffold, along with three of his accomplices.²

The burgesses of Dundee, finding themselves deprived of every record

¹ *Miscell. Scotica.*, p. 125. The original is in the hall of the Register House at Edinburgh.

² Tytler, I., p. 322. Hailes, II., p. 96.

of the privileges which they had enjoyed from the munificence of former sovereigns, in consequence of their total destruction by the English, made application to Robert, that the rights granted them by his predecessors might be recognised. Willing to redress the grievances of his subjects, a commission was issued, the translation of which is :—

“Robert, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to all our good subjects to whom these present letters shall come, greeting : Know ye that we have appointed Bernard, by the grace of God, Abbot of Arbroath, our chancellor, and Alexander Fraser, our chamberlain, our beloved and faithful lieutenants, to recognise the liberties which the burghesses of Dundee had and possessed in the time of Alexander, King of Scots, of blessed memory, our predecessor last deceased, and of other kings of Scots, our predecessors ; and to make return to us, and to our council, of such things as shall be recognised and found by them in the premises. Wherefore, we charge and command you that you wait upon and make answer to our foresaid chancellor and chamberlain, as holding our place in the premises. Witness myself, at Arbroath, the 22d day of June, in the 20th year of our reign” [1325].

The two commissioners accordingly repaired to Dundee : and, on the day after the Nativity of St John the Baptist [25th June, 1325], examined on oath the following persons :—Alexander Straton, William de Strabroke, David de Inverpeffer, Patrick and John de Ogilvie, Henry de Fithie, Patrick de Strivelin, James de Straton, John de Greinlay, Adam de Pilmor, and, besides these, many respectable burghesses of Berwick, Aberdeen, St Andrews, Forfar, Arbroath, and Montrose ; and found full and complete evidence that the burghesses of Dundee enjoyed, in the times of Alexander and of former kings, the same liberties of buying and selling, by land or water, with those of the other free towns in Scotland. On this recognition, Robert granted to Dundee an infeftment and charter, dated at Edinburgh, on the 4th March, 1327.¹ King Robert appears to have been again residing in the town in 1326 ; for, on 20th April of that year, he issued a commission, appointing ambassadors for renewing with Charles, King of France, the ancient league between that kingdom and Scotland. In July of the same year, the first Parliament was held at Cambuskenneth, in which burghal representatives are positively known to have assisted, when Dundee doubtless exercised the privilege of which it had just obtained legal recognition. At this time, and after, Dundee, along

¹ A translation of this, the oldest surviving charter of the town, is given in Appendix, Note C.

with Edinburgh, Perth, and Aberdeen, had the honour of being security for the performance of national treaties.

[The good King Robert, become prematurely old by the hardships of war and incessant toil for the welfare of his people, was now approaching his end. But the aim of his life was accomplished. He had so roused and guided the spirit of his countrymen, that, after two-and-thirty years of war, in which the fleets and armies of England had contended in vain, the freedom of Scotland was at last and for ever recognised by the treaty of Northampton. A son had been born to him, to whom the English princess was given in marriage; and, after welcoming the youthful pair at Edinburgh, the king retired to Cardross, and calmly awaited the hour of his departure. It came on the 7th of June, 1329, and found him commending, with his last breath, to Douglas and his faithful comrades, the care of his beloved country. "Happier than the lawgiver of Israel, he had been permitted to accompany his chosen people to the last through all their troubles, till he had established them free denizens of a free country, the land of their children's love,—he had crowned his work of patriotism, he had won the wreath of glory. His star hovered over him awhile, as he leaned against the goal, weary with the race, but at last departed fairly, lingeringly, but for ever; while slowly, amid a nation's sobs, he sank into the arms of death, a willing prey. Well indeed might Scotland, well may mankind, revere King Robert's name; for never, save Alfred the Great, did monarch so profit by adversity. Vacillating and infirm of purpose, a courtier, and a timeserver at the footstool of Edward during the days of Wallace, and betrayed into sacrilege and bloodshed on the very steps of the altar, he redeemed all by a constancy, a patriotism, a piety, alike in his troubles and his prosperity, which rendered him the pride and example of his contemporaries, and have been the theme of history, and of a grateful posterity, in all succeeding ages. The christian, the patriot, the wisest monarch, and the most accomplished knight of his age, and, more endearing than all, the owner of a heart kind and tender as a woman's, we may indeed bless his memory, and, visiting his tomb, pronounce over it his epitaph in the knightly words with which Sir Hector mourned over Sir Lancelot:—
'There thou liest, thou that wert never matched of earthly knight's hands! And thou wert the most courtly knight that ever bare shield!
And thou wert the kindest man that ever struck with sword! And thou wert the goodliest person that ever came among press of knights!

And thou wert the meekest man, and the gentlest, that ever ate in hall among ladies ! And thou wert the sternest knight to thy mortal foe that ever put spear in rest !' Such, and more than this, was Bruce."¹

The childhood of David II. necessitated a Regency ; during which the turbulence and jealousy of the nobles, fomented by the machinations of the English, deeply afflicted the country. Pretending outwardly to respect the treaty, Edward secretly encouraged a son of Balliol's to invade Scotland ; when, through the incredible mismanagement of the Scottish forces under the Regent, the English gained a battle at Dupplin Moor, and seized Perth, which was then a place of great military importance. An English fleet having entered the Tay to co-operate with the invaders, was followed by a squadron of ten vessels, under John Crab, a Flemish captain in the Scottish service ; and a naval battle was fought within sight of Dundee, on the 24th August, 1332. At first, Crab was successful, capturing the Beaumondscogge, the largest of the enemy's vessels ; but the remainder of the enemy's fleet fought with such obstinacy that Crab, after seeing several of his ships in flames, had to make sail for Berwick.²

In the following year, the young king and his consort passed over to France, leaving the kingdom distracted by war, and struggling under the domination of Edward and his vassal, Balliol. In 1339, William Bullock, an adventurous ecclesiastic, who had forsaken the cloister for the camp, gave up the castle of Cupar to the national party, and went to assist in reducing Perth. Finding that the besiegers had contrived to drain the fosse, Ughtred, the governor, and his garrison, capitulated, and were shipped down the Tay to England. The castle of Dundee appears also to have been yielded to the Steward of Scotland at this time, only four strongholds south of the Forth being mentioned as remaining in the hands of the English.³ Of these, Edinburgh was deemed all but impregnable ; but it fell to a stratagem with which Dundee had some connection. In April, 1341, Bullock, in concert with the Knight of Liddesdale, who lurked in the neighbourhood with two hundred soldiers, procured Walter Curry, a merchantman of Dundee, along with one William Fairley, to run their ship into the Forth, and, under pretence of being an English victualling vessel, to offer supplies of wine and

¹ Lord Lindsay—*Lives*, I., p. 45.

² *Hales*, II., p. 154 ; *Walsingham*, p. 130.

³ *Hales*, II., p. 206.

corn to the garrison. The offer was accepted, and Curry and his band drove their wagons under the portcullis, which was already blocked so as to prevent the portcullis from being let down. Casting off the grey frocks which covered their arms, the warrior was instantly stabbed: and in a flash of the broad Douglas and his troop rushed up, and engaged in a desperate conflict with the garrison, which resulted in the death of all save the governor and six others, who cut their way out.

In the month of June, the king returned from France, and began a reign which proved to be as disastrous for Scotland as that of his illustrious father was glorious. In a rash incursion upon English territory, David was taken prisoner near Durham in 1146, and held in captivity for eleven years, from which he was only released upon a ransom equal to the enormous sum of a million and a quarter: for payment of which, besides hostages of the chief men in the country, the burgesses of Edinburgh, Dundee, Perth, and Aberdeen were held bound.]

On the 20th January, 1158, David, willing to show his gratitude to the citizens of Dundee, for their exertions in procuring his freedom, gave them a new charter, confirming all their former privileges and immunities, and conferring more. This charter, which erected the town and royalty into a Sheriffdom, independent of the authority of the Sheriff of Angus, was confirmed in 1642 by the Great Charter of Charles I. The liberties of Dundee, ascertained by the Charter of David, were extensive; for instance, Cupar in Angus, Kettins, Kirriemuir, and Alyth, were prohibited holding markets, and all persons discharged, under the highest penalties, from attending them, these places being declared to be within the liberties of Dundee.

This profusion of privileges shows the estimation in which Dundee was held by our ancient sovereigns; but they soon created contention between the Scrymseours of Craigie¹ (who held the hereditary dignity and office of Constable of Dundee), and the burgesses, who were often subjected to the consequences of their tyrannical measures and ambitious designs. The extent of the Constable's authority over the

¹ The Scrymseours have been improperly designed of Dudhope, which came into their sole possession only in 1495, upwards of a hundred years after this dispute, at which time they were proprietors of lands in various parts of the kingdom. At this time also, part of the lands of Craigie adjoining the town was theirs; we have, therefore, designed them accordingly. They were, indeed, possessed of a part, if not the whole, of the lands of Upper Dudhope, which seems to have been the cause of their being designated of Dudhope.

burgesses had not hitherto been accurately defined, and several attempts to ascertain it had been attended by disorderly and tumultuous results. The provost, bailies, and burgesses, anxious for peace and tranquillity, to prevent any farther hostile commotions, entered into an agreement with Sir James Scrymgeour, then Constable, in the year 1389, which apparently restored harmony and quiet. The articles of agreement respected the regulations of the annual markets, the renunciation of the vexatious rights which the Constable claimed of being sole judge in the criminal affairs of the burgesses; the investigation of any flagrant crime committed during the fair, and the punishment to be awarded by the Constable, in conjunction with the bailies, on the Castle Hill.

[The fourteenth century was the golden age of chivalry; when knights, who found themselves out of practice in real warfare, roamed about in search of adventures at tilts and tournaments, eager to "perform points of arms, and manifest their prowess to the world." A notable instance of this passion occurred in 1390, when Sir David Lindsay, of Glenesk, sailed from the Craig, in the good ship St Mary of Dundee, with a retinue of twenty eight persons, including two knights, squires, valets, &c., to have a tourney with Lord Welles on London Bridge.¹ Sir David was received with great state by King Richard; and on the Festival of St George, the two champions appeared, cased in complete armour, and mounted on splendid horses, before a great concourse of spectators. The trumpet sounded, and at the first shock Lord Welles shivered his spear on the helmet of the Scottish knight, who sat so firmly that the spectators cried he was locked, or tied to his saddle, contrary to the law of arms. Sir David rode up to the king, and disproved the accusation by leaping from his horse, making his obeisance, and vaulting back into his seat "right deliverly," without touching the stirrup. With fresh spears they charged again, and yet again, when the English knight was struck clear out of the saddle, and fell heavily to the ground. A foot combat ensued, in which Welles was discomfited, for Sir David fastened his dagger between the joints of his antagonist's armour, and, by sheer strength, lifted him off his feet, and flung him to the ground. Then came the courtesy of chivalry: the victor raised his foe, and "presented him to the queen as his gift,

¹ The passports are printed in the *Rotuli Scotiae*, vol. II., 103, and include one for the St Mary, freighted with *unum integrum harnesium de guerra pro corpore David Lyndesey de Scotia militis*. This new suit of armour is the first cargo to our port appearing on record.

wishing, like a true knight, that mercy should proceed from woman." The queen gave liberty to the vanquished ; and Lindsay visited him daily until he recovered :—

And sa he,
With honour and with honesty,
Retourit syne in his land hame,
Great worship ekèd till his fame.¹

To perpetuate the remembrance of his victory, and in gratitude to the martial saint to whose favour he attributed it, Sir David founded a chantry of five priests, or vicars choral, within Our Lady Kirk at Dundee, to sing hymns to the dragon-slayer's power for ever.]²

When Sir David returned to Dundee, a quarrel was being conducted in a less chivalrous spirit, between its citizens and those of Perth, attended with the bitterest animosity, and sometimes even with blood. The circumstances which originated this dispute are unknown ; but the avowed causes were rank and precedence in conventions, and the limits of their respective ports on the Tay. The inhabitants of Perth maintained that their port included the whole river, and that no ship adventuring in the water of Tay, within Drumlaw, ought to break bulk until it reached the bridge of Perth. This assertion, with the grounds upon which it was founded, contradicted the judgment of some persons who wished, and who had done their utmost to get the dispute amicably adjusted ; and the contending parties determined to have recourse to Robert, Duke of Albany (Regent of the kingdom during the greater part of the reign of Robert III.) and his council, to decide the question at issue. Before them the pretensions of Perth were warmly urged and insisted on by their advocate ; but he was opposed, by the advocate of Dundee, with so much force and weight of argument that the Regent and his council were induced to give judgment in favour of the latter. The decision is dated in the Friar Church, at Edinburgh, on the 19th May, 1402, and is expressed in the following simple but energetic terms :—

" We pronounce, determine, and decretis, that the burch and burchesses of Dundie, and yair successoris, have freedom to by ony schip or schippis yat come in the water of Tay on a venture, yat lykes to lois at yair heaven, notagainstandand ony privileges aladgat befor us in the contrair, throuch the procuratoris of the burch of Perth. Quhairfore, we put silence to yame of Perth, and to yair successoris for evirmair.

¹ Wyntown, II., p. 853. Tytler, III., p. 70.

² Lindsay's Lives, I., p. 93.

In witnes of quhilekis thingis, we have gart set our saill hairto, day, year, and place aforesaidis."

[At this period, the two most powerful nobles in Scotland were David, Earl of Crawford, and William, Earl of Douglas; who, under a league of friendship, were rapidly acquiring an influence that threatened to extinguish the royal authority. King James II. was a minor; but his tutor, Kennedy, Bishop of St Andrews, justly called the Wallace of his century, stood forward to thwart the ambitious nobles. Resenting this interference, Crawford collected his retainers and allies, and, crossing into Fife, harried the bishop's lands with fire and sword, returning to Dundee and Finhaven with immense booty. The bishop finding other remonstrances ineffectual, had recourse to excommunication with mitre and staff, bell, book, and candle for a year—"which the Earl lightly vilipended, as a thing of no strength, without fear of God and man." Before the year expired, the Earl's son became involved in a dispute with the Ogilvies as to the bailiary of the Abbey of Arbroath; and on Sunday the 13th of January, 1445-6, a great muster of the hostile clans stood ranged in order of battle under the Abbey walls. Just as the battle was to commence, a horseman on a panting charger galloped between the lines: it was the old Earl, who had hurried from Dundee to avert the strife between those who had hitherto been allies, and were still bound by near relationship. Before his mediation could be heard, an Ogilvie darted a spear through his neck, inflicting a mortal wound. A furious battle ensued, in which 500 Ogilvies were slain, and their chief taken prisoner. The wounded Earl was carried back to Dundee, where he expired, it was remarked, on that day-twelvemonth that he ravaged "St Andrews' land."¹ His body lay for some time unburied, for as the chronicler quaintly says—"no man durst yird him;" but the bishop relented, and, taking off the excommunication, the bones of his enemy were interred in the Franciscan Chapel. His son and successor, Alexander, "Earl Beardie," or "Beard the best of them," went so far in opposition to the king as to become a party in a conspiracy to dethrone him; and, after the assassination of Douglas by the king's own hand, Crawford flew into open rebellion, assembled a great company of his allies, kindred and friends, with "the hail folks of Angus;"² and, on the 18th May,

¹Lindsay's Lives, I., p. 130.

²Pitcottie, p. 77.

1453, engaged the king's forces near Brechin, when he was defeated, and his lands, life, and goods, declared forfeit to the State. It affords us some idea of the fierce character and large resources of the feudal lords at this time to learn that Earl Beardie still defied the Government, and employed himself in chastising those who would not aid him in his rebellion. The king, however, having reduced the Douglasses in the south, and pardoned their chief, Crawford at length "tuik purpose to humble himself." He did so in a fashion little to be expected from one of so reckless and daring a character. On the king's progress through Angus, "the Earl of Crawford came, bare-headed and bare-footed, to the king, clad as he had been ane miserable caitiff, dolorous, and in poor arrayment, and sa, accompanied with ane small number of folks, sad, with dreary countenance, east himself in the king's gait; with tears bursting out abundantly, he fell on his knees." The king generously pardoned the suppliant, who vowed to return his clemency by faithful service. Six months afterwards, Earl Beardie, then residing in the family residence, "tuik the hot fever, and died, 1454, and was buried with great triumph and pomp in the Grey Friars' of Dundee, in his forebeers' sepulchre."]

"About this time" [1460], continues Pitscottie, whose antiquated orthography is retained, "thair was ane briggant tane with his hail familie, quho hauntet, and dwelt in a place of Angus called the Fiend's Den. This mischevious man had an execrable fashion to tak all young men, and children that aither he could steal quietlie, or tak away by any other moyen, and bring thame home and eat thame, and the younger they war he held the more tender and the greater delicate. For the quhilk damnable abuse, he, with his wayff and bairns, were burnt, except a young lass of ane year old, wha was saiffed, and brought to Dundie, quhair she was fostered and broucht vp. But quhan she cam to woman's yeires, she was condemned and brunt quick for the same cryme. It is said, that when she was coming forth to the place of execution, thair gathered ane great multitude of people, and speciallie of women, cursing her that she was so unhappie to committ so damnable deids. To whom she turned about with a wud and furious countenance, saying 'Quhair-foir chyd ye me, as I had committed an unworthie crime? Give me credence, and trow me, if ye had experience of eating of man's and woman's flesh, ye wold think it so delicious that ye would nevir forbear it agane;' and so with an obstinate mind this unhappie creature,

without sign or outward token of repentance, died in the sight of the people."¹ This execution is said to have taken place before the old Town-House in the Seagate.

In the year 1490, an expedition of three ships, fitted out in England under the orders of Stephen Bull, to act against Scotland, was met by Sir Andrew Wood, the celebrated Scottish naval commander, whose force consisted of but two vessels, the *Flower* and *Yellow Carvel*. An engagement took place in the Firth of Forth, which lasted till nightfall, when the combatants mutually drew off. Next morning the battle was renewed with such obstinacy that the ships, locked together, drifted unheeded before an ebb tide and south wind round to the mouth of the Tay, where the valour of the Scottish sailors at length prevailed; and, on the evening of the 11th of August, Wood brought his prizes into Dundee, where the dead were interred, and the wounded on both sides carefully attended to by the inhabitants.

[In the reign of James IV., great exertions were made to fit out vessels of war, the maritime power of the Portuguese and the discoveries of Columbus having given a stimulus to naval enterprise and adventure. James issued an ordinance requiring vessels of twenty tons and upwards to be built in all the seaports of Scotland, and enjoining the magistrates to impress all stout vagrants, and otherwise provide for the manning of the ships.² Dundee, from its peculiar situation and trading resources, doubtless contributed its quota to the infant navy; and it was probably in 1512, the year before the disastrous battle of Flodden—when the country rang with the din of preparations for war by land and sea, and the king visited every part of the country to encourage the equipment of his fleet—that this monarch confirmed by charter all the privileges bestowed on the town by his predecessors.

James V. was long kept in durance by the Douglas family; but having adroitly effected his escape from Falkland, while the uncle of the Earl of Angus, one of his keepers, was in Dundee on a visit to his mistress—the young king, then only seventeen, rode, without drawing bridle, to Stirling Castle, and assumed the Government. His administration was marked by great vigour and activity, and in a few years he had gained the confidence of his subjects. In

¹ *Pitscottie's History*, 122, ed. 1749. The Den of Pitairly, on the farm of Denfind, is pointed to by tradition as the haunt of this cannibal, "briggant."—Ed.

² *M'Pherson's Annals of Commerce*, II., p. 17.

1529. he made a progress through the kingdom : in the course of which the Earl of Athole entertained the royal party in a rural palace so magnificently furnished as to recall the creations of romance, and which, on the departure of the guests, was given to the flames to show how much had been done in the king's honour alone. The royal party then passed by Perth to Dundee, where they were "honourably received and well entertained by the constable and the honest burghesses thereof, and remained there three days, and syne passed to St Andrews." The following anecdote, given by Pitcottie, illustrates the manners of the times : the scene being so different from the cruel martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton on the same spot, only a few months previously :—"In this year came an ambassador out of England, Lord William Howard, with a bishop with him, and many other gentlemen, to the number of threescore horse, which were all able men, and waled men for all kind of games and pastime, shooting, louping, running, wrestling, and casting of the stane : But they were well saired ere they past out of Scotland, and that by their own provocation ; but ever they tint : Till, at last, the Queen of Scotland, the king's mother, favoured the Englishmen, because she was the King of England's sister ; and therefore she took an enterprise of archery upon the Englishmen's hands, contrary her son the king, and any six in Scotland that he would wale, either gentlemen or yeomen, that the Englishmen should shoot against them, either at pricks, revers, or buts, as the Scots pleased. The king, hearing this of his mother, was content, and gart her pawnd a hundred crowns and a tun of wine upon the Englishmen's hands ; and he incontinently laid down as much for the Scottishmen. The field and ground was chosen in St Andrews, and three landed men and three yeomen chosen to shoot against the Englishmen, to wit—David Weinyss of that ilk ; David Arnot of that ilk ; and Mr John Wedderburn, vicar of Dundee. The yeomen, John Thomson, in Leith ; Steven Taburner ; with a piper called Alexander Bailie. They shot very near, and warred the Englishmen of the enterprise, and wan the hundred crowns¹ and the tun of wine ; which made the king very merry that his men wan the victory."

¹ The crown was a gold crown, equivalent to one pound Scots, or 1s. 8d. sterling, a considerable sum in those days.

Section V.

THE REFORMATION—WISHART PREACHES AT DUNDEE—POPULAR COMMOTION—IS DISMISSED—THE PLAGUE—WISHART RETURNS—CARDINAL BEATON'S HOSTILITY—MARTYRDOM OF WISHART, AND DEATH OF BEATON—PIONEERS OF THE REFORMATION—SIR DAVID LINDSAY—THE WEDDERBURNS—DRAMATIC WRITINGS, AND "DUNDEE PSALMS."

HAVING taken a hasty view of the more remarkable transactions that have happened in Dundee, or with which it was connected in early times, we are now arrived at the important era at which the reformation of religion began to take root in Scotland. An event of such high moment, in every point of view, involved in its consequences every district, and interested every person in the kingdom; and, to the honour of the inhabitants of Dundee, it is recorded that they were among the first to welcome the dawn of religious liberty, and cast aside the corrupt and degrading yoke of superstition. It has been remarked that the Scottish Church was the last to own the power of Papal supremacy in all its latitude, nor did a long time elapse before she shook off its influence, and became pure and free. Although the impartial historian must admit that external political movements had a large influence in spiritual matters at this period, yet it is indisputable that there was a predisposition among the people for the reformation; and a weight of gratitude is due to the great and energetic men who availed themselves of the popular feeling to overturn the monstrous system which had been the work of numerous ages of darkness to mature. Innumerable efforts were made by the supporters and abettors of the declining cause to prop it up, but these efforts rather hastened its downfall. In Dundee, the winning grace, the majestic and persuasive power of the preaching of George Wishart, first infused into the minds of the inhabitants that zeal for religion by which they were, for a long series of years, so peculiarly distinguished.

[Wishart is believed to have been the younger son of the laird of Pitarrow—probably the Sir James who, in 1513 and subsequently, was justice-clerk to James V., and came of the *Guiscards*, an old family of Norman descent. The date of his birth is uncertain, but must have been about 1508-15. At the University of Aberdeen, then

just founded, he acquired his first education, and afterwards passed to France and Germany, where he became imbued with the doctrines of the Reformation. Returning to Montrose, he became associated with M. Marsilliers, a teacher of Greek, supported by Erskine of Dun, whom Wishart succeeded. Having freely taught and circulated the Greek Testament, he was summoned by Hepburn, Bishop of Brechin, for heresy, in 1538, and obliged to retire to England for safety. Taking up his abode at Bristol, where, as we learn from the city records, he "sett furth the most blasphemous heresy that ever was herd, openly declaryng that Christ's mother hath not nor could merite for him, nor yett for us."—Wishart was arraigned before the Archbishop of Canterbury, and condemned to bear his faggot, on two Sundays, in the churches where he had preached.¹ This occurred on 20th July, 1539; after which he passed to Cambridge, and entered with renewed ardour upon his studies, at the same time throwing himself into the Reformation movement with such men as Latimer and Bilney. Here he remained for nearly six years, earning great distinction for his learning and piety, which was so fervent as to verge on asceticism. Emery Tylney, one of his pupils at Cambridge, thus quaintly describes Wishart at this period:—"A man of tall stature, polde-headed, and on the same a round Frenche cappe of the best; judged of melancholic complexion by his physiognomie; black-haired, long-bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowlie, lovelie, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled: having upon him for his habit or clothing never but a mantle frise gown to the shoes, a black Milan fustain dublet, and plain black hosen, coarse new canvasse for his shirts, and white falling bands, and cuffs at the hands. All the which apparell he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cappe, which he kept the whole year of my being with him. He was a man, modest, temperate, fearing God, and hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noone, nor daye."²

Returning in July, 1543, with the Commissioners sent to England to negotiate with Henry VIII. a marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Mary of Scotland, Wishart resumed the preaching of the reformed doctrines first at Montrose and then at Dundee. His learning commended him to the attention of the better sort, while his

¹ M'Crie's Knox, Appendix, p. 327.

² Quoted in Fox's Martyrology, p. 1155, edit. 1596.

singular eloquence and devotion to the work attracted the common people in crowds to his ministrations. The Epistle to the Romans formed the subject of his public lectures in Dundee, the success of which roused the hostility of the Romish clergy, and of Cardinal Beaton, who, besides being the unscrupulous head of the Church party, was then deep in political intrigues for the ascendancy of French influence in Scotland. At his instigation, Robert Mill, one of the magistrates of the town, one day at the close of his sermon, gave the preacher a charge, in the name of the Queen-Regent, to leave the town, and trouble the people no more with his preaching. The ostensible reason for this injunction was found in the popular outbreak which took place in the end of August, when the houses of the Black and Grey Friars were demolished.¹ Wishart replied to it:—"God is my witness that I never sought your trouble, but your comfort; yea, your trouble is more dolorous to me than to yourselves. But I am assured that to refuse God's word, and to chase from you his messenger, shall nothing preserve you from trouble, but shall bring you into it: for God shall send you messengers who will not be afraid of burning, nor yet of banishment. Should trouble unlooked for come upon you, acknowledge the cause, and turn to God, for he is merciful." Descending from the pulpit, and resisting the invitation of some friends who pressed him to accompany them to the north, the reformer retired to the West of Scotland, and, under the protection of the Earl of Glencairn, spread the new faith in Ayrshire; but Beaton's emissaries followed him wherever he appeared. On one occasion, when about to preach at Mauchline, he found the Sheriff and a band of soldiers in possession of the church. The friends of Wishart were eager to dislodge their opponents, but he forbade the contest, saying—"Christ Jesus is as potent in the fields as in the kirk; and I find that Himself oftener preached in the desert, at the sea-side, and other places judged profane, than he did in the Temple at Jerusalem. It is the word of peace which God sends by me; the blood of no man shall be shed this day on account of preaching it." Retiring outside the village to a moor, Wishart mounted a dyke, and preached for more than three hours to an eager assembly.

In 1544, while engaged in these ministrations in Ayrshire, intelligence reached him from Dundee of the outbreak of a contagious distemper, and the earnest desire of the people for his presence. Dis-

¹ Hamilton Papers—see Chalmers's *Mary*, II., p. 403.

regarding the entreaties of his friends, he at once decided to return. "They are now in trouble, and need comfort," he said; "and, perchance, the hand of God will make them now to magnify and reverence that Word, which before, for fear of men, they set at licht part." His appearance in Dundee was hailed with great joy; and, on the day after his arrival, the people assembled at the East Port—the affected being outside, lodged in huts or booths, long called the Sickmen's Yards, and the healthy within the gate. Ascending to the parapet, Wishart gave out as his text the appropriate words of the 107th Psalm—"He sent his Word and healed them." What a striking subject for the painter would that scene present—the crowds of eager upturned faces on either side of the old gateway, and the tall figure of the preacher swaying on the top! "By this sermon," says Knox, "he raised up the hearts of all that heard him that they regardit not death, but jugit them mair happie that sould depart, than such as sould remain behynd." But it was not by preaching alone that Wishart commended himself to the people of Dundee in the hour of calamity: his humility and benevolence were as conspicuous as his piety and eloquence. He was unwearied in his labours among the sick and the poor, and, regardless alike of contagion or personal privations, he parted not only with his money, but his body-clothes also, to supply the necessities of others. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the strongest attachment was felt for such a man, whose pure life and unselfish character so fitly illustrated the Divine message, and put to deeper shame the pride, the dissolute lives, and lying legends of the priests.

As might be supposed, Cardinal Beaton would not long brook the presence of such a man in his neighbourhood. Dundee had become a nest of heresy; and as fines and fulminations had for some years been tried upon its burgesses in vain, a crushing blow was now to be inflicted. On the 20th January, 1544, the Cardinal, with his cousin Arran the Governor, the Queen Mother, and a large retinue, set out from Edinburgh on a progress to put down sedition and heresy—Stirling, Perth, and Dundee being specially marked out.¹ At Perth the Inquisition was conducted "with a ferocity of persecution which ulti-

¹ In the Lord Treasurer's accounts, preserved in the Register House, occurs an entry for hiring fifty-four cart-horses, to pass to Stirling with the artillery, and thence to Perth and Dundee, "for punishing of certane hereticks, within the said townes." For other interesting entries showing the punishments by fines on the burgesses, see Appendix D.

mately defeated its object."¹ Four men were convicted of such offences as refusing to pray for the saints, eating a goose on a Friday, and adorning an effigy of St Francis with a pair of ram's horns and a cow's tail, and cruelly hanged; and a poor woman, who had refused to ask the aid of the Virgin Mary while in travail, was, by a savage distinction, drowned in a deep pool. The Cardinal and his party now proceeded towards Dundee, but, when within a few miles of the town, were unexpectedly stopped by the Earl of Rothes, Lords Gray and Glamis, with so large a band of armed retainers as to induce a hasty return to Perth. After deposing Lord Ruthven, the Provost of Perth, which led to more bloodshed, Beaton took his way by Forfar to Arbroath, where he seized a poor friar named John Rogers for preaching Protestant doctrines. This victim the Cardinal took with him to St Andrews, and, after a few days' confinement in the sea-tower, his body was found one morning on the rocks below.

When minor offenders were being thus relentlessly butchered, there could be no doubt that the Cardinal longed eagerly to have George Wishart within his grasp. Fully aware that his popularity in Dundee would make any open attempt to silence or capture him impossible, he had recourse to the base expedient of assassination. The emissary chosen for this foul purpose was a priest named Wighton or Wightman, who came, and, mixing with the crowd to hear Wishart preach, waited an opportunity for his dastardly purpose. There is some doubt as to the scene of this incident—one historian placing it within a church, the more common narrative connecting it with the East Port. After a sermon, as the preacher descended from the gate, his quick eye—for, as Knox remarks, "he was maist scharp of eye and judgment"—perceived a suspicious figure at the foot of the steps muffled in a cloak. Grasping his concealed arm, saying, "My friend, what would ye do?" he took from him a dagger, and the wretched man was so startled that he fell on his knees and confessed his purpose, and only escaped being torn in pieces by the enraged spectators through Wishart clasping him in his arms, exclaiming—"Let him alone, he hath hurt me in nothing, but hath given us to understand what we have to fear! For the time to come we will watch better." Thereafter a two-handed sword was generally carried before him by some trusty friend.

¹ Tytler, v., p. 298.

The subsequent trial has occurred since it is well known how, when the parliament assembled in London, it proceeded to pronounce sentence on the testimony there, and administered the sacrament as Diet: how Beaton made one more journey to the same place by a boat of sixty horsemen: how, during the interval, he went to Edinburgh by appointment with his English friends to spend his leisure in a public banquet, which was furnished: how he proceeded at length with one John Knox for a leisure with them, and as a true discipline carried the sword. Then came the last instructions at Edinburgh, the religious sentence at London by Bellarmine, and his betrayal to the implacable Cardinal, who had begged him of the spot. The mock trial at St Andrews followed, and the day after the 15th of March, 1546, witnessed that sad spectacle in the Court House. Thrown at the stake, exhorting his friends "that this year the be saved me," the noble Wishart called to the executioner, "Come hither my heart," and, kissing his cheek, added, "take this as token that I forgive thee. Do thine office." The powder exploded, the flames blazed up, and soon, amid the averted faces of the Cardinal's soldiers, and the cries and groans of the spectators, the scorched and scorched body of the martyr was reduced to ashes. There was no fire not averted, one onlooker reclined in pomp at his palace window, in whose breast no spark of human pity seemed to dwell: for whom a few short weeks brought a terrible fate, scarcely less tragic than that of his victim—a cardinal who was sent suddenly to his account without the martyr's consolation or the martyr's fame.

To comprehend fully the events of these troublous times we must glance at the position of the parties contending for supremacy in Scotland. The Cardinal had been educated in Paris, and was rewarded for his services at the French Court by the rich bishopric of Mirepoix; while the Court of Rome showered its highest honours upon him. He negotiated the marriage of James V. with a French princess, and—though his forgery of that monarch's will miscarried in its object of making him head of the Government, as he was of the Church in Scotland—he contrived so to influence the Queen Dowager and successive regents as to be virtually absolute in the country. His great aim was the alliance of Scotland with France and the Catholic Powers, a policy which he pursued in defiance of a treaty with England, which provided among other things for the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the infant Queen of Scotland. Provoked at this breach of faith,

at the time he was contending with France and the whole weight of the Papal influence, Henry VIII. and his ministers had good reason to regard Beaton and his faction with unconcealed hostility. In Scotland, again, the cruelty and arrogance of the Cardinal induced many to look to the friendship of England as the only means of frustrating the schemes of this ambitious prelate; and Knox, among others, earnestly adopted this view. So obnoxious had Beaton become to Henry, that, in 1544, overtures were made to and welcomed by him for the slaying or capture of the Cardinal—a plot in which some writers have, on the slenderest evidence, assumed the complicity of Wishart.¹ The feelings excited by his martyrdom, and the triumph of the Cardinal, revived the conspiracy, which was deliberately approved by the English diplomatists.

A few days after Wishart's execution, the Cardinal crossed the Tay, and proceeded with great pomp to Finhaven, to marry one of his illegitimate daughters to the eldest son of the Earl of Crawford. In the midst of the festivities, news reached him of the approach of an English fleet, when he hastened back to St Andrews, and proceeded to strengthen the fortifications of his palace. Early on the morning of the 29th of May, 1546, Norman and John Lesley, Kirkaldy, Melville, and Carmichael, with their followers, obtained entrance with the workmen, and, making themselves masters of the castle, speedily

¹ This was first hinted at by Tytler, on the discovery of a letter of the Earl of Hertford, dated at Newcastle, 17th April, 1544, narrating that such proposals had been brought to him by "a Scotchman called Wyshert," whom he sent forward to King Henry; but that author in his history does not commit himself to more than the *possibility* of this messenger and George Wishart being identical, and admits in another place that the plot was not of a religious, but a purely mercenary and selfish character. Burton, in his later History, dwells on all the *probabilities* of identity, without adverting to the weighty considerations that point the other way. With all deference to these eminent historians, it may be urged in vindication of the reformer—apart altogether from the strong presumption due to his whole life and character—(1), the improbability of an ecclesiastic, and one at that time tolerably well known in England, being so designated: (2), the existence of another Wishart (a relative of the reformer's) of so different a character that it was a common remark—"The laird of Petteraw was ane earnest professor of Christ, but the meikle devil receive the comptroller:" and (3), as no break appears in Wishart's preaching in Scotland from his return in July, 1543, to his death in 1546, he could not have been at the English Court during the summer of 1544—being then, in point of fact, in Dundee. The full statements on both sides of this *questio vexata* will be found in Tytler's Hist., vol. v., p. 340—8, and Appendix; Burton's Hist., vol. III., p. 464; Cunningham's Church History, I., p. 251; Edinr. Christian Monitor, vol. iii., p. 475; M'Crie's Sketches Church Hist., p. 41.

despatched their wretched victim; and, after exhibiting his lifeless body to the crowd which had assembled round the walls, at the same window from which Beaton had, two months before, beheld the execution of Wishart, it was flung into the dungeon of the sea tower.

The survey of the agencies which, under Providence, developed the Reformation in Scotland would be incomplete without allusion to the satirical poets and play-wrights of the sixteenth century, of whom Sir David Lindsay, of the Mount, held the foremost place. He was tutor and companion to James V., in whose youth he lay "nichtly by the kingis cheek," and afterwards enjoyed that monarch's favour and protection. To this, and the circumstance that he professed to aim at reforming the abuses of the Church from within, must be ascribed his escaping the vengeance of the Romish party, when the less effective labours of so many others were visited with death. Lindsay made it the aim of his life to restore purity in the Christian faith, to emancipate his countrymen from priestly bondage, and ameliorate their social and political condition. His weapons were satire and invective, keen and broad, even to coarseness; but his riotous wit, delivered in the homely vernacular of the day, carried the sympathies of the people by storm;—"his sarcasm, sharpened for a hit, never misses its aim, but strikes the victim right in the face." His productions were read by "every man, woman, and child in Scotland," and acquired such popularity as to become school-books for generations after—"Oot o' Davie Lindsay into Wallace," marking the progress of the pupil, as the phrase "Ye'll no find that in Davie Lindsay," indicated the confidence of the people in his wisdom.

Contemporary with Lindsay, and working in a similar vein, Dundee produced the Wedderburns. Their history, long obscure, has recently been so far elucidated that, with the reprint of their principal work, "THE GUDE AND GODLIE BALLATES,"¹ we may estimate the service they rendered to the infant cause of the Reformation. The grandfather of these authors, James Wedderburn, burgess in Dundee, settled here in the reign of James III., and had two sons, David and James.

¹ The Wedderburns and their Work, by Prof. Mitchell, Edinr., 1867, and Mr Laing's preface to the reprint, Edinr., 1868. The "Dundee Psalms," as they were called, passed through many editions towards the end of the 16th century, yet the book had a narrow escape to reach our times. One copy of the edition, 1621, was the only remnant known to exist until a few years ago, when a copy of the edition of 1578 was found, and is now in Mr Christie Miller's library, at Britwell House, Bucks. from which Mr Laing's interesting reprint was taken.

The latter married Janet Forrester of Nevay, and had at least two sons—John, Town Clerk ; and Robert, who figures in a very questionable transaction, as appears from “ane respitt maid to Robert Wedderburn, sone to James Wedderburn, burgess of Dundee, for the slaughter of umquhill——Malisoun, and for all actioun and cryme that may follow therupoun, and for xix. zeirs to indure,” &c.¹ Of the other members of the family, the account by Calderwood, writing under the year 1540, is as follows:—“This yeere, James Wedderburne, eldest sone to James Wedderburne, merchant at Dundie, called James Wedderburne at the West Kirk Stile, was delated to the king, and letters of captioun directed to take him. He departed secretlie to France, and remained at Rowan [Rouen] and Deep [Dieppe] till he deceased. He had beene brought up in Sanct Leonard’s Colledge in his youth, in the time of the government of Johnne, Duke of Albanie, and was reasonable weill instructed in philosophie and humanitie. Thereafter he went to France, where he played the merchant. After his returne, he was instructed in religioun by James Hewat, a Blacke frier at Dundie. He confirmed the doctrine which the other had receaved in his youth, in St. Leonard’s Colledge, under Mr Gawin Logie. This James had a good gift of poesie, and made diverse comedes and tragedeis in the Scottish tongue, wherein he nipped the abuses and superstitioun of the time. He composed in forme of tragedie the beheading of Johnne the Baptist, which was acted at the West Port of Dundie, wherein he carped roughlie the abusses and corruptions of the Papists. He compiled the Historie of Dionysius the Tyranne, in forme of a comedie, which was acted in the play-field of the said burgh, wherein he likewise nipped the Papists. He counterfooted also the conjuring of a ghaist, which was, indeed, practised by Frier Laing, beside Kingorne—which Frier Laing had beene Confessor to the King. But, after this conjuring, the king was constrained, for shame, to remove him. When he was at Deepe, the factors at Deepe—Johnne Meldrum, Henrie Tod, Johnne Mowat, Gilbert Scot, delated him to the Bishop of Rowan ; but the Bishop refused to meddle with him, becaus they could prove nothing against him. They informed the Bishop and channons of Rowan that he was declared an heretick in Scotland. The Bishop desired them to send for the processe, and that being tryed, he sould have no residence there. We heare no farther, but that he remained as factor at Deepe, and deing, said to his sone

¹ Reg. Sec. Sigilli. vol. xi., fol. 43, (Linhthgow, 6th January, 1537-8.)

—‘ We have beene acting our part in the theater : you are to succeed, see that you act your part faithfullie.’

“ Mr John Wedderburn, his brother, brought up also in the course of philosophie, under Mr Gawin Logie, being persuaded by his friends, albeit against his will, he tooke on the order of preesthood, and was a preest in Dundie. But soone after he beganne to profess the [reformed] religioun. Being summoned, he departed to Almaine [Germany], where he heard Luther and Melancton, and became verie fervent and zealous. He translated many of Luther’s dytements into Scotch meeter, and the Psalmes of David. He turned manie bawdie songs and rymes in godlie rymes. He returned, after the death of the king, in Dec. 1542, but was againe persued by the Cardinall, and fled to England.

“ Mr Robert Wedderburne, the youngest brother, brought up also under Mr Gawin, excelled his brother both in humanitie and knowledge of the Scriptures. He succeeded to Mr Robert Barrie, vicar of Dundie. He went to Parise, where he remained cheeffie in companie of those that were instructed in religioun. . . . After the death of the Cardinall he returned to Scotland. The vicar, his mother’s brother, being departed, he gott possessioun of the vicarage, but remained for the most part with the Laird of Calder. When he was comming home out of the east countries, in a Danskein ship, the shippe was driven by contrarie winds upon Norway, where the passengers landed at Ripperwicke, and remained certane dayes. In the meane time, upon the Saturday before Whitsonday even, 1546, after continuall disputing and reasoning among the passengers—some Popish, and some Protestants—he, and the rest of his fellows, tooke the boldnesse, notwithstanding they understood nothing of the Cardinall’s death, to make his pourtraiture or statue, of a great oaken blocke, and thereupon write his name in paper affixed thereon. They accuse him, condemn him, and burne his statue in a great fire of timber. The Cardinall was slaine that same verie day, in the morning, in his owne Castell of Sanct Andrewes.”¹

Of the plays or dramatic pieces of James Wedderburn, no trace has been discovered. Their effect at the time must have been considerable, when we reflect that printed books, then just beginning to be circulated, and coming mostly from England, were inaccessible to the people at large ; while plays in the vernacular, spiced with the humour and satire of the day, and produced with such rude accessories of the

¹ Calderwood’s MS, History in Advocate’s Library.

stage as were then available, could not fail to influence the multitude. When these were forbidden, the songs and ballads of the time were seized as a medium for spreading the new faith. "The air, the measure, the initial line, or the chorus of the ballads most commonly sung by the people at that time were transferred to hymns of devotion. Unnatural, indelicate, and gross as this association appears to us, these spiritual songs edified multitudes in that age. We must not think that this originated in any peculiar depravation of taste in our reforming countrymen. Spiritual songs, constructed upon the same principle, were common in Italy, and the same practice was adopted in Holland as in Scotland."¹ In Germany, Luther gave a mighty impetus to the new faith by the publication, in 1524, of his "Gesangbuch;" and there is every reason to believe that the Wedderburns, in their banishment, obtained materials for their compilation from continental sources. "It is quite impossible," says Mr Laing, "with the scanty information we possess, to assign the various Spiritual Songs and Psalms to the respective authors or translators. Each of the three Wedderburns may have contributed to this Miscellany—

Tres paribus studiis, tres pietate pares.

If their names are to be associated, I would conjecture that the second portion was chiefly the work of Mr John, while residing in Germany; and that the third portion, consisting of parodies or alterations of popular Songs or Ballads, might more properly be assigned to his younger brother, the vicar of Dundee. Judging from the language, we might have attributed the composition of most of these 'Godlie Ballates' to the middle of the sixteenth century; but, looking at the history of the reputed authors, the year 1540 would require to be given as the more precise date."² In concluding this notice of the Wedderburns, the following pieces from the "Gude and Godlie Ballates" may be quoted as specimens of their style:—

¶ ANE SANG OF THE BIRTH OF CHRIST,

To be sung with the tune of Balulalow.

I COME from heavin to tell,
The best nowellis that ever befell;
To yow thir tythingis trew I bring,
And I will of them say and sing.

¹ M'Crie's Works, vol. I., p. 325.

² Preface, p. 40. Mr Laing also, with apparent reason, ascribes to Robert Wedderburn the authorship of a curious prose work, "The Complaynt of Scotland," printed at St Andrews in 1542.—*Ibid.*, pp. 43 to 44.

This day to yow is borne ane Chylde,
Of Mary, meik, and Virgin, mylde ;
That blyssit bairne, bening and kynde—
Sall yow rejoyce, baith hart and mynde.

It is the Lord Christ, God and man,
He will do for yow what he can ;
Himself your Saviour will be,
Fra sin and hell to mak yow free.

He is your richt salvatioun,
From everlasting dampnatioun.
That ye may ring in gloir and blis
For ever mair in hevin with his.

Ye sall him find, but mark or wying,
Full sempill in ane cribe lying ;
Sa lyis he quhilk yow hes wrocht,
And all this warld maid of nocht.

Let us rejoyce and be blyith,
And with the Hyrdis go full swyith,
And se quhat God of his grace hes done,
Throw Christ, to bring us to his throne.

My saull and lyfe, stand up and se
Quha lyis in ane cribe of tre :
Quhat Babe is that, sa gude and fair ?
It is Christ, Goddis Sone and air.

Welcome now, gracious God of micht,
To sinners, vyle, pure, and unricht ;
Thow come to saif us from distres—
How can we thank thy gentilnes ?

O God, that maid all creature,
How art thow now becummin sa pure,
That on the hay and stray will ly,
Amang the assis, oxin, and ky ?

And war the warld ten tymes sa wyde,
Cled our with golde and stanis of pryde,
Unworthis it war yit to thé,
Under thy feit ane stule to be.

The silk and sandell thé to eis,
Or hay, and sempill sweilling clais,
Quhairin throw gloris greitest king,
As thow in hevin war in thy ring.

Thow tuik sic panis, temporall,
To mak me riche perpetuall ;
For all this warldis welth and gude
Can nathing riche thy Calcitude.

O my deir hart, young Jesu sweit,
 Prepair thy creddil in my spreit,
 And I sall rocke thé in my hart,
 And never mair fra thé depart.

Bot I sall praise thé ever moir,
 With sangis sweit unto thy gloir ;
 The kneis of my hart sall bow,
 And sing that richt Balulalow.

Gloir be to God eternallie,
 Quhilk gave his only Sone for me ;
 The Angellis joyis for to heir—
 The gracious gift of this New Year.

FINIS.

SAY weill is throughlie a worthy thing ;
 Of Say weill, greit vertew furth dois spring ;
 Say weill, from Do weill, differis in letter ;
 Say weill is gude, but Do weill is better.

Say weill is repute be man sum deale ;
 Bot do weill onlie to God dois appeale :
 Say weill sayis godlie, and dois mony please ;
 Bot do weill levis godlie, and does this warld ease.

Say weill, mony unto Goddis word clevis ;
 Bot for laik of do weill, it quicklie levis ;
 Bot gif say weill & do weill war joynit in a frame,
 All war done, all war won, gottin war the game.

Say weill in danger of deith is cauld,
 Do weill is harnest, and wondrous bauld ;
 Than say weill for feir sall trimbill and quaik ;
 Do weill sall be jocund, and joly cheir mak.

Say weill is slipper, and makis mony wylis ;
 Do weill is semely, without ony gylis ;
 Quhen say weill at sum tymes salbe brocht base,
 Do weill sall tryumphe in everie place.

Say weill to silence sum tyme is bound ;
 Do weill is fre in everie stound ;
 Say weill hes freindis baith heir and thair ;
 Bot do weill is welcum everie quhair.

Say weill mony thingis in hand dois tak,
 Do weill ane end of them dois mak :
 Quhan say weill with mony is quyte downe cast,
 Do weill is trustie, and will stand fast.

Say weill him self will sum tyme avance ;
 Bot do weill dois nouthet jet nor paunce ;
 Bot do weill dois profite this warld moir
 Than say weill and his ane hundreth scoir.

Say weill in wordis is wondrous trick ;
 Bot do weill in dedis is nymbill and quick :
 Lord, quick and trick togidder knit,
 And sa sall thay pype ane mirrie fit.

Say weill, mony will they be sa kynde ;
 Bot Do weill, few will unto thair freind :
 May Say weill, than do weill, I tell yow in deid,
 Bot Do weill is mair honest in tyme of neid.

Say weill and Do weill ar thingis twane,
 Thryse happy is he in quhome thay remane.

FINIS.

Section VI.

ENGLISH EXPEDITION—TAKE BROUGHTY CASTLE AND OCCUPY DUNDEE—BOTH RETAKEN
 —PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION—PAUL METHVEN—PROTECTED BY PROVOST HALY-
 BURTON, WHO JOINS THE LORDS OF THE CONGREGATION AGAINST THE QUEEN-REGENT
 —THEY TAKE PERTH, DESTROY SCONE, AND BESIEGE LEITH—VISIT OF KNOX—THE
 REFORMATION ESTABLISHED BY LAW.

AFTER the death of Beaton, the castle of St Andrews was garrisoned by Norman Leslie and his associates, under whose steel the Cardinal fell. This circumstance brought a French armament to that part of the country, to which the garrison at length surrendered, and was conveyed to France. In the meantime, Henry VIII., for the reasons already referred to, invaded Scotland ; and in the course of this invasion, Leith, Edinburgh, and other places severely suffered.¹ Shortly after, upon the death of Henry, and during the ascendancy of the French party in Scotland, the Duke of Somerset, at the head of a powerful army, accompanied by a well-appointed fleet, again invaded the country, and penetrated to the neighbourhood of Edinburgh,

¹ No fewer than eight monasteries, including Melrose, Kelso, Dryburgh, &c., besides other religious houses and many churches, were on this occasion given to the flames by the English, although their destruction has long been erroneously associated with the name of Knox and the reformers.—ED.

where he encountered the Scottish forces. At the first onset, the English cavalry were broken and dispersed ; but the Scots, disadvantageously posted, and severely galled by the English shipping, were totally routed. This fatal battle of Pinkie was fought on the 15th September, 1547.

A victory so complete and unexpected as this elated the English army to such a degree that its commander immediately dispatched Sir Andrew Dudley, one of his officers, with a strong detachment of his army, northwards to Dundee, in order to secure it and the adjacent country.¹ Dudley, at the head of his detachment, through the treachery of Lord Gray, then in command, got possession of Broughty Castle, which, from its situation, was well fitted to interrupt, if not to command, the passage into the River Tay, and prepared to carry his instructions into effect. This event occurred near the end of September ; and an act of Secret Council, dated 11th October the same year, states that "our auld ynemeis of Ingland hes, be way of deid, taken the Craig and place of Broughty, and ramforsat them." The garrison proceeded to plunder the surrounding country with impunity ; but this state of matters did not long continue. The Earl of Arran, Regent of the Kingdom, having assembled a considerable military and naval force, attempted to dislodge the garrison ; but all his endeavours were completely baffled, and he was compelled to raise the siege. Meantime, as the English were threatening an assault on Dundee, the Lords of Secret Council ordered three hundred infantry to be raised, and to be equipped at the expense of the superior clergy and the inhabitants of the town—which expense amounted to £1200 ; and, in addition, levied a hundred horsemen in the shires of Perth, Angus, and Mearns. By the same order of Council, a hundred men were raised in the town to attend the Laird of Dun ; and these, with the citizens in general, were to keep ward and watch against the English. A division of these levies was put under the orders of the Provost, James Halyburton, who united his force to the troops commanded by Captain Learmont, for the protection of the town ; but the Provost, whose father's services against the French we have already noticed, seems also to have favoured the English alliance.²

¹ A fleet, under Admiral Wyndham, entered the Tay, to co-operate with the troops.—ED.

² See Tytler, vi., p. 43 :—"They offered to hold Dundee against all the efforts of the Governor, and in return requested some good preacher to be sent them.

By this time the Earl of Argyle, with a considerable body of Highlanders, had renewed the siege of Broughty Castle, which was carried on with some vigour; but, at length, being unable to make any impression on the fortress or its defenders, he concluded a truce with the Governor.¹ Before the expiration of this truce, the garrison received such succours as obliged Argyle to relinquish his position and retire; induced, besides, by the conduct of his troops, who had broken up and returned home, having lain before the Castle so long as they were bound to serve. Finding all obstacles now removed, the garrison, according to a French writer of that time,² took possession of the adjoining hill of Balgillo. On this hill, says our author, they built a very fine fortress, and spared neither expense nor labour to make it admirable, and to furnish it with men and ammunition.³ Assured, by the erection of this fort, that they had opened to themselves an easy and secure entrance into the very centre of Scotland, they despatched from both strongholds between sixteen and seventeen hundred lancers, foot and horse, to Dundee, which they entered without opposition; for, though this town, to use the words of our author, "is one of the most beautiful, rich, and populous in the kingdom, and though it were easy to make it impregnable, yet the Scots have ever been careless to fortify their country: Those in Dundee had no other defence than the walls of their private houses." M. d'Essè, who had been some time in Scotland previous to this,⁴ at the head of six thousand French and German auxiliaries, learning the situation of the town, sent forward Count Rhinegrave, with two companies of German, and M. des Etauges, with one of French soldiers, and prepared to follow with the remainder of his forces.

This expedition was not so secretly arranged but that the English got information of it, and prepared to retreat to Broughty and to their

with a supply of English Bibles and other godly books. MS. letter, State-paper Office, Nov. 1, 1547."—ED.

¹ The true reason appears to have been "a seasonable bribe of one thousand crowns," paid to Argyle through Lord Gray, whose receipt has been found in the State-paper Office, 5th Feb., 1548.—ED.

² M. de Beaugue, an officer who served in the auxiliary force sent from France to assist the Queen-Regent. This gentleman published, at Paris, in 1556, an account of the operations at Broughty and elsewhere, which was translated and published at Edinburgh about the beginning of last century, by Dr Patrick Abercromby, author of the *Martial Achievements of the Scots Nation*.

³ This fort was only finally demolished since 1816.

⁴ He landed at Leith with his troops on the 16th June, 1548.

new fort at Balgillo. Having occupied Dundee eight days, and during that time having begun, and actively carried on, the erection of fortifications, they, at the approach of d'Essè, demolished their works, rilled the town, set it on fire, and retired safely without the loss of a single man. The French, when they entered, found no opposition. It would seem that the great body of the inhabitants had also evacuated the place, as the only persons the invaders found were a few men and a number of women, employed in attempting to extinguish the flames.

Establishing his head-quarters at Dundee, M. d'Essè made several ineffectual attempts to reduce Broughty ; but, though unsuccessful at that point, he was elsewhere more fortunate. Ordering the town to be fortified,¹ and placing in it a garrison, consisting of seven companies of French and two of Scots, and providing them with every necessary for a siege, he appointed M. d'Estauges, one of his officers, Governor ; at the same time he sent the remainder of his troops into winter quarters at various places, and repaired himself to Edinburgh. Not long after his departure, d'Estauges, with a reconnoitring party, venturing too near Balgillo, a skirmish took place with some of the garrison, who had sallied out with a design to cut him off, which they effected, took him prisoner, and thereby greatly damped the impetuous ardour of the French.

After this, the garrisons of Broughty and Balgillo became more formidable, and extended their ravages, which before had been confined to the country around them, across the Tay into Fife ; where, in a night attack, on 25th Dec., 1547, they burnt the Abbey of Balmerino. At length, the French Court, indignant with the dilatory proceedings of d'Essè, despatched another officer, M. Paul de Thermes, to supersede him. The new commander-in-chief, supported by the citizens of Dundee, and the neighbouring gentlemen with their followers, invested the two forts, and pressed their advances with so much energy that the garrisons, neglected by their countrymen, and falling short of provisions and stores, were constrained to surrender on the 20th Feb., 1550, after having occupied Broughty from about the end of Sept., 1547, and Balgillo from its erection in the succeeding year ; but their French successors only remained in them two months.

¹ "Our ancient walls" boast no greater antiquity than the year 1548. Their first commencement was owing to English, and their completion to French engineers.

Notwithstanding these convulsions, which continually disturbed the public tranquillity of the kingdom, the Reformation continued to make steady progress. The death of Wishart neither checked its growth nor depressed the spirits of its supporters ; and now, fourteen years after that event, the cruel martyrdom of Walter Mill, a man upwards of eighty, and of the most blameless life, sent a thrill of horror and indignation through the realm. The people of Dundee were now enjoying the ministrations of Paul Methven, a native of the town, among the first and most intrepid heralds of the Reformation, whom, of course, the priesthood attempted to silence and destroy. [Methven was originally a baker, and, though destitute of education, his natural eloquence, described as extraordinary, combined with intimate knowledge of the Scriptures, and great courage and energy, made him a conspicuous propagator of the new faith. He began his public teaching about 1555-7, and there is reason to believe that the first reformed church in Scotland, formed in Dundee in 1558, was under his auspices.¹ He was twice summoned before the queen-regent and bishops ; and, failing to appear, was banished in November of that year, and the severest penalties denounced on such as should give him aid or comfort. His fellow-townsmen, disregarding these menaces, still attended his preaching, and sheltered him in their houses. An order for his apprehension was transmitted to Provost Halyburton, who declined to apprehend the preacher, being himself favourable to the reformed doctrine. A decisive step was now taken : Methven and three others were summoned to stand their trial before the Justiciary Court at Stirling, on the 10th May, 1559, for "usurping the ministerial office, for administering the Sacrament in a manner different from that of the Catholic Church, during three several days of the late feast of Easter, in the burghs and boundaries of Dundee, Montrose, and other places ; and for convening the subjects, preaching to them, seducing them to their erroneous doctrines, and exciting seditions and tumults." Resolving to make their appearance, sureties were given for the preachers—George Lovell, burgess of Dundee, being the surety for Methven.²

Another actor now appeared on the scene. On the 2d May, John Knox returned to Edinburgh from the Continent, and in a letter, dated the day after, he thus writes :—"I am come, I praise my God, even in the brunt of the battle. For my fellow-preachers have a day appointed to answer before the queen-regent, when I intend (if God

¹ *Fasti Eccles. Scot.*, part vi., v. 688. ² *Justiciary Records*, May 10. 1559.

impede not) also to be present, by life, by death, or else by both, to glorify His godly name." Resting but a single day in Edinburgh, he hurried to Dundee, where he found the leading Protestants assembled ready to accompany their ministers to Stirling; whither Knox also resolved to proceed, although the panic-stricken clergy had proclaimed him an outlaw and a rebel.¹ On reaching Perth, the Protestants judged it prudent to send forward Erskine of Dun to acquaint the authorities at Stirling with the peaceable object and manner of their coming. The Regent persuaded Erskine to write and dissuade his party from proceeding, on the solemn assurance that the trial would be departed from; on which the Protestants relied, many dispersing to their homes. On the day named for the trial, the queen basely ordered the summons to be called—the preachers were outlawed for non-appearance, put to the horn as fugitives from justice, and their sureties fined—£2000 falling upon Dundee in respect of Methven. Escaping from Stirling, Erskine carried to Perth the intelligence of this disgraceful transaction, which, it may well be supposed, incensed the Protestants in the highest degree. Knox, happening on the same day to preach against the idolatry of the mass and image-worship, an altercation ensued between a priest and some idle persons remaining in the church, which ended in the images and ornaments being torn down; and, swelling into a mob, the town was soon in a tumult, before which the religious houses were stript and demolished. Magnifying this unpremeditated riot into a rebellion, the queen-regent collected an army, and advanced on Perth to lay waste the town with fire and sword; but the Protestants of the north, after disclaiming all sympathy with violence and disorder, asked only the peaceable exercise of their liberties, and took such prompt action to defend these that the regent found it expedient to offer terms, which were readily accepted. By the exertions of Knox, the leaders of the Protestant party subscribed the first Covenant, binding themselves to united action in the event of the Regent again breaking faith with them, which she speedily did on obtaining possession of Perth, and finding the forces opposed to her disbanded.

The Lords of the Congregation, finding all remonstrances unavailing, and knowing that she had formed a systematic plan for suppressing the Reformation with the utmost rigour, appointed a meeting at St Andrews, whither Knox also repaired, and boldly preached for

¹ *M'Crie's Life*, p. 126.

four days successively, although the regent was marching an army to invest the town.¹ In this critical juncture the Protestants of Angus came to the rescue, with a contingent of nearly a thousand men, under the gallant Provost Halyburton of Dundee, and joined the Lords of the Congregation in a strong position they had taken up on Cupar Muir.] When information of their strength and well-chosen position was communicated to the queen, she was afraid to hazard an engagement, although her army was nearly equal in numbers, and was principally formed of French soldiers inured to war, while her opponents were little else than a body of trades-people, who had left their peaceable occupations for the dangers of battle ; but there were important differences between the two armies—the former consisted of mercenaries in a bad cause, the other was marshalled in defence of all that they counted dear and valuable. Under these circumstances, the regent proposed a truce for eight days, and that commissioners should be appointed, and meet, to redress grievances and effect a reconciliation. The truce was agreed to, but no commissioners were ever sent, or even appointed on her part ; and this, along with the general tenor of her faithless conduct, and total disregard of the most solemn engagements, so provoked and alarmed the Reformers that they resolved to push matters to the utmost extremity, and to retain their arms, which the duplicity and cruelty of their enemies had compelled them to take up in self-defence, until all their grievances of every kind should be redressed. Learning that the regent was proceeding to fortify the passage of the Forth, so as to cut them off from their friends in the south, they first proceeded to Perth, where John Charteris of Kinfauns, a creature of the regent, at the head of the Popish faction in that town, had deprived Lord Ruthven, provost, of his authority ; and to show his devotion to the regent, and firm attachment to the ancient system, vexed and harassed the inhabitants in the most oppressive and insupportable manner. Investing Perth, the Reformers, and in particular the contingent from Dundee, pressed the siege with much

¹ Knox appeared to have made some trusty friends in Dundee ; for, in a letter dated at St Andrews, 23d June, 1559, he thus writes : " If any remain at Geneva, let either this same or the double of it be sent unto them, and likeways unto my dear brother, Mr Goodman, whose presence I more thirst for than she that is my own flesh. Will him therefor, in the name of the Lord Jesus (all delay and excuse set apart), to visit me ; for the necessity is great here. If he come be sea, let him be addressed unto Dundie, and let him ask for George Levell, for George Rollock, or Wm. Carmichael."—Calderwood MS. quoted in M'Crie's Knox, Appendix, p. 425.

vigour. They bombarded the town with their artillery from the bridge, while Lord Ruthven attacked it on the west. All the resistance that Charteris and his party could give was unavailing, and in a short time he was compelled to surrender. This occurred on the 26th of June, 1559. Lord Ruthven, the popular provost, was reinstated in his authority as civic magistrate, and the current of events began to flow more smoothly. The citizens of Dundee, justly proud of an achievement to which they had mainly contributed, proceeded next day to Scone, about two miles distant, on the east bank of the Tay, when one of their number having been run through the body with a sword by a son of the Bishop of Moray, contrary to express stipulations against violence, they were so enraged with this new breach of faith, that they set fire both to the palace and the abbey, which, in a short time, were reduced to ashes, notwithstanding all the endeavours of their leaders, among whom was John Knox, to save these ancient buildings.¹

In the midst of these events the queen-regent had strengthened the fortifications of Leith, and placed in them a body of her French auxiliaries, greatly to the annoyance of the inhabitants, both of that town and of the capital; but the Lords of the Congregation, flushed with the success that attended their arms at Perth and Stirling, determined that her career should meet an effectual check. In pursuance of this resolution, their troops advanced and occupied Edinburgh, on the 29th June, and Provost Halyburton, with the citizens of Dundee and a considerable number of volunteers, crossed the Firth to join them. Having resolved to attack Leith, artillery was placed at various commanding points. Several skirmishes took place, in one of which the French, learning that the Scots had few cavalry, sallied out with the intention of cutting off the assailants, assuring themselves of an easy victory. The citizens of Dundee for some time fought with their wonted bravery; but the volunteers who accompanied them giving way, they were overpowered by numbers, and obliged to retreat. The retreat was hardly begun, when a voice from the rear cried out that the French had made for Edinburgh, to secure and shut the gates against them. The consternation occasioned by this unwelcome exclamation was extreme. Every one hurried in the utmost confusion from

¹ "It may safely be said that, if the Queen-Regent had kept her promises, and had not attempted to carry her point by French money and French troops, the Reformation in Scotland would have borne a character different from what it actually took."—Burton's Hist., iv., p. 72.

the impending danger; but their secret designs subsiding, they rallied, turned upon their pursuers, and many of them in places, took the remainder prisoners, and carried them off in triumph.

[In this encounter the gallant Provost Halyburton was slain, in the marsh between Rescalding and Halyrood Park. The siege being protracted by the arrival of reinforcements from France, while the Castle of Edinburgh, to which the regent had retired, was held by her supporters—the Lords of the Congregation retired westward, taking Knox with them, pending the arrival of aid from Queen Elizabeth. The reformer, however, was not idle: he visited all the chief towns, preaching and organising congregations—among other places, at Perth, Brechin, Montrose, and Dundee. Although Paul Methven was at this time in Dundee,² it appears that William Christison was the recognised minister. He was formally confirmed in the charge on 19th July, in the following year, attended the first General Assembly in December, and no fewer than thirty-eight afterwards, being also elected Moderator in July 1569.³ The lay members from Dundee in the first Assembly were Bailies George Lovell, and William Carmichael.]

During the siege of Leith, death put a period to the inglorious career of the queen-regent [10th June, 1560]; and, both parties being weary of war, a peace was concluded, by which the downfall of Popery, for which so much blood had been shed, was completely secured. The concessions granted to the reformers, or rather the rights which they had conquered, and the extreme willingness of the people to return to their allegiance, gave the fullest assurance of the continuance of public tranquillity. This prospect seemed to be strengthened by the arrival, in August 1561, of the young queen, Mary, widow of

¹ In 1813, while making some alterations in St Giles' Church, Edinburgh, for a police office (!), several monumental slabs were lifted, one of which bore the name of JAMES HALYBURTON, which doubtless marked the resting-place of the brave provost of Dundee.—Scots Magazine, Aug. 1813.

² He removed to Jedburgh in 1560, where he committed an act of conjugal infidelity, for which he was tried by the Church courts, suspended for two years from the ministry, and ordained to do penance on the "publick spectakill" in the churches of Jedburgh, Edinburgh, and Dundee. Great as the services of Methven had been, the inflexible rectitude of Knox would not abate one jot of the punishment for this one false step, and the unhappy preacher, after going through the ordeal in Jedburgh, broke down in Edinburgh, and left the country.—Booke of the Kirke, I., p. 31.

³ Fasti Eccles. Scot., vi., v. 684.

Francis II. of France—at the negotiation of whose marriage Provost Halyburton assisted, as one of the Commissioners appointed by the Estates of Scotland, to arrange matters with the French Government. The accomplishment of peace, an event long earnestly wished for, but unnecessarily delayed by the duplicity and treachery of the queen-regent, was attended with the welcome solemnity of a general national thanksgiving. Soon after its celebration, reformed clergymen were appointed in the principal towns in the kingdom to occupy the churches rendered vacant by the legal dissolution of the ancient Establishment; and the people at large rejoiced to find the new doctrines, for which they and their fathers had so often contended, and shed their blood on the battle-field, and which had been sanctioned by the general consent of the nation, now established by the authority of the law.

[Queen Mary landed in Scotland on the 19th August, 1561, and in December of that year she appears to have paid a visit to Dundee, and again in November of the year following, on her return from the expedition to Aberdeen against Huntly. In September, 1565, a few weeks after her marriage with Darnley, she made a progress through Fife, wasting the lands of Kirkaldy of Grange, who, with the queen's brother and many of the nobility, had opposed this alliance. Advancing by St Andrews to Dundee, the queen imposed heavy fines on these towns for the sympathy and support they had accorded to the Lords of the Congregation.¹ Dundee was mulcted in 2000 merks, and Provost Halyburton was proclaimed a rebel, and put to the horn, having made himself obnoxious to the queen's party, by his steady support of the Protestant cause, as commissioner to the General Assembly and otherwise. The next two years of Mary's troubled reign were marked by the murder of her Italian favourite, Ritzio, and her husband Darnley, in which latter deed modern historians have too clearly traced the complicity of the misguided queen. The mock trial, which was tardily granted to allay the popular indignation at this crime, was followed next day by a parliament, at which Bothwell, now the mainstay of the queen, set about clearing his way to the place of the husband, whose murder he had so lately compassed. His policy was to conciliate all parties in the State, and this parliament proceeded to dispense gifts and concessions on a great scale. Among other things it sought to

¹ Tytler, vii., p. 7; Burton, iv., p. 284.—This visit has been erroneously referred to as the occasion when Mary gifted crown property for hospital purposes; but that charter, as its date shows, was not granted until two years afterwards.

propitiate the reformed party by an Act in favour of religious peace and toleration, giving the leaders substantial gifts of estates. Dundee came in for a share of the largess ; for, on the second day of the parliament, the 15th April, 1567, by charter under the Great Seal, Queen Mary, "in consideration of the duty incumbent on the sovereign to provide for the ministers of God's word, and that hospitals should be preserved within the burgh of Dundee for poor, mutilated, and miserable persons and orphans," granted to the magistrates—(1,) All lands, houses, and revenues which belonged to any chaplainries, altarages, or prebends, in any church, chapel, or college, within the liberty of the burgh ; (2,) The possessions and revenues which belonged to the Dominicans or Friars preachers, the Franciscans, and the Nuns called the Gray Sisters of the burgh ; (3,) All lands and houses given for endowment of altarages or chaplainries, wherever situated ; and, (4,) All duties payable by the magistrates to any church outwith the burgh, for church services. These several subjects were united into one, to be called in future, "The Queen's Foundation of the Ministry and Hospitality of Dundee."¹ The charter took effect immediately, and a Collector of the Queen's Donation, as it was then called—subsequently the Hospital Fund—was appointed by the magistrates, one David Ramsay being the first official. Here, as elsewhere in the kingdom, the neighbouring barons had helped themselves to the property of the religious houses, and some time elapsed before possession was obtained of all the properties embraced in the Charter, for which a considerable sum of money, and other valuable considerations, had to be forthcoming to the Earl of Crawford and Sir James Scrymgeour.

Within a month from the date of Mary's gift and the mock trial of Bothwell, that daring and unprincipled nobleman had divorced his wife, and become the third husband of the queen : another month saw the infatuated pair confronting the forces of the incensed nobility on Carberry Hill ; where, deserted by their supporters, they were compelled to separate—the queen being sent to Lochleven, and Bothwell making his escape to Orkney. It has been related that he turned pirate ; but recent researches give a different, though scarcely less flagitious end to his career.² A squadron was fitted out for his cap-

¹ Report on "Stipend Case," by Cosmo Innes, p. 7. The original charter has been lost sight of since 1804, but its tenor is proved by subsequent deeds, which recapitulate its provisions.

² Marryat's *Travels in Jutland*, quoted in Burton, iv., p. 455.

ture, of which three vessels, the James, Primrose, and Robert, were furnished from the port of Dundee; but he eluded the pursuit by purchasing the craft of a pirate, named David Wodt, in which he escaped to Denmark. A report of his death was circulated; but the Danish archives show that he there married and deserted a third wife; and, after ten years of a wild and debauched life, ended his days in 1577 in the Castle of Draxholm.]

Section VII.

QUEEN MARY'S VISIT—CHARTER GRANTED—BOTHWELL—GENERAL ASSEMBLIES—THE MINISTER AND MAGISTRATES—VISIT BY JAMES VI.—EARL OF GOWRIE AND JAMES MELVILLE—DOMESTIC STATE OF SCOTLAND—CHARTER GRANTED BY JAMES VI.—CONTENTION BETWEEN DUNDEE AND PERTH RENEWED—GREAT CHARTER GRANTED BY CHARLES I.—THE PEST—DISSENSIONS BETWEEN THE CONSTABLE AND BURGESSES—DIFFERENCES ADJUSTED.

THE success which attended the Reformation, though it humbled its enemies, and paralyzed their efforts, did not altogether annihilate their hopes. The triumph of the reformers over their crest-fallen opponents manifested itself in the destruction of the monastic buildings, and the images, vestments, and mass-books of the priests; but the church fabrics were preserved for use in the reformed worship. The new ecclesiastical Establishment found itself possessed of powerful influence, and congratulated itself on the ascendancy which it had acquired and held over the public mind—while the simplicity, purity, and good sense of its peculiar mode of worship, and the influence it had exerted on the practice of its professors, rendered it well adapted to arouse and sustain the religious spirit of the people at large. The citizens of Dundee, who were remarkable for the warmth of their zeal from the beginning of the Reformation, partook largely of this influence, and now enjoyed the benefits resulting from that steady and successful adherence to the principles which they had so often exemplified in the past struggles.

For many ages before the time of Queen Mary, the common burial-place was St Clement's Church-yard (now occupied by the Town-house and other buildings), but this being in the centre of the town, was thought apt to engender disease. To avoid this, the queen directed

the inhabitants and their successors to their their land in the cemetery of the Minster or Franciscan Friars, and the ground formerly occupied with their convents and gardens, all of which lay within the town-wall, and from that time to the present has been universally known by the term - "Heard." This name first occurs in an Act of Head Court, dated 4th October, 1566, entitled - "Actis the Head Dykes," imposing a penalty of eight shillings Scots upon every person found climbing on or over the walls.

[The rivalry between Perth and Dundee again culminated in contention for the next place after Edinburgh in the equestrian procession known as the - "Riding of the Escapes." At a parliament held by the Regent Murray, a tumult arose upon the street which was not quelled without difficulty: and an investigation being ordered, it was found that "James Wedderburn and George Mitchell, burgeses of Dundee, and William Rysie, bearer of the hardieyre [design] thereof," were nowise culpable, and they were accordingly allowed to depart.¹ At the same time, another native fell into trouble from which he did not escape so easily. "Robert Jack, merchant, and burges of Dundee, was hangit and quarterit for false lyons, callit hardieades, plakis, balbeis, and other fals money, whilk he had brocht out of Flanders."² For another class of offences, the evidence of which was much less tangible, the punishment was equally severe. In December 1569, the Good Regent made a progress northwards to put down sorcery and witchcraft, giving two poor creatures to the flames in St Andrews, and returning, "he causit burn ane other company of witches in Dundee."³

The years 1571 and 1572 were remarkable for a bloody contest between the two noble families of Gordon and Forbes, the progress of which was distinguished by a variety of successes and reverses to both the contending parties, until, in 1572, the battle of Crabstaue was fought, which decided the feud in favour of the Gordons. In the following summer, Sir Adam Gordon, of Auchindoun, commanding the forces of his chief, the Earl of Huntly, entered the Mearns, and carried fire and sword before him, as well as great terror upon the troops sent

¹ January 9, 1567-8. See Birrel's *Diary*.

² The "hardiead" was originally a French coin called *hardie*, of the value of three halfpence; "babees" were so called from *bas billon*, a low piece of money. —Chambers, *Domestic Annals*, i., p. 48.

³ *Diurnal of Occurrents*, 1518-75.

to interrupt his progress, who were surprised and defeated by him at Brechin. Proceeding thence to Montrose, he entered it after some ineffectual opposition, planted in it a garrison, besides another in the Castle of Dun, and advanced to the westward, through Angus, with the intention of reducing Dundee. The townsmen, apprised of his design, drew considerable reinforcements from Fife. Auchindoun, on learning this, did not consider it prudent to prosecute his design; but, contenting himself with the havoc he had made, and the booty he had acquired, he returned to the north.

A few years after this, namely, in July, 1580, we find the General Assembly of the Church met in the town. At this meeting, it was resolved that the office of a bishop, as it was then used and understood, had neither foundation nor warrant in the Word of God; and thereupon an ordinance was made, that all persons, whether presented to that office, or that should be presented at any time thereafter, should be charged to resign the same, as an office to which they are not called of God; and also to desist and cease from preaching, administration of the sacraments, and from using the office of a pastor in any way, until they should be admitted anew by the General Assembly, under the pain of excommunication. The same ordinance or act directed that the patrimony of the Church, possessed by the bishops, should be discussed and advised upon by the succeeding Assembly.¹

[In the year 1588, the town was doomed to lose its active Chief Magistrate, and the cause of Protestantism its gallant and zealous assertor, James Halyburton, the worthy son of a worthy sire, who died in the seventieth year of his age, after having held the office of Provost thirty-three years. His father, as we have already seen, met his death while gallantly resisting, with his Dundee Volunteers, a sortie of the French garrison of Leith; and the son proved himself a keen and consistent supporter of the national cause for which his father fell. "Within five years thereafter, the Assembly appointed him commissioner for the district of Angus. During the following year, he was denounced an enemy and rebel to the queen; and two years later we find him one of the Committee of the Lords of the Articles, sanctioning the queen's demission of the Crown, the king's coronation, and the appointment of a regent. He does not appear to have taken any part in the Assembly of 1580; but in the following and subsequent years he was appointed to the high office of King's Commissioner; and down almost to the

¹ Spettiswoode, *Hist. Ch. of Scot.*

day of his death, he took an active part in the proceedings of the Church courts, in which he appeared for the last time on the 6th August, 1588, as 'the Tutor of Pitcur,' to the head of which family he was uncle."¹ His character cannot be better described than in the expressive language of the inscription on his tomb:—"Provost of Dundee, defender of his country, protector of the orphan, and a son of the Church of Christ."² This is the age of memorials; and, while monuments are raised in every direction in remembrance of departed worth, surely he whose skill and valour laid the foundation of no small part of the blessings which we enjoy, ought not to be forgotten in the town he served so well.

The brief but eventful reign of Mary Stuart had now come to an end with her flight into England. She came among the Scottish people, says Froude, "to use her charms as a spell to win them back to the Catholic Church, to weave the fibres of a conspiracy from the Orkneys to the Land's End, prepared to wait, to control herself, to hide her purpose till the moment came to strike, yet, with a purpose fixed as the stars, to trample down the Reformation, and to set herself at last on Elizabeth's throne."³ But her departure did not end the troubles of Scotland. Her son was a child, in whose minority the most powerful of the nobles struggled for the ascendancy, and distracted the country with plots and proscriptions and bloodshed. One great object came to be the possession of the young king's person, out of which arose the raid of Ruthven, and shortly afterwards another conspiracy. In this the Earls of Gowrie, Angus, and Mar, with Lord Lindsay and the Master of Glamis, were associated; but, while Gowrie waited in Dundee, on pretence of taking ship to France, but in reality for the signal of insurrection, the Regent Arran, who had become acquainted with all the ramifications of the plot, despatched Colonel Stewart with a hundred troopers to arrest him. Arriving suddenly before daybreak, on the morning of the 16th April, 1584, the troops found the earl residing in the house of a burgess named William Drummond; where he defended himself with such vigour that, after a twelve hours' siege, it was not until Stewart had procured several pieces of ordnance from vessels in the harbour, that he obtained

¹ Jervise, *Mem. Angus*, p. 207.

² His monument was unfortunately one of those which perished at the burning of the churches in 1841.

³ *Hist. Eng.*, I., p. 361.

possession of his prisoner. On his removal to Edinburgh, he was persuaded to make a confession, on the promise of pardon, which was basely used against him, and his execution followed on the 4th of May.¹

In the history of these times, one is struck with the constant turmoil in which the preachers were involved, and the prominent position they occupied in public affairs. Although Mary was confined in England, her partisans were neither scrupulous nor inactive, and their machinations were encouraged by the emissaries and gold of the French court. Contending against these influences, the reformed preachers at the same time found themselves alternately courted and bullied by the contending factions for the influence they wielded with the common people. The art of printing was yet in its infancy, books were scarce and costly, but the preachers had direct access to the popular mind, and were neither slow to use their advantage, nor too particular in restricting it to purely spiritual matters. Hence, while successive regents sought to deal with Church questions as a means of personal aggrandisement or political expediency, and James himself complicated this policy with extreme pretensions as to the Divine right of kings, the elements of discord between the Church and State were found, which ever and anon burst out for generation after, and seemed almost more bitter when Prelacy took the place of Romanism, as the form of worship which their rulers sought to force upon an unwilling and resolute people.

The diffusion of the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue was one laudable object of the reformers. In 1574, it was resolved to print the first edition of the Bible within the kingdom, and for this purpose Alexander Arbuthnot, a native of Angus, for whom the Guthries of Kincaldrum and Halkerton and two others became sureties, was associated with Thomas Bassendyne, who had a small printing office in Edinburgh. As it was felt that "the charge and hazard of the wark will be great and sumptuous," the Privy Council was appealed to, and decreed that each parish in the kingdom should advance £5, for which a copy was to be afterwards delivered, "weel and sufficiently bund in paste or timmer." Five years elapsed before the sacred volume was ready for the subscribers; and then its circulation was ensured by an enactment, that all substantial yeomen and burgesses, esteemed as worth five hundred pounds in land and goods, should have a Bible and

¹ Tytler, viii., p. 167; Spottiswoode, 330.

Psalm Book, in the vulgar tongue, under the penalty of ten pounds. This appears to have been evaded ; for, on June 16, 1580, a commissioner was appointed under the Privy Seal to visit every house in the realm, "and to require the sight of their Bible and Psalm Buke, gif they ony have, to be marked with their awn name, for eschewing of fraudful dealing in that behalf."¹ This probably marks the introduction of the "family" Bible into the homes of Scotland.

From what has been said regarding the influence of the ministers, it may be inferred that an importance attached to the General Assemblies second only to that of the Parliaments. The Assembly frequently met twice a-year, and occasionally three times, Dundee being often the place of meeting. In July 1580, the Assembly was held here at which it was resolved that the office of bishop, having neither foundation nor warrant in the Scriptures, should be abolished ; and that the patrimony of the Church, possessed by the bishops, should be resigned for disposal by a future Assembly. At this time the Presbyterians had an able and uncompromising champion in James Melville, the nephew and coadjutor of the great Andrew Meville, and professor of Divinity at St Andrews. For their zealous opposition to Episcopacy, both were under the necessity of leaving the country, and James, repairing to Dundee, escaped one morning in June, 1584, disguised as a shipwrecked mariner, in an open boat, to Berwick. He was subsequently allowed to return ; and, though he evinced his loyalty by important services to the king, his unflinching opposition to Episcopal innovations, which the offer of a bishopric failed to shake, brought upon him a second banishment to England, where he died in 1614.

A month or two before Melville found himself obliged to don the sailor's garb, one of the traders, which then held intercourse with Middleburgh in Flanders, landed another theologian at Dundee, accompanied by four or five families, whose advent is worth a passing notice as the first avowal of Independency in Scotland. This was a Cambridge student, named Robert Brown, on whom an English bishop had tried imprisonment, with the usual non-success, as far as correction of opinion was concerned. Escaping to the Continent, Brown gave his views to the world in the form of a pamphlet ; and he now came to Scotland, a country agitated between the claims of Prelacy and Presbytery, to show that both systems were erroneous. It is said he received some encouragement in Dundee ; but the probability is, that

¹ Maitland Club Miscellany, II. p. 19.

curiosity was more apparent than conviction. After maintaining that Sessions and Synods were no less repugnant to Scripture than bishops, that witnesses at baptism were sinful, and ministers had no better title than any Church member to conduct public worship, he passed to St Andrews, and thence to Edinburgh. There he came into collision with the Church courts, and two divines were chosen to gather out of his book "such opinions as they suspected or perceived him to err in, and get them ready, to pose him and his followers thereupon."¹ We learn that, shortly afterwards, he left Edinburgh, after being committed to ward a night or two till his opinions were tried,—a form of disputation too characteristic of the times ; but which, it is needless to say, did not prevent this earnest man from founding the Independent body, which has since become an important branch of the Christian Church.

In May, 1597, another General Assembly was held at Dundee, of which Robert Rollock, professor in the University of St Andrews, was elected Moderator, on account of his learning, piety, and moderation—the last a somewhat rare virtue among the clergy of that age. In this Assembly, the venerable William Christison, minister of the town, was relieved of the pastorate, and the office of visitor of the Province, which he had held for nineteen years, until age incapacitated him for the duties. His successor in the ministry was Robert Howie, principal of Marischal College, Aberdeen. In this Assembly it was decreed that the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Errol, who had made submission to the Church, should be admitted to absolution, having repented of their refractory and rebellious conduct ; that all assemblies should convene with consent of the king ; that all conventions should be authorised by law ; that no minister should be admitted but to a particular flock, to which he should be restricted, and be ordained by imposition of hands ; that no minister should exercise any jurisdiction without the concurrence of his session, presbytery, &c. ; that all sessions should be elected with the consent of their respective congregations ; and several other regulations for the well-being of the Church, and the peace of the kingdom. Along with these regulations, provision was made for furnishing the houses of the king and of the prince with ministers, and, generally, any other church in the kingdom that should be vacant.

Having obtained the appointment of a Commission of fourteen ministers, a majority of whom were well disposed to the king, James adroitly

¹ Chambers' Domestic Annals, I., p. 153.

persuaded them to petition for clerical representatives in Parliament. An Act of Parliament, passed in December the same year, enacted that such ministers as should be collated to bishoprics, should have place and voice in Parliament as freely as that which the bishops, abbots, and conventual-priors enjoyed under the old system. The General Assembly took this matter into consideration at their next meeting in March 1598, at Dundee, immediately after the close of the session of Parliament. The question having been discussed at great length, the Assembly, in which the king was present and took part, though energetically opposed by Melville and all the leading members, resolved, by a majority of ten, that ministers might lawfully give voice in Parliament, and other meetings of the estates of the kingdom, and that it was expedient to have some of their number always present, to vote in name of the Church. Another question having been started, respecting the number of clerical members, it was resolved that as many should be appointed as were formerly under the ancient establishment—that is, fifty-one persons or thereby.

The Assembly having resolved upon being represented, and forming one of the Three Estates, declared the election of the clerical members to be vested partly in the king and partly in the Church; and at a meeting of the commission of the Assembly, subsequently held at Falkland, it was agreed that, on a vacancy occurring by the death or deposition of a dignitary, the Church was empowered to present six properly qualified persons to the king, one of whom he should select to fill the vacancy; but, if he happened to dislike and reject the whole, then other six were to be presented, one of whom must be preferred without any further refusal.

At this Assembly, Robert Reid, and the other refractory ministers of Edinburgh, who had excited so much confusion by their seditious conduct on the 15th December, 1596, which caused the king to leave the city, and to order the Courts forthwith to do the same, were restored to their pulpits, upon condition of regulating their future conduct with more decorum. On account of the great attendance of ministers from the Lothians, drawn by the case of their Edinburgh brethren, the Assembly, before it broke up, enacted that no Presbytery should send any more than three members at most, to the General Assembly, with one baron of the bounds, or ruling elder, and one Commissioner from each of the royal burghs, and two from Edinburgh. Having settled all these matters amicably, the Assembly was about to

disperse in the greatest good humour, when one of the members attempted to disturb the harmony of the proceedings, by protesting against the whole, under the pretence that the Assembly was overawed by the king; but, as no friend to the purity of the Church seconded him, the protest fell to the ground, and the Assembly dispersed with very grave suspicions resting upon the sincerity and single-heartedness of its decisions.¹

The ministerial career of Robert Howie was characteristic of the times. From the records of the Privy Council,² we learn that, on 23d July, 1605, he was declared "nawyse to be capable of ony public office, function, or charge within the said town," his offence being the aiding and abetting a faction in opposing the election of magistrates, and disturbing the peace of the burgh. "Persaving Mr Robert H., thair pastour, to be of a hott and vehement humour, and of a contentious disposition, they solicit and travellit with him to assist them in their courses, and in end thai have sa far prevailed with him, that he, forgetful of his awn dewtie and calling, hes tane the patrocine and defence of their sedition upon him, and is now become the very heid and patrone of that faction, sua that fra him only, as the funtane, the present disorder and confusion of the said toun hes procedit and sprung." Then follows an account of a meeting on the 8th December, 1603, of the ministers' party, within the Tolbooth, at which they refused to obey the magistrates order, "to gang to their ludgings"—the said Robert H. affirming the partiality of the Council, and refusing to recognise any judges but the deacons. Sir James Scrymseure was then provost, and appears next to have invoked the Presbytery, whose mandate the bellicose minister equally set at naught. The

¹ The regulated form of Presbyterial Representation, established by this Assembly, is the first we have seen; and it may not be improper to add the rule established by a subsequent Assembly, which, we believe, is in force at the present time.—By Act V., Assembly 1694, it was ordained that all Presbyteries, containing not more than twelve parishes, shall send two ministers, and one ruling elder or baron of the bounds, to the General Assembly; that all Presbyteries exceeding twelve, but not exceeding eighteen parishes, shall send three ministers and one ruling elder; that all Presbyteries exceeding eighteen, but not exceeding twenty-four parishes, shall send four ministers and two ruling elders; and that all Presbyteries containing above twenty-four parishes, shall send five ministers and two ruling elders; and by Act VI., Assembly 1712, it was ordained that all Presbyteries, containing more than thirty-six ministerial charges, should be represented by six ministers and three ruling elders.

² Discovered a few years ago by Mr Laing, and now preserved in the Register House, Edinburgh.

Synod next took him in hand, and appointed commissioners who, upon investigation, "having found that the said Mr Robert H. was over-bussie and partiall, that earnestlie lab and travell with him, and with the uther minister, to be awithers and preachers of peace and na wyse to be carryed nor led with partiall affection, and thus to forbeir particular applications to exasperate the people, quhair the said Mr Robert not only refusit to do, but immediatlie he unlawfullie convocat and assemblit the number of eight score persons of his faction in the Croce Kirk of Dundie, and thair maine intentione made them to understand that the saids commissioners were direct to depose him frae his ministrie, mynding thereby as appeareth to have stirred them up to have tane armes, and have attemptit some desperate and sudden interpryse, quhich was verie lyklie to have fallen out, seeing a number of them cryed and schouted, quhair will that depose our minister! lett us mak a day of it." Things now looked serious; it is even alleged that bloodshed followed, and that Mr Robert was heard to boast he could raise three hundred swordsmen. The Master of Gray, the Laird of Lauriston, and a deputation of the clergy now came upon the scene, and several craftsmen were summoned before the Privy Council at Edinburgh. The indomitable Mr Robert still held out; he assembled meetings of the crafts, "sometymes in the kirk, sometimes in tavernes, and sometimes in his own house," and went to Edinburgh as proloquitor for his friends, to urge their cause against the provost. No decision seems to have been pronounced by the Lords of Council; but immediately on his return, Mr Robert resumed the fray, and, convening "the haille Tailliers and Sattens in the kirk, besocht them to tak tent to thair speeches, and to let the provost get no advantage of them, and informit them to make their answer that thair wald doe as the rest of the crafts did." The Earl of Mar, Lord Chancellor, and others of the Secret Council, next appeared in Dundee, and, having heard parties, ordained the irrepressible minister to withdraw beyond a six miles' radius from the town, giving effect to this by conducting him to St. Andrews. But Mr Robert had other arrows in his quiver; for, on being joined by two or three citizens with a contribution of 1400 merks, he headed the deputation to London to lay the case before James VI. Their success at headquarters can only be inferred from what Mr Robert stated from the pulpit when he shortly after returned to Dundee—that "he had prepared besome breid for anything could be done against him during all the dayis of his life."

The next move in this singular episode shows Mr Robert at the head of two or three hundred of the citizens, in Perth (July, 1604), pleading, before the Convention of Burghs, that Dundee was in bondage. The Convention remitted the question to arbitrators, whose deliverance does not seem to have coincided with Mr Robert's views; for we find him again "declairing to the people that, gif thai wald chuse a provost for greatnes, a Laird was grittar nor a barron, a erle grittar nor a Lord, a duke glitter nor an erle, and the devill wes gretest of all." The cogency of this reasoning is not very apparent, and the good citizens seem to have thought matters had been pushed far enough, especially seeing his Majesty had recommended the Constable to the provostship. Not so the indomitable Mr Robert, for he "upbraidit them as maist dispytefull betrayers of a gude cause, and affirmit, gif ony man wald accept the provost's office on him, that he could cast off his awn gown, and tak it on himsalfe, gif his calling wald permit it, and rather, or he [Sir J Scrymseoure] were continuitt provost, he said that Michael Hall (quha was a puir contemtable creator of the toun) sould have it, and said that it was mair agrieble with reason that ane who had come in at the toun end with a creill on his backe, a year syne, sould be provost nor any gentleman." This appears to have been the minister's last shaft, for the rival magistracy he had been supporting was held to be illegal; and while his freedom of speech and action were found not to be positively unlawful, the court held that he had "behavit himselve very factiouslie," and decerned for his removal. He got a charge in Strathbogie; but, being evidently a man of mark, he was appointed principal of St Mary's College, St Andrews, in 1607, and died about forty years afterwards.

Leaving Church topics, we may now turn to other incidents with which Dundee was identified about this period. In September, 1584, the pestilence made its appearance in Perth, and raged for nearly a year, carrying off about one-sixth of the population. It appeared at Edinburgh in May of the following year, and was the signal for removing the court and government offices. The "cungie-house" or Mint was transported to Dundee on 23d June, and remained till October, when the appearance of the pest led to its removal to Perth. The Mint is believed to have been located in St Margaret's Close, and gold, silver, and alloyed money was coined, the pennies having the words *OPPIDUM DUNDEE* substituted for *OPPIDUM EDINBURGI*.¹

¹ Dom. Annals of Scot., I., p. 157.

From the wealth and importance of the town, it was on more than one occasion privileged to relieve the impecuniosity of King James, whose financial difficulties were great, until he succeeded to the English throne. Towards the expenses of his matrimonial expedition to Denmark, in the autumn of 1589, Alexander Lindsay, son of the Earl of Crawford, advanced 10,000 gold crowns, for which opportune contribution the sovereign afterwards rewarded him with the Lordship of Spynie. Dundee, among other ports, equipped vessels for the royal convoy, receiving in consideration, it is said, a loan, at seven per cent., of twenty thousand pounds Scots, of the future queen's dowry; —the capital sum being called up, however, a few years later. In the spring of the same year, the king had passed through Dundee on his way to Aberdeen, to chastise the Earls of Huntly and Crawford for their lawless proceedings in the north. Having submitted, they were tried and convicted of treason, but restored to favour after a brief confinement, the king having a strong partiality for Huntly, of which that nobleman soon proved himself quite unworthy. On 7th Feb., 1592, he suddenly surrounded, with a large force, the house of the Earl of Murray, at Donibristle in Fife, set it on fire, and cruelly murdered "the bonny Earl," in revenge for an ancestral feud. This outrage excited the utmost indignation, the more so that it was connected in the popular mind with plots in which Bothwell was associated with Huntly and others for the re-establishment of the Romish faith. Finding himself losing the confidence of the people, for his tardiness in bringing these turbulent nobles to justice, James was obliged to make a show of activity, which he did by fulminating orders for their appearance at courts and conventions, which were never enforced. In May, "the king's majesty took journey from Edinburgh on a sudden towards Dundee, where intelligence was given him of the Earl of Bothwell's having taken shipping at Broughty, intending to pass to Caithness. His majesty remained eight days or thereby at Dundee, where he used a trial against some persons for the reset of Bothwell."¹ Though afterwards brought to the form of trial, no effective measures were taken against Bothwell or Huntly, unless we may count a raid against the latter in 1594. The king entrusted this to the Earl of Argyle, himself remaining at Dundee for intelligence of the expedition, which proved to be a failure. Argyle, we are told, "returned to his majesty about the 7th or 8th of October, accompanied only with two men,

¹ *Moyne's Memoirs*, ed. 1755, p. 186.

the weather then being very grievous and vehement, and related the whole manner of the battle to his majesty, and signified therewith that he was betrayed by some of his own company."¹ Whereupon the king himself proceeded northwards, permitting, by the way, some castles belonging to Huntly's associates to be dismantled, including those of Balgavies and Craig, near Montrose, which belonged to Sir John Ogilvy, a son of Lord Ogilvy, ancestor of the Earl of Airlie. From Aberdeen, fresh proclamations of forfeiture were issued against the rebellious nobles, which only resulted in the retirement of Huntly to the Continent for a season. On his return, in 1599, he was created a marquis, and enjoyed many offices of trust, until he ended his long and turbulent career at Dundee in June 1636, on his way to the north.

In 1601, in consideration of the services and contributions of the burgesses, James VI. confirmed Queen Mary's Charter, which was ratified by Parliament in 1606, after his accession to the English throne, and by which a farther grant was made of the Vicarage of Dundee, "for the support of the ministry of the Evangel, and the keeping of poor and miserable persons in the Hospital within the burgh."²

From the records of the Conventions of Royal Burghs, we find year by year the old dispute revived between Dundee and Perth concerning precedency in voting at conventions, and the limits of their respective ports on the Tay. Notwithstanding the decision of the Duke of Albany, as formerly stated, a charter was procured by Perth from James VI., in the year 1600, which authorised and established all the pretensions set forth by the burgesses of Perth, and compelled the inhabitants of Dundee to introduce an action of reduction before the Court of Session. To put a period to this controversy, the judgment of the Court was pronounced on the 31st December, 1602, and by this the privilege of Perth to have free ports within the Tay was limited to that part of the river which flows through or along the Sheriffdom of Perth; and a like privilege was ascertained to belong to Dundee, in the part which bounds the Sheriffdom of Forfar, not only on the north side, from the Burn of Invergowrie on the west, to the Gaw of Barrie on the east, but also on the south side, from the Abbey of Balmerino on the west, to the Sands of Drumlaw on the east. It was also decided that the town of Dundee alone had right to levy the impost granted for placing and maintaining buoys and marks to

¹ Moyes, p. 234. ² Innes' Report, p. 7.

point out the entrance into the Tay, from all vessels that should come within the same; and that the right of the town of all petty harbours and shore-lines, instead of being limited as was alleged by the Council for Perth, to the term of five years after the date of the original grant from Robert I. was to be henceforth unlimited and perpetual.

The Commissioners for Dundee next put in a claim on the point of precedence, but were unsuccessful. The Court, regardless of the assertion that the burgh of Dundee was more ancient than the burgh of Perth—that it bore double the charge of national subsidies—decided and declared that in all Parliaments, Conventions, Councils of the Estates, and Assemblies of the Burghs, the Commissioners of Perth should take rank and place before those of Dundee. The empty distinction of rank thus gained by Perth has, since the Union, dwindled away to an annual existence of three days in the Convention of Royal Burghs; while the profit, yearly increasing in value, remains with her more prosperous rival.

[To obtain a more complete idea of the state of the country at the close of the sixteenth century than the record of public events discloses, it may be interesting to quote a contemporary narrative of the social habits of the people, by Fynes Moryson, gentleman.² "In Scotland," he says, "a horse may be hired for two shillings the first day, and eightpence the day till he be brought home; and the horse-letters used to send a footman to bring back the horse. They have no such inns as be in England; but in all places some houses are known where passengers may have meat and lodging; but they have no bushes, or signs hung out, and for the horses, they are commonly set up in stables in some out-lane, not in the same house where the passenger lies. And if any man be acquainted with a townsman, he will go freely to his house, for most of them will entertain a stranger for his money. A horseman shall pay for oats and straw (for hay is rare in those parts) some eightpence day and night; and he shall pay no less in summer for grass, whereof they have no great store. Himself at a common table shall pay about sixpence for his supper or dinner, and shall have his bed free; and if he will eat alone in his chamber, he may have meat at a reasonable rate. Some twenty or thirty years ago, the first use of coaches came into Scotland; yea were

¹ The relative importance of Dundee, and other towns in the kingdom, in the 16th century, is established by the Stent Rolls, for which see Appendix No. 5.

² *Itinerary*, folio 1617.

they rare even at Edinburgh. At this day, since the kingdoms of England and Scotland were united, many Scots have been promoted by the king's favour, both in dignity and estate, and the use of coaches become more frequent, yet nothing so common as in England. But the use of horse-litters hath been very ancient in Scotland, as in England, for sickly men and women of quality." He goes on to say that the 'Scotch eat much colewort and cabbage, and little fresh meat. "Myself was at a knight's house, who had many servants to attend him, that brought in his meat with their heads covered with blue caps, the table being more than half furnished with great platters of porridge, each having a little piece of sodden meat. And when the table was served, the servants did sit down with us; but the upper mess [those sitting above the salt-vat], instead of porridge, had a pullet, with some prunes in the broth. And I observed no art of cookery or furniture of household stuff, but rather rude neglect of both, though myself and companion, sent from the governor of Berwick about Border affairs, were entertained after their best manner.

. . . . They vulgarly eat hearth-cakes of oats [the 'girdle' was a subsequent invention]; but in cities have also wheaten bread, which for the most part was bought by courtiers, gentlemen, and the best sort of citizens. . . . They drink pure wines, not with sugar as the English; yet, at feasts, they put comfits in the wine, after the French manner; but they had not our vintners' fraud, to mix the wines. . . . Their bedsteads were then like cupboards in the wall, with doors to be opened and shut at pleasure; so we climbed up to our beds. They used but one sheet, open at the sides and top, but close at the feet, and so doubled. . . . When passengers go to bed, their custom was to present them with a sleeping-cup of wine at parting. The husbandmen, the servants, and almost all in the country, did wear coarse cloth made at home, of grey or sky colour [hodden gray], and flat blue caps, very broad. The merchants in cities were attired in English or French cloth, of pale colour, or mingled black and blue. The gentlemen did wear English cloth, or silk, or light stuffs, little or nothing adorned with silk lace, much less with lace of silver or gold, and all followed at this time the French fashion, especially in Court. Gentlewomen, married, did wear close upper bodies, after the German manner, with large whalebone sleeves, after the French manner—short cloaks, like the Germans, French hoods, and large falling bands round their necks. The unmarried of all sorts did go bareheaded, and wear

short cloaks, with most close linen sleeves on their arms, like the virgins of Germany. The inferior sort of citizens' wives, and the women of the country, did wear cloaks made of a coarse stuff, of two or three colours in checker-work, vulgarly called *plodan*."

Of the status of the craftsman, we obtain an interesting glimpse from an indenture or agreement between the town of Dundee and its master-mason. At the date of this deed [1536-7], it appears that the boxmaster of "the parochie kirk of Our Lady" was the Master of Works for the town, and under his superintendence, "the mason" obliged himself to "exerceiss the best and maist ingenious poyntis and practikis of his craft, at the kirk werk or commone werkis of the said burgh, or at any other werkis that the said toun plesis best to command hym thairto oney tyme quhen neid beis." His hours of labour, more protracted than those now observed, were regulated according to the "ald vss, and consuetud of *Our Lady luge* of Dunde"—thus showing that a Lodge of Freemasons existed prior to this date. He began work at five o'clock in the morning, and at half-past eight took "ane half hour to his disuine" or breakfast; from nine he wrought till half-past eleven, when he probably had dinner; then from one to four, when he again had "ane half hour to his noneschankis,"¹ a meal which was perhaps equivalent to that of tea (vulgarly called *four-hours*); and, finally, resuming work at half-past four, he closed for the day at seven. In winter, which was held to begin and close at Hallow-day and Lady-day respectively, he was required to enter upon his work "ilk day als sone as he ma se, and wirk as long as he may se at eweyn;" during which he was to labour constantly, having "na tyme of licence of dennar nor noneschankis, causs of the shortnes of the dais." He had few half-holidays, and no whole ones. On "Fastryns dayis," he worked till four o'clock; and on Christmas, Pask, Whit, and Assumption days, he dropped at twelve. In the matter of wages he differed as much from modern practice, the pay being settled at twenty pounds Scots (£1 13s. 4d.), payable by instalments every six weeks. If employed at any time by other parties than the burgh, his official salary was cut down in proportion; and illness for more than forty consecutive days was to involve stoppage of his pay. The town allowed him an apprentice, who was to be sufficiently big and strong for the business, and "nocht ane small child,"

¹ A plausible derivation of this is suggested by the now obsolete French term *non jouissance*, or play hour.

the term of whose service was fixed for seven years ! During the first year of his apprenticeship this fortunate youth had no wages ; but the town agreed to pay him 16s. 8d. a year during the rest of his engagement, and he was also provided for in case of sickness in much the same manner as was his master.¹

The homely style of living did not exempt our forefathers from frequent and terrible visitations of epidemic disease. In 1608, Dundee is described as suffering under "the contagious sickness of the pest, and a great many of the houses are infectit therewith, and greater infection like to ensue, in respect of the few number of magistrates within the same, and the little care and regard had of the government thereof, ane of the said magistrates being departit this life, and ane other of them visited with disease and infirmity, and not able to undergo sae great pains and travels in his person and otherwise as is requisite at sae necessar a time." For these reasons the Privy Council, as the records inform us, appointed three citizens to act as assistant magistrates. Two years before, as we gather from an Aberdeen deed, a message was sent to Dundee for two professional *clengers* to deal with an infection which had appeared in the neighbourhood of the Granite City, and this bond for 500 merks was granted as requital for their services.]

In the year 1617, James VI. carried his long-cherished design of visiting Scotland into execution, and, in course of his sojourn, visited Dundee. The details of this royal progress are scanty, and we can state very little about it. Wilson, a writer of that age, says that he "began his journey with the spring, warming the country as he went with the glories of the Court ; taking such recreations by the way as might best beguile the days and cut them shorter, but lengthen the nights (contrary to the seasons) ; for, what with hunting, hawking, and horse-racing, the days quickly ran away ; and the nights, with feasting, masqueing, and dancing, were the more extended." He adds, that, after his reception at Edinburgh on the 16th May, the king proceeded circuitously by Linlithgow and Dunfermline to Falkland, where he arrived on the 19th, "and once more enlivened, with the sounds of his hunting horn, that noble park which had been his favourite scene of amusement in youth." On the 21st, he arrived at Dundee, and passed the night at Dudhope Castle, the residence of Sir John Scrymgeour, hereditary Constable of the town. Next day the king

¹ Register of Brechin, quoted by Jervise. Mem. Angus, p. 220—1.

proceeded to Kinnaird, the seat of his favourite, Lord Carnegie, where he spent eight days in sylvan sports. On the 30th, he returned to Dundee, and was welcomed by the town-clerk and magistrates, in a panegyric speech, and by two Latin poems. In connection with this subject, Calderwood, the ecclesiastical historian, who lived at the time, writes, that "About the end of Januar, the king sent to the Councell the motives of his coming to Scotland, to wit, his natural and Salmontlike (!) affection and earnest desire to see his native and ancient kingdom of Scotland;" and Mr David Wedderburne, brother of the town-clerk, and who formerly was one of the bailies, writes thus—"Vpon the xv. May, 1617, James, be ye grace of God, Kyng of gryt britane, france, & Jyrland, Defendr of ye fait, or Natiue King, being Mowit of his awin gude inclinatione to wyssie scotland & his avine people, Cam to edr : Thaireftir cam or ye wattir of Kyngorne & cam to falkeland. And on ye xxi. of May, being wddnsday, cam or ye wattir of Dundie & schippit at ye sout feray, & landit at ye rude,¹ and cam to Dudop, lait and sleippit thair. the morn tymous he red to Kynaird,² and remainit all yt day, and fryday, setterday, sonday, monday, tysday, wddnsday, thursday, and In into Dundie on fryday at — hors, qr than his mtie gef to ym his presence." This is all we know of this important expedition; for, as the panegyric pronounced by Mr Alexander Wedderburne, the learned town-clerk, is long ago forgotten, so it is likely that his Latin complimentary poetical effusions are also lost.

The last and final confirmation of the rights and privileges of the town was given by Charles I., 14th September, 1641, which was ratified by Act of Parliament passed 12th July, 1661. All the previous charters have been lost except that of Robert I., referred to in a pre-

¹ The Rood Yard, beyond Carolina Port.

² Kinnaird Castle, in the parish of the same name, is situated on the Braes of the Carse, about two miles west of Inchture, and at this time was the seat of Sir John Livingstone, ancestor of the Earl of Newburgh, who takes his second title of Viscount from it, and his inferior one of Lord Flawersaig, from one of the farms. The castle and barony were the patrimonial property of the ancestors of Lord Kinnaird, and they derived from them their family name. The bed on which the king slept is still carefully preserved at Rossie Priory, and shewn to strangers among the other curiosities which ornament that beautiful seat. [We have allowed this note to stand as an instance of the weakness of "tradition" as an authority for popular relics. The Kinnaird which King James visited was *not* in the Carse, but near Brechin, as we have narrated; where the curious must look for the veritable bed on which the royal visitor slept.—Ed.]

ceding section ;¹ and this too, by some means or other, disappeared somewhat more than thirty years ago, but was afterwards recovered, or at least a transcript of it made by George Bruce, rector of the Grammar School, about 1749.

Soon after the beginning of the seventeenth century, and, indeed, for a considerable time previous, the power of the Constable, and the manner in which it was exercised over the people, were equally humiliating and oppressive. An attempt of Sir James Scrymseour, second Viscount Dudhope, Hereditary Constable, to make himself perpetual Provost, to change the election of the Magistrates and Council into a mere nomination, and to subject all causes, civil and criminal, to his own cognizance and authority, produced such disturbances as those in which the minister was implicated, and an invincible dislike and opposition to such encroachments of ambition and power. The constable and the burgesses strove for the superiority ; but the latter, guided by the friendship and supported by the influence of the Fletcher family, which was rapidly rising in civic importance, obliged the former to abandon his unwarrantable claim. To this succeeded mutual recriminations and personal insults. The viscount, piqued at the success, and, perhaps, alarmed at the threats of triumphant patriotism, sued out a writ of *law-burrows* against the magistrates and council, as representing the community, who were not freed from its operation until John Fotheringhame, of Pourie, became surety for them in the sum of twenty thousand merks, or £13,333 6s. 8d. Scots.

This disagreement, which originated in ambition, and gradually increased in mutual irritation, was terminated in 1643 (the year before Lord Dudhope's death), by Sir George Hallyburton and Sir John Leslie, two of the Lords of Session, effecting an accommodation between the parties. The privileges secured to Lord Dudhope by the arrangement were these :—The power of levying the customs during the week of the great annual fair, called the First Fair ; the right of riding by himself, or by his bailiff, through the town, with a body of his friends and followers, not exceeding twenty horsemen, on the principal day of the fair, the 26th of August ; the privilege of judging in all disputes that should arise during the continuance of the fair ; and, instead of holding his courts for that purpose, as formerly, on the Castle Hill, the right of holding them in the Tolbooth, or Town-house, the keys of which, along with those of the prison, were to be delivered

¹ See page 34, and Appendix, Note C.

up to him at the *riding of the fair* by the magistrates ; to take from every boat that might enter the harbour with herrings or bervie-haddocks, a number, not exceeding a hundred, and two killings, or lings,¹ from every boat that might arrive with these fishes ; to be exempted from customs for victual produced on his estate, and brought to market in the town ; and that the grants of the sheriffship, confirmed by the king to the provost and magistrates, should not prejudice him in his infestments and rights of constable within the burgh. The only advantages acquired by the magistrates, on behalf of the community, in exchange for these, were to be freed from the burden of paying any part of the stipend of twelve hundred merks, granted a short time before to the parson, or senior minister of the parish ; and that the Lord Dudhope should surrender to them the charter recently obtained by him from the Crown, by which the Rotten Row, or Hilltown, was erected into a burgh of barony in his favour, with two annual fairs, a weekly market, and exercise of trade, merchandise, and crafts.

The ground occupied by the houses of the Hilltown formed part of the estate of Dudhope, which itself is comparatively a modern name, given after the lands were divided into a number of properties or separate estates. At the time of the grant of the town to the Earl of Huntingdon, with an extensive tract of surrounding territory, it was denominated the "Barony of Dundee." This continued for ages to be the appellation ; and what is now called Over or Upper Dudhope, was then the Upper Field of Dundee (*Campus Superior de Dundee*), and what is now termed Nether or Lower Dudhope, was then known by the name of the Lower Field of Dundee (*Campus Inferior de Dundee*), and sometimes the King's Meadow. On that part of the lands of Upper Dudhope which adjoins the town on the north, the cottages were erected from time to time near and on both sides of the road leading to the inland country, from the gate in the town wall (called the Wellgate from their proximity to the Lady Well), which suggested to Lord Dudhope the idea of getting them erected into a burgh of

¹ At this time, and for long afterwards, the Tay was celebrated for the excellency of the fish it produced. The *Mercurius Caledonicus*, for 1661, says, "This our town of Dundee, situat on the river Tay, hath been ever famous for the abundance of that little fish, termed, for its excellence, the *Cherry of Tay*, caught here. It is likest (if not a species) to the whyting : but so surpassing it in a delicious taste, that hardly it can be so called." This fish is supposed to be the smelt ; and in more recent times was known as the *garvie*, a corruption of *cherry*.

barony, in order to revenge himself upon the stubborn and refractory citizens of Dundee, who would not submit to be governed by him as he pleased. A charter of erection was procured from Charles I. ; the magic influence of which instantly converted the scattered hovels of the Rotten Row into the baronial burgh of Hilltown of Dudhope, depending on the Right Honourable Sir James Scrymseure, Knight, Lord Viscount Dudhope, and Constable of Dundee, and his heirs after him, as its feudal superiors. From this erection the ruin of Dundee was anticipated, which the magistrates sought to provide against by stipulating that the new barony should be surrendered to them. Accordingly, they have ever since exercised over it the rights of superiors ; and, until a comparatively recent period, the junior magistrate, or youngest bailie, as he was styled, exercised the functions of baron-bailie of the Hilltown. It is plain, however, that, though it had continued a separate jurisdiction, Dundee had nothing to fear from its proximity, as it must have been dependent on the town for its trade and the greater part of its resources ; and from the command of the river and harbourage, which the magistrates possessed, they had it in their power to have made it immeasurably more desirable for an incomer to settle in the old than in the new town.

Section VIII.

SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT—THE EARL OF MONTROSE ASSAULTS, TAKES, AND BURNS THE TOWN—CHARLES II. VISITS THE TOWN—WHICH IS BESIEGED, TAKEN, AND PLUNDERED BY GENERAL MONK—DEATH OF LUMSDEN—POVERTY OF THE TOWN—THE ENGLISH GARRISON.

THE renewal of the Solemn League and Covenant by the people of Scotland, and the adhesion to it by the inhabitants of Dundee, were the occasion of bringing upon the town the awful visitation of fire and sword. Charles I., pursuing the same line of ecclesiastical policy with his father, sought to establish Episcopacy in Scotland by force, which compelled the people to form themselves into an association for the protection of their religious freedom. After the lapse of years, "the

Covenant" was renewed in 1638, and acceded to by the inhabitants of Dundee ; and no man was more enthusiastic in its support than James, Earl of Montrose, who very soon after became its bitterest enemy. Before this time, as we have seen, the town had been frequently taken by the English ; and now, in 1645, it was fated to experience the horrors of an assault and pillage from the fierce hordes that composed the army of Montrose, now almost the sole supporter of the Stuart dynasty, and whose gallant but misdirected zeal is thought to have precipitated the death of his unfortunate master. As the Town Council Records, so far as we can learn, contain no particulars of this assault, we must be content to glean what we can from other sources. A work, written by a companion and devotee of Montrose,¹ gives a detailed account of his campaigns, and the miseries heaped upon the people of Scotland in 1644, 45, and 46, by his instrumentality,—deeds which found too able and willing an imitator afterwards in the notorious John Graham of Claverhouse. We find no fault with Montrose,—the "Great Marquis of Montrose," as he has been called,—for his loyalty to his sovereign ; but, unfortunately for his fame, there is too much evidence that his loyalty resulted in a great measure from resentment against the Covenanters, in preferring to himself the Earl of Argyre and the Marquis of Hamilton. The people having risen up *en masse* in defence of their liberties, Montrose took his revenge by bringing Argyre to the scaffold, by betraying his ancient allies, and by obtaining from the king a commission to plunder and slay his countrymen throughout the length and breadth of the land. A careful perusal of the book above-mentioned, written expressly in defence of the conduct of Montrose, warrants the assertion that the gratification of his own passions, as much as the renovation of the king's affairs, was his principal care ; for, though he had been ever so well qualified to accomplish the latter object, he never had a force sufficiently numerous to support him. His idea of subduing an entire kingdom by an army consisting of a few hundred adventurers, was romantic and preposterous ; and he soon found himself confronted with men animated by a spirit fiercer and braver than even his own zeal in the cause of royalty. "Perhaps no military career," says our latest historian, "has ever had a literary commemoration so disproportioned

¹ Dr George Wishart, who attended Montrose, in all his career, as chaplain. In return for his devotion, he was afterwards rewarded with the Bishopric of Edinburgh, which was erected by Charles I.

to its length and fruitfulness."¹ Nor can we join in the high estimate which many form of Montrose's capacity. When we say that he was the desperate conductor of a bad and desperate cause, we have almost exhausted his lawful praise. His course was that of a meteor, swift and capricious, terrifying for a season the countries over which he passed; but not like the strong still eye of a sun, subduing them into permanent obedience.

In the course of his excursive warfare, Montrose, when at Dunkeld, was informed by his scouts that the Covenanters, under the orders of General Baillie, who had watched his motions, had all passed over the Tay. Resolving to avail himself of this movement of his opponents, he "thought it well worth his labour, if by the way he might take in Dundee, a seditious town; for that being the securest haunt and receptacle of the rebels in these parts, and a place that had contributed as much as any other to the rebellion, was kept by no other garrison but of the townsmen. He therefore commanded the weakest and worst armed men to go along by the bottom of the hills, and to meet him at Brechin. And he taking with him what horse he had (which were but one hundred and fifty in all), and six hundred nimble musqueteers, departing from Dunkeld about twelve o'clock in the night, made so great haste, that he came to Dundee by ten of the clock in the morning, on the 4th of April [1645]. He summoned the townsmen to deliver the town to the king, which was the only way to preserve their own lives and its safety. If they would not, then they must expect fire and sword. They began to make delays, and first to give no answer at all, and afterwards to commit the trumpet to prison; which affront provoked Montrose so highly, that he stormed the town in three places at once. The townsmen stood out a while and maintained their works, but they had as good have done nothing; for the Irish and Highlanders would take no repulse, but with resolute assault some beat them out of their sconces, and possessing themselves of their ordinance, turned it against the town; others beat open the gates, and possessed themselves of the church and market place; and others set the town on fire in several places.² And, indeed, had not the

¹ Burton, *Hist Scot.*, vi., p. 198.

² This burning of the town is an illustration of the character of Montrose, and shows the ingratitude of both him and his master. By an Act of Parliament, dated 27th February in the same year, Dundee had to furnish one hundred and eighty-six men for the royal service, and maintain them at the rate of £1674 per

common soldiers, by an unseasonable avarice and intemperance, addicted themselves to pillage, that rich town had been immediately all on fire. But as it happened it was better, both for the conquerors and the conquered; for all the intelligence the scouts had brought in concerning the enemy's coming in over the Tay, was absolutely false. It may be that they saw a few troops (and many they did not see) pass over it, which they believed to have been the whole body of the enemy; and by that means were like to have undone themselves and the whole army. Montrose stood upon the top of a hill close unto Dundee looking upon the skirmish, when his almost breathless scouts brought him news, that Baillie and Hurry, with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse, were scarce a mile off. He immediately calls his men out of the town, which he had much to do to persuade them; for the soldiers, thinking themselves sure of the victory, and thinking they had done a good day's work already, and, besides, being a little heated with drink, and much taken with so rich a booty, could hardly be brought to leave the town they had so newly taken. And truly, before they could be beaten off from the spoil, the enemy was come within musket-shot of them."

Although the belligerent parties had come so near to each other, our historian informs us that no battle took place, nor any kind of fighting, except some skirmishing; for Montrose's six hundred foot and one hundred and fifty horse—it seems he did not lose a man; which is rather a singular occurrence in the taking of a fortified town by assault—exhausted by a morning march of upwards of thirty miles, a hot engagement, and afterwards heated with drink, continued to keep Baillie and Hurry's forces at bay until night, when they succeeded in making good their retreat to the neighbourhood of Arbroath, reached it about midnight, and thence proceeded to Brechin, crossing the Southesk at Cariston—a series of exploits which bear the marks of monstrous exaggeration.

A month afterwards, Montrose defeated Hurry and Baillie, in separate engagements, in the north; then, by a rapid movement, he appeared at Kilsyth, and was again victorious; but, in September, General Leslie surprised and routed his forces at Philiphaugh, after which Montrose passed over to the Continent. Returning in 1650,

month, being 6s. Scots per day for each man; and yet, in less than two months after the passing of this Act, Montrose, acting for the sovereign so served, plundered and burned the town.

he again collected a flying force of wild and lawless men ; but, being brought to bay at Invercarron in Ross-shire, he was defeated by Colonel Strachan, and brought to Dundee, where he and his escort lodged one night as they journeyed to Edinburgh. Our historian observes—" 'Tis remarkable of the town of Dundee, in which he lodged one night, that though it had suffered more by his army than any town else within the kingdom, yet, were they amongst all the rest, so far from exulting over him, that the whole town testified a great deal of sorrow for his woful condition ; and there was he likewise furnished with clothes suitable to his birth and person." This conduct was highly creditable to the town. The people were actuated by a better spirit than ever animated their now fallen and powerless oppressor ; and, besides, were well aware that to insult him, would neither replace their burned dwelling, nor restore the property of which they were pillaged, by the ravagers whom he formerly led. When carried to Edinburgh, the captive nobleman was tried, and condemned to be hanged and quartered ; and, after the execution of the sentence, May 25th, 1650, one of his limbs, according to some writers, was sent to Dundee to be exhibited on a pole.

[At the time Montrose was returning to head his last and fruitless insurrection in favour of Charles II., an embassy from the Estates left Scotland to negotiate with that prince (then residing at the Hague) for his return to the throne, and to express their "readiness to espouse the king's cause, if he first will espouse God's cause." To their overtures Charles, with that dissimulation and falsehood of which he afterwards proved himself so great a master, readily assented, taking the most solemn obligations to support the Covenant and liberties of the country. Landing at the mouth of the Spey, on 3d July, 1650, he passed by Aberdeen and Dunnottar to Dundee ; whence, after a stay of some weeks, he passed over to Falkland. Meantime Cromwell and his Ironsides were advancing into Scotland, to expel this faithless monarch, whom, with all his solemn promises, the Covenanting army so distrusted that, while drifting into conflict with their natural allies on his behalf, they would not have him in their camp. The tactics of the veteran Leslie had so far succeeded as to drive Cromwell back from Edinburgh to Berwick, when, in an evil hour, the Scottish general was overruled by others, and forced to make a disadvantageous attack, resulting in his defeat at Dunbar. Withdrawing what remained of his army towards Falkirk, Leslie was there joined by reinforcements.

and the king himself, who, after a ludicrous attempt to escape from his councillors, had been formally crowned and anointed at Scone. Cromwell, by a strategical movement, crossed the Forth, and, getting behind his opponents, seized and occupied Perth ; but on learning, to his astonishment, that Leslie had played a still bolder stroke, by marching rapidly southwards to invade England, the Protector was obliged to follow in all haste, leaving General Monk with some 5000 men to look after Scotland. Before Cromwell could overtake Leslie and the royalists, they had reached Worcester ; but the engagement there, on 3d September, 1651, put an end to the hopes of the king's followers in that enterprise.

The sojourn of Charles in Dundee appears to have drawn to the town, from all parts of the country, those who favoured his cause. His quarters are said to have been in Whitehall Close, and here in the house fronting the street may still be seen a tolerable carving of the royal arms and legend, with the initials, C. R. G., and date 1660.¹ Besides large sums of money advanced for the king's use, the magistrates raised some troops of horse for his service, and presented him with a handsome equipage for the camp, and six pieces of artillery. These gifts, and the circumstances connected with Charles' sojourn, marked out Dundee as a place to be promptly dealt with, and accordingly Monk lost no time in investing it. He had just become master of the great stronghold of Stirling, after a siege of three days, and doubtless anticipated as speedy a reduction of Dundee ; but here he found confirmation of his own saying—"Better than all ramparts is man's flesh."

It was towards the end of July, 1651, that Monk appeared at the gates of the town, and summoned Governor Lumsden to surrender. The reply, which the besiegers called arrogant, was at least defiant and soldierlike, and ran thus :—

"Sir,—We received yours. For answer thereunto, we by these acquaint you, and all officers and troops that are at present in arms against the king's authority, to lay down your arms, and to come in and join with his majesty's forces in this kingdom, and to conform and give obedience to his majesty's declaration sent you herewith,

¹ This date, being nine years posterior to the king's visit, shows that the carving was the work of some loyal owner of the place, and executed probably after the "glorious Restoration ;" at which time also the close had received the ambitious name which so ill suits that squalid neighbourhood.

which, if you will obey, we shall continue, Sir, your faithful friend in the old manner.—ROBERT LUMSDEN."

The siege was thereupon pressed with vigour ; but the strength of the defences, combined with the resolution of the garrison, which numbered, according to Gumble, more fighting men than the besiegers, defied for weeks all their efforts.

Meanwhile a committee of Estates¹ and of the Kirk had assembled at Alyth to concert measures for the relief of Dundee. This was felt to be an object of critical interest for the Government, the town having in fact become a city of refuge for those who had been driven out of Edinburgh, Stirling, and Perth, and who had hoped here to find protection for their persons and valuable moveables. To disperse this assemblage, which otherwise might threaten his rear, and compel him to raise the siege, Monk detached five hundred horse, under the command of Colonels Aldriche and Morgan. This expedition was conducted across the Sidlaws, by guides well acquainted with the neighbourhood—a circumstance which,² along with others, points to the hostility of a portion of the population to the king's party. A considerable force was assembled at Alyth, under the command of the aged Leslie, Earl of Leven ; but the dragoons, in a night attack, dashed upon them before they had time to make even a show of resistance, and made prisoners of all the leading men.³ Among these, besides

¹ The Estates, Parliament, or National Council, consisted of the dignified clergy, as the first Estate ; of the landed interest or tenants of the Crown, as the second ; and of the burghesses of burghs or the commercial interest, as the third. After the Reformation, and until the introduction of Episcopacy, the clergy ceased to form an Estate, and Parliament was composed of only two, the landed and trading interests. All the three estates met and deliberated in one apartment ; hence in the assemblies of the Estates, those only, whatever their rank, who possessed equal freeholds, were peers. Peerages, such as exist at present, had no being in Scotland even in the sixteenth century, as dignities were annexed to territory, and always accompanied it whether it passed from one person to another by descent or purchase. The clergy having been expelled by the Reformation and the Revolution, the nobility, or superior barons, were separated from the lesser freeholders, and substituted in the place of the Church dignitaries, and thus the three Estates still remained, lords, barons, and burghesses.

² Baker's Chronicle, p. 343.

³ "Especially the old General *Lesly*, who (some say) was taken out of a cupboard there hidden, upon the *English* entering the Town ; but they do the Gentleman wrong, for it was a *Dutch* Bed which hath shuts—the best provision that obscure place could afford such great Persons."—Gumble's Life of General Monk, p. 45.

Leslie, were the Earls Marischal, and Crawford : Lords Ogilvy, Home, and Bargeny ; the Lairds of Colinton, Leys, and Powrie, &c. ; and three of the leading ministers, one of whom was James Sharp, whose apostacy afterwards brought him the Archbishopric of St Andrews.

Without waiting for the return of his cavalry, Monk felt himself in a position to make the assault on Dundee. It was the habit of that period, and which continued until late in the last century, for the townsmen of all ranks to breakfast in the alehouses ; and in such a time of excitement, with crowds of strangers in the town, this practice led to excesses, which proved their ruin. One contemporary writer tells us, "the townsmen did no dewtey in their awn defiance, but wer most of them all drunken, lyke so maney beasts ;"¹ and Dr Gumble narrates how the fatal indulgence became known to Monk :—"The General had very good Intelligence, by the means of a *Scotch Boy*, who frequently used to get over the Works, in the sight of their own Sentinels, in the day-time, by way of sport and play, without notice taken. And this Youth (for he was very young) did use to bring word in what Condition the Town was, That at Nine a Clock the Strangers and Souldiers used to take such large Morning-draughts (whether to make them forget the Misery that their Country was in at that time, or their own personal Troubles and Losses), that before the Twelfth, they were most of them well drenched in their Cups."²

Taking advantage of this knowledge, the town was stormed on the 1st of September, and, after a sharp but unavailing resistance, lay at the mercy of the besiegers. Robert Lumsden, the governor, with a handful of followers, retired fighting into the Old Steeple. Here, while the wild tumult of outrage and slaughter raged in the streets without, this gallant party made the last stand, but it was as unsuccessful as it was desperate. They were smothered out by the burning of wet straw, and yielded themselves to a Captain Kelly. This officer, recognising as a soldier the gallantry of Lumsden's defence of the town, was escorting him and his officers to General Monk, with the purpose of interceding for the governor's life, when a major named Butler barbarously shot him dead.³ It is recorded that Monk was much troubled on hearing of this unfortunate occurrence ; but even if we give the general the credit which his biographers claim for him as a man not

¹ Gumble's Life, p. 43.

² Balfour's Annales, iv., p. 315.

³ Baker's Chronicle,—continuation p. 629.—See also Lord Wharnccliffe's Notes to M. Guizot's Life of Monk, p. 22—3.

naturally cruel or vindictive, the least that can be charged upon him, in view of the slaughter which followed, is that he imposed no restraint upon his soldiers, and must share with them the execration called forth by their wild and indiscriminate slaughter. Along with Lumsden, there fell, according to reliable accounts, between seven and eight hundred of the garrison and townsmen, while a deeper horror is added to the picture, if we can credit the statement of another writer, that two hundred defenceless women and children were massacred in the riot and pillage which ensued.¹

Dr Small was able to trace, from the parish registers and other sources, the presence in the town at this time of the Earls of Buchan, Tweeddale, Buccleuch, and Roxburgh; Viscount Newburgh; Lords Balcarres, Elibank, Yester, and Ramsay; fifteen knights, eleven landed gentlemen, nine members of the Faculty of Advocates, twenty-four writers and indwellers of Edinburgh, and several clergymen from the south. Of these strangers none are certainly known to have been slain except Sir John Leslie of Newton and his servant; but of local individuals of note who fell the monuments in the Houff record Bailies George Brown of Horn, Alexander Mylne of Mylnefield, and Robert Davidson. Two of the clergymen, who appear to have opposed "hollding out the toune, knowing that such a drunken, debosht people could doe no good against so wigilant and active ane enemy," were sent by sea, along with other prisoners, to England; and it is graphically told that, on one of them attempting to speak in his own defence, Monk told him angrily that, if he presumed to say a word, "he wold scoobe his mouthe."

All accounts agree that the spoil which fell to the victors was unprecedented in quantity and value—exceeding, according to Balfour, two-and-a-half millions Scots. "It is reported by credible men," says another writer,¹ "that the English army had gotten above twa hundred thousand pounds sterling, partly of ready gold, silver and silver wark, jewels, rings, merchandise, and merchant wares, and other precious things belonging to the city of Edinburgh, beside all that be-

¹ This rests on Balfour—*Annales*, p. 315. Other writers make no mention of it. Recent historians, like Dr Hill Burton, dismiss it as an exaggeration, like that which "local tradition—the parent of lies"—tells of the carnage ceasing only on the third day, when an infant was found at the breast of its dead mother near the Thorter Row.

² Nicoll's *Diary of Public Transactions*, 4to, Edin., 1836.

longed to the town, and other people of the country, who had sent in their goods for safety to that town." "Some of my men," says White-locke, one of the officers of the Commonwealth, in a letter to the Parliament, "have gotten five hundred, others two hundred, and a hundred pounds a piece; none of them but are well paid for their service." About forty pieces of cannon, a great quantity of small arms, and a large store of ammunition were also taken. Sixty vessels then in the port, many of them doubtless brought there by the refugees, were laden with the booty—"the best Plunder that was gotten in the Wars throughout all the Three Nations; but see," continues Gumble in his narrative, "the just judgment of God, the ships were cast away within sight of the Town, and the great wealth perished without any extraordinary storm"—as if Providence had wished to mark, by some sign of anger, the hateful success which it had consented to permit. Not a particle of the plunder crossed the bar of Tay, a circumstance on which the narrator makes the appropriate reflection, "ill got, soon lost."

General Monk, who is said to have occupied the house at the foot of Overgate, next the High Street, was detained for some weeks in Dundee by illness, which even his panegyrists appear to have regarded as a judgment upon the terrible service he had been engaged in. On the 19th October, he received a letter written from Inverary by the Marquis of Argyll, on hearing of the atrocities at Dundee, imploring him to assemble a Convention at some convenient place to devise means for stopping bloodshed. To this he refused to accede without an order from Parliament. Shortly after, he withdrew to the south with his troops, and the town was garrisoned by another body of Cromwell's troops, who conducted themselves with strict discipline and propriety. Many of the soldiers were tradesmen, and seem to have exercised their callings, and cultivated friendly relations among the inhabitants. *Amor vincit omnia*: within eight years, sixty-six of the garrison married as many of the townswomen, and 255 baptisms appear on the register as the result of these unions. Grievous as it may have been felt at the time, the occupation of Dundee and other places by Cromwell's Ironsides introduced such order and respect for the law, that Desborough, one of the members for Edinburgh in the Long Parliament, was able to boast that "a man may ride over all Scotland, with a switch in his hand, and a hundred pounds in his pocket, which he could not have done these five hundred years."

Although the strong arm of the law gave protection to the industrious, the poverty of the country was extreme. All the nobles had either sold or hopelessly mortgaged their properties; the trade of the burghs was paralysed; and the frequent recurrence of bad harvests and fatal epidemics reduced the common people to pitiable straits. In 1658, the native shipping of Dundee consisted of *ten* vessels, ranging from twelve to a hundred and fifty tons. The disasters of the siege had so prostrated the town that the magistrates applied to Parliament for relief and assistance; but it was not till 1659 that three Acts were passed—the first of which imposed a duty of fourteen pence Scots upon each pint of French wine, and twenty pence upon every pint of Rhenish, sack, brandy, or tent, vended within the town. This Act expired in five years; during which time, from the habits of the people, and the circumstance that Dundee was the place of importation for a large section of the kingdom,¹ it is probable that the tax had produced a considerable sum. The second Act authorised a general collection to be made throughout the kingdom, for the purpose of repairing the harbour; and the third granted two additional yearly markets or fairs, to be held on the first Tuesday of July and October respectively. The former acquired the name of Stobb's Fair, from an individual connected with the ground on which it was first held, and where it continued to take place down to the year 1846. The tolls and customs of both fairs, like the impost on wines, were applied in aid of the town's funds.

The population of the town prior to the siege by General Monk, has been the subject of some speculation. Dr Small, in the old Statistical Account, made an ingenious calculation, based on the ascertained marriages and births prior and subsequent to that occurrence, from which he estimated the population at between eight and nine thousand, and put the loss of life at one-sixth. More recent researches, proceeding upon direct testimony, show this estimate of the slaughter to be much exaggerated, while, on the contrary, the population is understated. Five years previously, the Estates had ordered the counties and burghs to raise and maintain a certain number of foot soldiers, in proportion to the population. Dundee was required to

¹ In the "Black Book of Taymouth" entries are found of claret and white wine brought from Dundee. The "Chronicle of Perth" (1590), records a severe frost in 1624, of which advantage was taken to transport twenty-one puncheons of wine, in carts, upon the frozen Tay, from Dundee to the Fair City.

muster 106 men, and, assuming the ratio to be one soldier for every sixty souls, the entire population would be over 11,000. Another point of enquiry has reference to the place of interment of the large numbers said to have fallen by the sword. Dr Burton remarks that "Wanton cruelty was not one of Monk's vices; and, had the storming of Dundee been such a deed as some have described, it would have hung more weightily on his memory, and been more frequently referred to in contemporary history than it has been. There is nothing in local record to confirm the aggravations, and antiquaries have in vain tried to find where the crowd of sufferers was buried.¹ This last observation at least, is certainly open to question, as it is matter of fact that, in 1810, when the Nethergate was widened, by the removal of the row of houses which formerly stood in front of the churches, and the ground or churchyard improved—which never was more than nominally a burying-place—and still more recently, when the drainage of South Lindsay Street was being executed, vast quantities of human bones were discovered. From the shallowness of their covering the bodies, of which these were the remains, seemed to have been hastily interred, and it can hardly be doubted were those of the victims who perished in the assault, or the slaughter which succeeded.

Of Governor Lumsden, little is known beyond his gallantry, which even his enemies acknowledged, and his fate, which all deplored. He was not a native of Dundee, and we have no certain accounts of how he came to occupy this important position. He was the second son of a Sir James Lumsden or Lumsdaine, who, in 1640, purchased the lands of Innergelly, in Fifeshire. The elder brother, Sir James, was a major-general under Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, and distinguished himself by the taking of Frankfort; but, returning to Scotland, he was made prisoner by Cromwell at Dunbar, the year before the siege of Dundee. Robert Lumsden, of Stravithie and Montquhaney,² also served with distinction in the wars of the great Gustavus, and his name occurs in a list of Scottish officers serving that prince in 1632, when he had attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Sir Alexander Leslie, afterwards Earl of Leven, held a high command at the same time in Sweden; and it is probable that, when he came

¹ Hist. Scot., vii., p. 297.

² In Lamont's Diary this entry occurs: "1652, April.—The Lady Bawhannie, surnamed Weyms, in Fife, departed out of this life at Bawhannie; her husband, Rob. Lumsdaine, was slain at Dundie."

to be the commander of the Covenanting army in Scotland, he had selected his old comrade, Robert Lumsden, to conduct the defence of Dundee. We have already seen that Leslie was captured at Alyth while concerting measures to raise the siege.]

Section XX.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE REIGNS OF CHARLES II. AND JAMES VII.—PERSECUTION OF THE COVENANTERS—GRIZZEL JAFFRAY—ATTEMPT OF GRAHAM OF CLAVERHOUSE TO SEIZE DUNDEE—DECLINE OF THE TOWN—STATE OF THE TOWN IN 1691—REBELLION OF 1715 AND VISIT OF THE CHEVALIER—JACOBITE MAGISTRATES IN 1745—MISCELLANEOUS OCCURRENCES.

THE success which General Monk attained in the subtle arts of diplomacy was equal to that which he acquired in military affairs. The object of his campaign in Scotland was to overthrow the monarchical government of Charles II. ; on effecting which he remained for several years with his army as the virtual ruler of the country. Cromwell, while satisfied of his military capacity, had misgivings as to his fidelity, and history justifies the Protector's suspicions in revealing the fact, that Monk was all along a royalist at heart, and had held secret correspondence with the exiled king. The death of the Protector, and the speedy dismissal of his son, Richard, left Monk, with an attached and well-disciplined army at his back, the most influential personage of the day, to whom all eyes were turned. After quietly temporising until the Parliament and opposing factions, in both countries, had become weakened by intestine quarrels, Monk, by a series of dissimulating and successful manœuvres, again reared up the fabric of that kingly authority he had so recently subverted. After an inglorious and arbitrary reign, Charles II. died, and was succeeded by his brother, James II. of England and VII. of Scotland. He attempted to subvert at once the religion and the constitution of the country, and, like his immediate predecessor, manifested a peculiar prejudice against Presbyterianism, the popular religious establishment of Scotland. The sufferings to which the Presbyterians or Covenanters were subjected, during the successive reigns of the two Stuarts, Charles and James,

were of the most dreadful kind, and of a piece with the cruel policy of Louis XIV. of France, their contemporary. Driven to despair, arms were the only alternative, and these at length gave them the redress that otherwise they would never have obtained. Though there is no record known which relates any transactions of these dark and persecuting times in which Dundee was concerned, we cannot doubt but that it shared in the struggle for civil and religious freedom of which the Covenanters stood forth as the champions. Their enthusiasm kept alive the sacred flame which in the end procured the establishment of our liberty. The circumstances of those times were such as are always peculiarly dangerous to freedom. The country had been distracted by revolution, and wasted by civil war; and men, disgusted at the uncouth shape and unwieldy gait of the elephant, were ready to throw themselves into the mouth of the tiger. The bad and the selfish naturally clung to the restored monarch in hopes of favour and promotion; men of calmer temperament had become indifferent; and it required all the zeal, and even the wildness of the Covenanters, to give an impulse to the spirit of the country. Their faces may not have been such "as limners would love to paint, and ladies to look upon;" but what is of infinitely more importance, their actions were highly useful to man, and consequently approved of God. Their names and their memory must therefore be dear to their countrymen, so long as Scotland is the place of freedom, and the abode of religion and virtue; and if the time shall ever come when they shall be generally held up to ridicule or contempt, then the sad period will be fast approaching when their tombs shall be the only memorials of patriotism.

After an interval of many years, the prosecutions for witchcraft were revived in 1669, with a zeal which fortunately proved to be the expiring effort of a mania that too long disgraced our records, by the trials and legal murders of decrepid and lunatic women. The laws against witchcraft disgraced the Statute-Book until the 24th of March, 1736, on which day George II. gave his consent to a bill for repealing the statute made 1st King James I., entitled "An act against conjuration, witchcraft, and dealing with evil and wicked spirits." Even before this formal repeal, these odious and absurd laws had fallen into disuse. The reason of this was as follows:—As the cases of witchcraft were at first numerous, the expense of prosecution was of course great. This was at first borne by the Crown, and, so long as that was the case, instances of witchcraft were rife. At length, the burden of

prosecutions became so oppressive, that it was found absolutely necessary to throw it upon the towns and parishes where witches were actually detected ; and from that hour informations fell off—the scent of the witch-finder became dull—and Satan was most effectually exorcised by Mammon.

[The case of Grizzel Jaffray is the last in Dundee of which anything is certainly known. On the 11th November, the Privy Council issued a commission for the trial of this woman, who is designed the spouse of James Butchard, maltman, and then prisoner in the Tolbooth of Dundee, on suspicion of “the horrid crime of witchcraft.” Authority was given to put her to the knowledge of an assize, “and if by her own confession, without any sort of torture or other indirect means used, it shall be found she hath renounced her baptism, entered into paction with the devil, or otherwise that malefices be legally proven against her, that then and no otherwise they cause the sentence of of death to be executed upon her.” The tenor of the instructions shows the loose and reckless procedure which had hitherto prevailed in witch cases, and might have supported the doubts which have been expressed as to whether Grizzel actually suffered incrimination. Willing, as we should be, to escape the stain which her conviction and execution leaves upon the town, the evidence is too explicit for evasion of the fact. In 1815, when Mr Home, of the Register Office, was searching the town’s records on behalf of the Guildry, he found the following minutes, which are quoted from his MS. report now in possession of the Maltmen Incorporation:—

“Dundie, the twentieth-third day of Novr.,
1669 years.

“*Anent such as were delated for witchcraft.*—The minirs having also reprinted to the Counsell, that Grissel Jaffray, witch, *at her execution*, did delate seall psons as being guiltie of witchcraft to ye, and therefore desyred yt for yr exoneraon some course might be taken wt those delated : The Counsell, in order thervnto, therefore noits the provost, the pnt baillzies, the old baillzies, deane of gild, .t ther, to meet wt the minirs .t to comon wt ym on the sd matter, and to consider of ye best wayes may be takin wt the delated.”

“At Dundy, the eight day of Februar,
I m. vi c. sevintie [1670] years.

“*The Counsel cosents the minirs send for a pruver.*—The ministers having reprinted to the magistrates that they intindt to send for one

that can, in some measure, discover witches be the mark, And yr for cravit the Counsellis cosent theranent, wherof the Counsell approves, and cosents the minirs send for the partie when they please."

It thus appears that, between the 11th and 23d, poor Grizzel had been tried and executed; that counsel was taken upon her dying accusations against other persons; and that, sad to say, the ministers were the prominent instigators of these discreditable proceedings.¹ Tradition connects an affecting anecdote with the burning of Grizzel Jaffray. It is said that her only son, after a long absence at sea, returned in command of his vessel, and entered the port at the very time that the execution of his mother was proceeding in the Seagate. On enquiring the cause of the unusual bustle in the town, he set sail again, and was never more seen in Dundee.]

The researches of Mr Home, among the burgh records, also threw light on the institution of the Town Guard, which took its origin in the troublous time when Sharpe was assassinated on Magus Muir, and, Claverhouse was pursuing the Covenanters in the south and west, and as we shall see, was about to make himself a troublesome neighbour to Dundee. The minutes relative to the Guard are as follows :—

"Dundie, the 3 June, 1679.

"*Act anent the keeping of nightlie gairds within this brugh.*—The Counsel, considering the troublous tymes that now is lyk to come on this Kingdom, that it is necessar for this brugh to have ane nightlie guard keipe:l, for defending of this brugh from invasione of enemies, Thairfore they are the next Councell day to nominat Captains, Livtenents, Ensignes, and Serjants, in avrie quarter, and to Condischend what number sall be on the sd nightlie gaird."

"Dundie, 9 June, 1679.

"*Act ordeining the haill Inhabitants to meit evrie night at the Croce to receive their orders.*—Since it is appoynted be the provost, balzies, and Councili of this brugh, that yr shall be ane nightly watch keipe:l within this brugh, Thairfoir they order all the Inhabitants within this brugh To conveine evrie night at the Croce, and receive orders from yr severall Capitans, after the beating of the drum, each night, at or befor eight o'clock in the night, under the paine of ffourtie shillings, Scots money, for ilk persone contravinand, *toties quoties.*"

¹ There were three ministers in the town at that period, viz. : Revds. Henry Scrymgeour, John Guthrie, and William Rait, the last named being described as a man "of known repute both for learning and piety."—*Fasts Eccles. Scot. vi. p. 695.*

“Dundie, 16 Junii, 1679.

“Annent the keeping generall Randivois at the Magdalen Yeard.— The Councill appoynts ane generall randevouze to be keiped at the Magdalen Yeard, of all the fencable men within this brugh, betwixt sextie and sexteine, to be holden on thursday nixt, the nyuteine of this moneth, at eight o'clock in the morning. These are cmanding all fencable men to kep that tyme with suficiet armes; and ordeins the drums to goe to advertise all for that effect, wnder the paine of Tuentie pounds, to be payed be ilk persone absent and contraveins this pnt act.”

The Town Guard existed, in a state of various efficiency, till not very many years before the commencement of the present century, when its place was supplied by a watch similar to what was organised previous to the passing of the first regular police act in 1824. This supplementary watch or guard was dispensed with for the reason that the individuals composing it were suspected of assisting in the smuggling transactions of the period; but there was a remnant of the original Town Guard till a comparatively recent time, in the persons of a drummer and piper, who perambulated the town, announcing to the citizens the advent of the *curfew* hour, and proclaiming the time of going to bed.

In the reign of Charles II., the Hon. Charles Maitland of Hatton, Depute Lord Treasurer, who had purchased the liferent of the Countess of Dundee, and thereupon assumed the office of Constable, revived all the pretensions of the former Constables; but, being opposed by the magistrates, he cited them before the Privy Council, and obtained a judgment in his favour, affirming all his arrogant claims. This judgment declared the whole criminal jurisdiction within the liberties of the town to be vested in him alone, and the civil in conjunction with the magistrates, which, as Fountainhall remarks on the case, “insignificates their privileges as a burgh.” That Hatton was successful in this and kindred cases, will surprise no one who considers the constitution of the courts at that time, as every tribunal in the kingdom was under the control of his brother, the able, but certainly infamous Duke of Lauderdale. In the year 1684, the estates of Dudhope and Constabulary of Dundee were taken from Hatton by James VII., who granted them to John Graham of Claverhouse, for the consideration of the sum of £2000, paid to Lauderdale. The king at the same time made Claverhouse a Privy Councillor; afterwards raised him to the rank of major-general, and by patent, dated November

12, 1688, created him Viscount of Dundee, and Lord Graham of Claverhouse. These honours, the last conferred by the king before his flight from London, were Graham's reward for years of cruel and dishonourable service against his countrymen, as the tool and minister of arbitrary power. Claverhouse's implacable hatred and opposition to Presbyterianism, and his savage cruelty to the supporters of it, rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to James Fletcher, Provost of Dundee, who was a zealous and conspicuous adherent of the Covenanted cause. That he might indulge his fierce passions to the prejudice of the Presbyterians and the inhabitants of Dundee, Claverhouse, as Constable, in virtue of his newly acquired, but illegal right, attempted to preside in a magisterial capacity over the town. He went so far, in his presumption and devotion to arbitrary power, as to insist upon privileges which had been solemnly relinquished. He next proceeded to nominate a provost by his own authority; but this imprudent overstretch of power was resented with so much spirit, that he was compelled to seek for safety in a precipitate retreat, which he effected with difficulty, hurrying from the Town Hall with his head uncovered. Determined to take vengeance on the town for this disappointment, and to retaliate with interest the insults with which it was accompanied, he flew to Dudhope in a transport of vindictive rage, and commanded his dependents, with a body of his Highland retainers, to assemble in arms in the Glen of Ogilvy. His orders were promptly obeyed. At the head of his vassals, he returned towards Dundee, anticipating the opportunity of wreaking his fury on its inhabitants. The humanity of Mrs Maxwell of Tealing, however, interposed to prevent the threatened catastrophe. She saw Claverhouse descending the southern slope of the Sidlaws with his forces; and, conjecturing his ferocious intentions, from her knowledge of his enmity to the town, was lamenting her inability to convey intelligence of the approach of danger to Provost Fletcher, for whom she entertained the greatest respect, when one of her servants, called More, overhearing her anxious expressions of sorrow and regret, offered to proceed to Dundee and communicate her apprehensions. Mrs Maxwell, with the liveliest pleasure, accepted his tender of service, and instantly despatched him on the errand. By this time, Claverhouse was past Tealing, and More, taking the same direction, walked on unmolested, and overshot the hostile band; but Claverhouse, remarking the speed of his pace, and suspecting his design, ordered a party to follow him

without delay. In the meantime, More, pursuing his journey, deserted the highway, and, turning down a hollow near the burn of Clepington, eluded his pursuers. When arrived at the same place, the pursuing party found a man stretched upon the ground fast asleep; and concluding him to be the object of their pursuit, and that he had resorted to this device to elude them, they instantly seized and awoke him. Claverhouse coming up, in his usual style of overbearing insolence, threatened to punish him with the utmost severity for his conduct. The man stood astonished; protested his innocence of any design to offend; requested him to look upon his once well-known features, and reminded him of several actions he had performed in his own presence, which merited a better reward. Claverhouse was now sensible of his error, and, chafing with rage at having lost so much time, redoubled his speed to overtake the fugitive, but in vain. More meanwhile had reached the town, and, by running through the streets, uttering warning cries, and making expressive gesticulations, had apprised the inhabitants of the imminent danger which was approaching them. Before Claverhouse had arrived, they had assembled in numbers, and made preparations for repelling his attack. Enraged at this second disappointment, he commanded his vassals to fire the Rotten Row, or Hilltown, and in a short time the whole suburb was in flames. The owners of the blazing dwellings, unable to make any exertion to save their property, stood mournful spectators of their own ruin, while their neighbours of Dundee could give them no assistance, as the town itself was in danger. Apparently satisfied with this achievement, Claverhouse retired; and, being called soon after to act elsewhere, he ceased to disturb the counsels and to overawe the administration of magistrates, whom he found too powerful for him.¹ The battle of Killicrankie, fought 17th June, 1689, finished his cruel

¹ Claverhouse made his attack on the town at five o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th May, 1689; and on the next day the Privy Council ordered the collector of customs at Bo'ness to enter six "firekings" of powder, belonging to Dundee, free of duty; and at the same time authorised the Magistrates to apprehend all persons seeking a passage across Tay that could not give a good account of themselves; and also to seize all boats of every kind upon the river from Perth to the sea. A month previous to this attack, an act of Parliament passed, dated 12th April, 1689, depriving the nominees of the exiled James VII, who had long misgoverned the town, of all concern in the Magistracy, and authorising a poll-election of Magistrates, to continue till Michaelmas, when the usual form was directed to be again adopted and continue, which accordingly took place.

and inglorious career. This was the last hostile attack made on Dundee, though not the last time a hostile force possessed it.

The slaughter of the inhabitants, and the pillaging of the town by Monk, were evidently the co-operating causes of the decline of Dundee from its former consequence. Its wealth was removed, its population reduced, and its commercial and manufacturing prospects ruined. A famine of seven years' continuance, which occurred toward the end of the same century, increased the gloom by swallowing up the produce of the little means acquired between its commencement and termination of hostilities. The ruin of the grey woollen manufacture or plaiding succeeded, which, besides supplying the demand at home, had been exported in large quantities to the Continent, where it was used in many parts of Germany for clothing the soldiery. The demand was increasing, and prospects were encouraging, till the Union which took place between Scotland and England came on them like a withering blight. The exportation of woollen cloth from the former was expressly prohibited, while that of wool, the raw material, was encouraged with the greatest earnestness. The manufacture, thus ruined beyond recovery, was engrossed by the English, while the commerce of the Scots was sacrificed to the interests of her powerful rival. At this time there was not, as there could not be, any idea of the great extent to which trade and manufactures have been carried since; and we cannot help thinking that a spirit of commercial enterprise had begun to manifest itself in Scotland, and to be prosecuted with much vigour and success before the jealousy of England could have been awakened. That such was the case, and that affairs were proceeding prosperously, the indefensible conduct of the English to the Scots colony of Darien, settled in 1698 and ruined in 1700, amply proves; which, together with the whole foreign trade of Scotland, was to be sacrificed to protect that of England—a proceeding which condemned the former to remain much longer than otherwise she would have done in a state of comparative poverty and barbarism.

Seven years previous to the settlement of the colony of Darien, or New Caledonia, the miserable condition of the individual burghs was made the subject of complaint to the Convention of Royal Burghs, as each was on the brink of irretrievable ruin. In the Convention which met at Edinburgh, 9th July, 1691, the state of the burghs was brought forward and considered. The entire number, sixty-seven we believe, was divided into two parts,—those on the north and those on

the south of the Tay. Four visitors were appointed to repair to the burghs, and examine on the spot into the particular state and circumstances of each, and to report upon its income and expenditure, debts and resources, its foreign and home traffic, and, generally, everything connected with it, and to swear the parties examined. James Fletcher, provost of Dundee, and Alexander Walker, one of the bailies of Aberdeen, were appointed visitors of the burghs south of Tay; and John Moor, provost of Ayr, and James Smollet, provost of Dumbar-ton, were nominated to the same office to the burghs north of the same boundary.

The following is the state of the town in 1691, as sworn to before the visitors :—¹

CHARGE.

Imp. the town's milns yearly,	...	...	...	£722	0	0
It. the pettie customs yearly,	...	...	...	940	0	0
Item, the flesh and fish stocks yearly,	...	...	...	80	0	0
It. the postmastership yearly,	...	...	...	36	0	0
It. a year's rent of the anchorage and shore silver,	...	...	...	80	0	0
It. a year's rent of the ten pennies on ilk stipend of malt,	...	...	...	26	13	4
It. a year's rent of the salmond fishings,	...	...	...	180	0	0
It. a year's rent of the midding lairs at the east and west ports,	...	...	...	18	0	0
It. a year's rent of the Limm potts and grass at the east port, ²	...	...	...	3	8	8
It. a year's rent of the packhouse and packhouse yeard,	...	...	...	500	0	0
It. a year's rent of the hucksters' stands,	...	...	...	10	0	0
It. a year's rent of the vicarage,	...	...	...	60	0	0
It. a year's rent of the flesh shambles,	...	...	...	120	0	0
It. the few duty of the Balgayes salmond fishing,	...	...	...	4	0	0
It. the few duty of the booth under the tolbuith and behind it,	...	...	...	40	0	0
It. the few duty of Mr Auchinleck's yeard,	...	...	...	8	0	0
It. the few duty of Andrew Nicoll's house at the ye east port,	...	...	...	8	0	0
It. payed yearly to the town for the head rowmes, ³	...	...	...	5	12	0
It. the pettie impost on wyne,	...	...	...	50	0	0
It. a year's rent of the Lands of Logie,	...	...	...	457	18	0
It. a few duty out of David Scot, in Balhungie his shop,	...	...	...	1	18	0
				£3,551	2	0

¹ From the Appendix to the General Report of the Commissioners on Municipal Corporations in Scotland, presented to Parliament in 1835, by command of his Majesty William IV.

² These lime pots or pits we consider to have been the conveniences used by the Glovers for preparing their materials for use.

³ This was a rent paid by the Nine Trades for the use of as many spaces in the Houff, where each Trade met at its own Head Room to transact its own business. Anciently the Convener-Courts were also held in the same place.

DISCHARGE.

Imp. resting be the town of Dundie, to severall persons by bond, the			
sowme of £38,253, which pays of annual rent yearly,	...	£2.295	3 8
Payed to the laird of Fintrie of few duty yearly,	...	100	0 0
Pd. to the parson for his house rent,	...	100	0 0
To the town's two stependiarie ministers,	...	1,566	13 4
To the Clerk deput, advocat, his servant, postmr. of Edinr., and			
other offices,	...	286	0 0
To the master of the grammar school, his two doctors, and jani-			
tors,	...	366	13 4
To the Knocksmith of fie,	...	91	0 0
To the precentor,	...	20	0 0
To St Leonard's colledge for two burars,	...	144	0 0
To the gild officer, town officers, drumer, pyper, and yr cloathse,	...	537	0 0
To the hospitallmr for the grass above and beneath St Francis Well,	...	42	6 3
To the Kirk theasaurer for a year's rent of a booth,	...	24	0 0
To a few duty to the poor out of the gramar schooll,	...	2	13 0
To a few duty to the Laird of Lundie 5 lib, and to John Pierson's			
aires 2 lib. 10 sh.,	...	7	10 0
To seque monie,	...	147	0 0
To the writing master,	...	133	6 8
To a ground anwall out of the Castell Milns,	...	13	6 8
It. Commrs. expences to the General Convention of Borrowes yeirly,	...	120	0 0
It. of borrow dewes the last year,	...	251	12 0
It. Commrs. expences to the parlar Convention of Borrowes,	...	0	0 0
It. Commissioners expences to the parliat,	...	0	0 0
It. for maintaining the honour of the good town in waiting on			
noblemen and oysr in whom the burgh is concerned,	...	1200	0 0
It. a few duty out of the town's milns to the Earl of Lauderdale,	...	66	13 4

This above accompt, being the chaarge of the comon good of the said town, and the other padge being ther discharge, is the just and trew account of the condition of the said burgh, given up by the magistrats and town clerk upon oath, to the Visitors appointed by the Royall Borrowes for that effect, and is subscribed by the said magistrats and clerk; and the magistrats doo declare that the brewers having considered the low condition of the burgh, and the encreasing of their debts by reasone of the extraordinarie emergents, the brewers have, in October last, granted a voluntarie contributione and impositione to be payed be them to the town, of ten shillings Scots upon each boll of malt, for support of the burgh, which is only to continew dureing the brewers pleasure *Sic subscribitur*, J.A. FLETCHER, provost; JOHN SCOT, bailie; PATRICK ZEAMAN bailie; WILLIAM WATSON, bailie; J.A. WRODERBURNE (clk.).

*Ane Account of the Masters of Ships Names, and the burden of
their Veshells, belonging to the Burgh off Dundie.*

1. Alexander Wedderburne, his ship,	...	...	200 tunna,	£300 value.
2. John Marr, his ship,	...	...	100 "	400 "
3. Thomas Abercrombie, his ship,	...	...	90 "	800 "
4. Andrew Smitton, his ship,	...	...	80 "	200 "
5. John Reid, his ship,	...	...	60 "	150 "
6. David Ramsay, his ship,	...	...	60 "	50 "
7. William Fairweather, his ship,	...	...	50 "	150 "
8. William Donaldson, his ship,	...	...	40 "	50 "
9. William Watt, his ship,	...	...	50 "	100 "
10. Alexander Duncan, his ship,	...	...	36 "	80 "
11. Johne Donaldsone, his ship,	...	...	36 "	80 "
12. Robert Rankine, his new ship,	...	...	50 "	120 "
13. The old bark belonging to him,	...	...	30 "	80 "
14. James Burgh, his ship,	...	...	60 "	100 "
15. David Machan, his ship,	...	...	35 "	50 "
16. Patrick Gray, his ship,	...	...	30 "	50 "
17. Thomas Ross, his bark,	...	...	24 "	40 "
18. William Lyell, his bark,	...	...	24 "	50 "
19. George Patersone, his bark,	...	...	16 "	30 "
20. John Ramsay, his bark,	...	...	10 "	20 "
21. William Buc, his bark,	...	...	10 "	20 "

1,991 tunna, £2,920 value.

Note of Burghs of Barronie and Regalitie to the Burgh of Dundie.

Imp. the hill of Dundie trades ta the value of	...	...	...	£10,000
It. the ferris Partancraigs in passage boats, shipping, and trade, ¹	...	...	...	20,000
It. the townie of North Ferrie,	...	...	...	4,000
It. Minnyfeith, Barrie, and Panbryd,	...	...	...	6,000
It. Glamous trades to the value of	...	...	...	2,000
It. Kirremure trades to the value of	...	...	...	10,000
It. Alicht trades to the value,	...	...	...	15,000
Coupar of Angus trades to the value of	...	...	...	20,000
Miglie and Newtyle,	...	...	...	2,000
Forgan and Ballegerno,	...	...	...	3,000
Erroll, ²	...	...	...	8,000

£100,000

¹ The name of "Portincraigs," though subsequently applied to the headland on the Fife side of the Ferry, appears from charters of the Abbey of Arbroath to have designated what is now known as Broughtly. See Innes's Sketches, p. 146.—Ed.

² We are aware that the liberties of Dundee, in the feudal times, extended over,

Note of the Town's Losses.

At law wit my Lord Lauderdale for 7 years, ...	£20,000	0	0
For building and rebuilding the bulwark of ye town, ...	20,333	6	8
It. for cutting the loch of Lundie for water to ye milns, ...	333	6	8
James Davie, ship and loadening lost at sea, to the value of ...	5,000	0	0
Robert Rankine, ship called the Concord, and goodes to the value of, lost, ...	20,000	0	0
Ane other ship and goodes belonging to the said Robert, lost sex years yrafter, ...	15,000	0	0
It. annoynt ship of his strandit at Aberdeen and lost, ...	4,000	0	0
Thomas Patersons, ship and goods lost, valued at ...	6,000	0	0
George Adamsons's ship lost, ...	4,000	0	0
Alexr. Wedderburns's ship lost, with a Bourdeaux loading, ...	5,000	0	0
William Watt's Crear, ¹ ...	4,000	0	0
Robert Smith, loadened from the Lewes, ...	2,000	0	0
	£111,666	13	4

Account of Expenses be the Town in Ffortifying the same.²

Imp. debursed be James Bonar, theasr, per accot and recept, ...	£3,092	19	5
It. to William Dumbart for express, ...	68	19	0
It. to payed to him be James Lyon for express, ...	104	0	0
It. to Bailly Blair for powder, ...	185	0	0

and comprehended an extensive tract of country ; but we cannot perceive how some of the places here mentioned, such as Glammiss, Kirriemuir, Coupar-in-Angus, could affect the town, as they were independent jurisdictions and regalities, enjoying particular privileges of their own,—Glammiss, for example, depending on its own feudal lord, the Earl of Strathmore ; Kirriemuir, on the Earl of Angus ; and Cupar, on the successors of the Commendators who came in the place of the old Catholic Abbots, in whose favour the regality was erected ; besides, if we mistake not, the liberties of Dundee were limited to Forfarshire, and Alyth (Alicht), Forgon (Longforgran) and Ballegermo (Baledgarno), Meigle, and Errol, are in Perthshire. We may remark, that the authorities of Forfar reported to the Visitors, that Kirriemuir traded to the value of £6000, and Glammiss to the value of £1000 ; and that Perth reported Errol at £2000, Coupar-in-Angus at £3000, Alyth at £4000, Meigle at £1000, and Longforgran at £1000.

¹ This is an old name for a small low-built smack vessel, varying from thirty to fifty tons. The name occurs so long ago as the reign of James III., as it appears in the Acts of some of his Parliaments. Vessels under thirty tons appear to have been, from a remote period, called "barks;" but this term, under a different orthography, is applied in modern times to distinguish vessels of a large tonnage and a peculiar form of rigging.

² In the year 1689.

It.	for 16 muskets to Robert Watson,	...	...	...	£46	8	0
It.	for candle to guards,	...	...	...	166	4	2
It.	for dressing the tounes arms,	...	...	...	66	13	4
It.	to John Robertson for 20 fyrelockes at 6 lib per piece,	...	...	...	120	0	0
It.	to Mr Hugh Safely for attending the gunns,	...	...	...	29	0	0
It.	to masons for repairing the tolbooth and ports,	...	...	...	439	0	0
To Thomas Doig	for a pair of wheells to the great gunn,	...	...	...	19	0	0
To John Wardroper	for oil to the carriadges,	...	...	...	8	4	6
To John Ferrier	for lead as per accompt,	...	...	...	6	19	0
To several oyr persons	for small necessaries for the gunn,	...	...	...	7	17	0
For powder	to severall persons,	...	...	...	42	18	0
To James Zeamand and John Read	for powder,	...	...	...	42	10	0
For maintaining some wounded men	after Ranrory, ¹	...	...	...	37	4	0
Pd at London	for powder, ball, match, and shooll, 68 lib. 5 ss.	...	...	...	...	...	...
7d. sterline,	...	...	...	...	819	7	0
To Joseph Smittun	for yr fraught from London,	...	...	...	57	13	4
To John Reid	for timber and oysr pd by James Lyon,	...	...	...	95	10	0
Pd by Andrew Smitain	for ye guards, express, and fortificationes,	...	...	...	866	4	0
To Bailly Scrymgour	for ball,	...	...	...	25	0	0
For the Provost and Baillie Duncan	yr expences in goeing to London in January, 1689, for presenting the grievances of the burgh to his Majestie,	...	...	...	1,626	0	0
					<hr/>		
					£7,952 10 9		

The discontents excited by the unfortunate Darien Scheme, and swelled by the Union and other circumstances, ended in the rebellion of 1715, which, however, was speedily crushed by the battle of Sheriffmoor, fought on Sunday, 13th November, o.s., that year. The magistrates of Dundee at this time were chiefly in the interest of the Pretender; and in order to evince their zeal for his service, they, by tuck of drum and public proclamation, on the 27th of May, prohibited the appearance of the inhabitants with arms in the streets on the next day, which was the anniversary of the birth of George I., under the penalty of forty pounds, to be exacted from every one who should offend, the proceeds of which penalties they probably hoarded as a fund for the service of him whom they accounted *their* lawful sovereign. The loyal inhabitants of the town paid no attention to the proclamation issued by the magistrates; but, assembling in a body,

¹ The battle of Killiecrankie. It is called Rinrory from the name of a property and residence situated in the pass near the field of battle; and, if we remember right, it was from Rinrory house that Galt makes his hero Kingan Gilhaize discharge the shot that proved fatal to the chivalrous but bloody Lord Dundee.

proceeded to Dudhope Castle, where, drawing themselves up in arms, they drank his majesty's health, with several other loyal and patriotic toasts, accompanying each with a volley; and having thus expressed their loyalty and affection to his majesty's person and government, they returned quietly to their homes, to the great mortification of the authorities of the town, who durst not interrupt this demonstration of popular attachment to the House of Hanover and its royal head. The following day being the 29th, and the anniversary of the *Restoration* of Charles II., was, in perfect consistency with *their* principles, celebrated by the magistrates with the usual ceremonies.

The Earl of Mar having hoisted the standard of rebellion, and proclaimed the Pretender, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, &c., at Braemar, on the 6th September, 1715, Graham of Duntrune, styling himself Lord Viscount Dundee, renewed the proclamation at Dundee soon after. During the same month, Mar, having taken possession of Perth, proceeded to fortify it, and for this purpose he carried four pieces of large and three of small cannon from Dundee, and other seven from Dunottar, intending to mount them on his new fortifications; but the battle of Sheriffmuir having deranged the plans, and disconcerted the measures of the rebel leaders, several of them made their peace with their lawful sovereign.

Induced by the flattering accounts transmitted by his friends, and strongly solicited to appear among them previous to their submissions being made, the Pretender left France and arrived at Peterhead on the 22d December, 1715. He was followed by some vessels, having his equipage and attendants on board, one of which got safe to Dundee, but the others stranded near St Andrews, and went to pieces, immediately after the passengers, crews, and cargoes, had got safe to land. From St Andrews the crews proceeded to Dundee, where they were joined by a detachment of a hundred of the rebels, and, by their assistance, conveyed to the north all the property which they had saved from the wrecks.

From Peterhead, the Pretender passed incognito through Aberdeen to Fetteresso, in the Mearns, where the Earl of Mar, the Earl Marischall, and others, joined him on the 27th, being five days after his landing. Here he was proclaimed king, and tarried a few days, being prevented by sickness from proceeding farther; and, while here, his manifesto was issued; an address from the Episcopal clergy of the

diocese of Aberdeen, and another from the magistrates of that city, were presented, and gracious answers returned. As the finishing act of this display of mock royalty, several titles were conferred,¹ and a batch of knights made, and among others so distinguished was Provost Bannerman of Aberdeen. Recovering from his sickness, the Pretender left Fetteresso on Monday, 2d January, 1716, proceeded to Brechin, thence to Kinnaird, the seat of his adherent, the Earl of Southesk, and thence to Glammiss, the seat of the Earl of Strathmore, who, with his brother, Patrick Lyon of Auchterhouse, was in his interest. Leaving Glammiss, on Friday the 6th, he arrived at Dundee about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and made his public entry on horseback, the Earl of Mar supporting him on the right, and the Earl Marischall on the left, with a train of about three hundred gentlemen attending him. Upon reaching the High Street, or market-place, he continued nearly an hour on horseback, at the desire of his friends, to show himself to the people, who crowded around him in great numbers. Those of the inhabitants who espoused his interest, including the Jacobite magistrates and non-conforming clergy, received him with acclamations of welcome, and in return enjoyed the honour of kissing his hand. That night he lodged in the town-house of Stewart of Grandtully, at the head of the Seagate, which afterwards acquired new interest as being the house within which the gallant Admiral Lord Viscount Duncan drew his first breath. Leaving Dundee on the day after his arrival, the Chevalier de St George proceeded on his route towards Perth, dining at Castle Lyon, now Castle Huntly, a seat of the Earl of Strathmore, and sleeping that night at Fingask, the seat of Sir David Threipland, situated on the Braes of the Carse, where, as he approached, the country people flocked to see him; and, as he rode slowly, they pressed forward to touch him, his horse, or any part of its furniture which they could reach. On Sunday the 8th January, he arrived at Scone, and next day made his public entry into Perth. His manifesto was now renewed, and his council nominated; proclamations were issued for a public thanksgiving for his safe arrival—for praying for him as king in all churches—for a convention of the Estates of the Kingdom—for all fencible men, from sixteen to sixty, repairing

¹ Among others, the Earl of Perth was created Duke of Perth, or, as Andrew Brice of Exeter, in his *Universal Geographical Dictionary*, published in 1759, quaintly phrases it, he "was dubbed a *queer Duke*."

to his standard—and for his coronation, which he fixed for the 23d of the same month. In the meantime, though he had no objection to Protestants supporting him with their arms, he carefully avoided entering their churches or hearing their doctrines; and, with the infatuated bigotry of his race, issued no declaration which might induce the Protestant population of the kingdom to rally round his banner. On the day appointed by himself, the vain formality of his coronation took place. By this time, however, the spirits of the rebel leaders were very much depressed, and the affections of the people in the surrounding country cooled, owing to an order, issued six days before his coronation, for burning the towns, villages, and houses, and for destroying the corn and forage between Dunblane and Perth; and his coronation was hurried on for the sake of conciliating and soothing the offended minds of the people, and exciting them to arm in his cause. But, alas! a pageant was found a poor substitute for property in flames. Instead of support, or an acquisition of strength, they found their numbers greatly reduced, their money, ammunition, and provisions exhausted; and to add to their distress, the royal army, reinforced by six thousand Dutch auxiliaries, was now in readiness to attack them. Everything militated against the Pretender; and, notwithstanding all his persuasions to the contrary, it was resolved in a council, held on the 19th January, four days previous to that appointed for his coronation, to abandon an enterprise which had become entirely hopeless. On the 29th of the same month, they received intelligence that the Duke of Argyle intended to march from Stirling against them. To avoid him, they left Perth, and proceeded through the Carse of Gowrie (stopping to refresh at Fingask) to Dundee, thence to Arbroath, and finally to Montrose; where, on arriving, they learned that the royal army was within two days' march of them. With much entreaty, the Pretender was reluctantly persuaded to embark on board a small French vessel, at that time in the harbour of Montrose, and quitted Scotland for ever.

Closely following the fugitives, the Duke of Argyle, with the royal army, reached Dundee very soon after the insurgents had left it, and found the town totally void of a magistracy. The provost, bailies, and a majority of the Council, were in the interests of the exiled family, and did not find it convenient to await the arrival of the Duke, but wisely kept themselves at a respectful distance from his presence and from danger. Careful of the interests of the town, as well as of

the general welfare of the State, his Grace appointed a magistracy *pro tempore* by his warrant to that effect, which ran as follows:—

John, Duke of Argyll, General and Commander-in-Chief of His Majesty's forces in North Britain, &c.

Whereas there are no Magistrates at present in this city, who can act or take care of the affairs of the city, whereby His Majesty's service, as well as the city, may suffer, you are therefore hereby required and authorised to take upon you the care of this city, and the affairs thereof, till such time as the proper Magistrates can be appointed by lawful authority. Given at Dundee, the 3d of February, 1716.

(Signed) ARGYLL.

To Mr JOHN SOBYMBOUR,
JAMES ALIBON,
DAVID MAXWELL,¹
ALEXANDER PRESTON,
JAMES FAIRWEATHER, and
MUNGO MURRAY.²

Thirty years after this abortive attempt, another rebellion took place, at the head of which appeared Charles Edward Stuart, eldest son of the Pretender. As the events of this insurrection have been a favourite theme with novelist and historian, it is unnecessary to dilate on them. Suffice it to say, that the adherents of the Pretender, in number about six hundred, under the command of Sir James Kinloch, took and held possession of Dundee from the 7th of September, 1745, until the 14th of January, 1746—a period of twenty weeks; but so soon as the rebellion subsided, the town returned again to the obedience of its lawful sovereign.³

¹ David Maxwell's name occurs as one of the pursuers in the action before the Court of Session in 1715, to reduce the election of the magistrates at Michaelmas 1714. We remember to have seen somewhere a statement that care was taken to have as many friends of the Pretender as possible elected at Michaelmas, 1714. Contemplating the insurrection of 1715, the insurgents were aware of the advantage Dundee would be to their attempts, as by possessing it, they would be enabled to throw their expected succours from France into the very heart of the kingdom at once; and, consequently, the best way to secure the town was to secure a majority of the Council, if they could not secure the whole. Whether this be true is of little consequence now, but we have seen that a part of the Council were pronounced Jacobites.

² Mungo Murray was a younger son of Sir William Murray, first Baronet of Ouchtertyre, so created in 1673. Mr Murray married Martha, only daughter of Bailie Andrew Forrester, of the family of Millhill, and died in 1718, leaving two sons, John Murray of Lintrose, Esq., and Alexander, who was bred a merchant.

³ In the histories of this eventful period, the number of rebels who took possession of Dundee is stated at three hundred. The number stated in the text is

Immediately after taking possession of the town, Sir James Kinloch published the Pretender's declaration, manifesto, and commission of regency; appointed one David Fotheringhame, governor; searched the town for horses, arms, and ammunition; and levied the public money, for which receipts were given. On the following Sabbath, being the 8th September, the ministers of the Established Church preached, and as usual, we are told, prayed for the reigning family, and earnestly exhorted their respective congregations to remain firm in their loyalty, and steadfast in their duty to their country and their king. We are also informed, that many of the rebels resorted to the churches, where they conducted themselves with becoming propriety, manifesting no inclination to interrupt the quiet and decorum of the congregations, or to molest the preachers. That the clergymen would preach and perform the other parts of their duty, there is no reason to doubt, and that many of the rebels would go to church from the mere excitement of curiosity is very likely; but that those who went on the first Sunday continued to go on the next and succeeding Sundays, would argue something beyond the mere gratification of an idle curiosity. That no interruption to public divine service was given by the rebels

confirmed by another part of this Note; but, perhaps, three hundred had arrived first, who were afterwards joined by an additional six hundred, aggregating nine hundred in all, and this the sequel seems to authorise, as two separate arrivals of the rebels are mentioned. The additional six hundred appear to have been overlooked by writers on this subject. The remainder of this Note consists of an extract from the parish records, made by a member of Session for our use. At the rebellion, Mr Charles Jobson was Kirk-Treasurer, and from his books the extract was made.

"1745. July 7, Sabbath—Rebellion commenced.

Sept. 8, Sabbath—Rebels entered Dundee yesterday.

Sept. 22, Sabbath—Preston fought yesterday.

Nov. 4, Monday—A Fast.

" 24, Sabbath—About 600 rebels came to town.

Dec. 18, Wednesday—King's fast stopt by the rebels.

From ye 18th to 26th, collected from house to house, worship

being stopt by the rebels,	£23	3	3
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From 26th to January 2d, collected,	28	5	5
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From January 2d to 9th,	28	6	9
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From the 9th to 14th, which day the rebels departed, never to appear here,	23	19	5
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17th Jan. Falkirk—Shamefully.

19th " Sabbath after the departure of the rebels,	...	50	14	2
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February 2, Sabbath—The rebels run from Falkirk the 1st curt.

April 17, Thursday—Yesterday ye 16th curt. was fought ye famous battle
of Culloden, when rebellion died."

for a time is possible ; but that interruption was ultimately given is undeniable ; for the preceding note from the parish records tells expressly that public worship was stopped by them, and proves that the ordinary supplies for the poor had to be collected from house to house, instead of in the usual manner at the doors of the churches. About this time, a vessel, belonging to one William Grahame of Perth, when in the harbour, was seized by a party of the rebel garrison, who conveyed her to Perth, under the impression that she was laden with gunpowder and other military stores.

At this eventful period, the various histories of the times inform us that the most alarming reports were industriously circulated, in order to embitter and exasperate the public mind as much as possible against the "parcel of rabble, the parcel of brutes, being a small number of Scotch Highlanders," as Cope is said to have called the rebels, in addressing his troops before the action at Prestonpans, so destructive to his fame. It was reported that, in the shire of Forfar, the gentry, clergy, and inhabitants at large, were assessed in considerable sums of money, of which Sir John Wedderburne of Blackness was the collector, for which he afterwards suffered at Kennington Common. The whole of the parishes, it is said, were much depopulated by pressing the male inhabitants to fill the rebel ranks, and all round Dundee and Perth the country was one extended scene of robbery and confusion. That robbery and confusion did occur, there cannot be any doubt, yet common justice, even to rebels, requires it to be stated that the country was not depopulated to swell the rebel armies, otherwise their ranks at Culloden would have far more than doubled the numbers which the muster rolls bore ; and if their ranks had been thinned by the defection of the pressed men, the royal army would have been numerous in the same ratio that they had fallen off ; for, in returning home, the deserters would generally have to take the routes by which the various corps of the royal army advanced ; but there was no pressing, save in the case of some individuals who were taken for the purpose of being waggoners or sumpter men, and these were almost entirely the tenants and dependents of gentlemen engaged openly or covertly in the interest of the Pretender. Stories were also circulated that the rebels entered houses and carried off the stores of provisions which they contained ; but what is there extraordinary or uncommon in this ? Necessity observes no ceremonies ; and, besides, they were only preying on those they were taught to consider their enemies ; and when such

practices take place among the most regularly organised armies, some allowance ought to be made for the conduct of those who were ignorant of what constituted military discipline. After all, such petty offences formed a stain trivial when compared to the indefensible and cruel conduct of the Duke of Cumberland after the battle of Culloden.

During the time the rebels held Dundee, illuminations were ordered to celebrate the arrival of some aid from France, which was sent to keep alive their hopes. As is usual on occasions of that kind, the windows of those who did not illuminate, particularly of the Established clergy, were wholly demolished. One report goes so far as to say that a shot was fired and stones thrown into the windows of one of the ministers; that the soldiers and crowd attempted to enter the house by force, while the family escaped by a back door; and that the minister himself, being unable by the infirmities of age to escape, only insured his safety and that of his family by engaging the good offices of one of the rebel officers with whom he had some slight acquaintance. On the 2d April, six weeks after the rebels left the town, the Magistrates and Town Council voted a loyal and dutiful address to the king, in which, among other things, they laud the Duke of Cumberland, bepraise themselves for their loyalty and zeal, and take credit for the release of some prisoners left by the rebels in the Castle of Glammiss, in the course of their retreat to the north. The address was signed by Provost Alexander Duncan of Lundie, and presented by Thomas Leslie, Esq., member for the district.¹

After the battle of Culloden had given the death-blow to their hopes, a number of the rebels, skulking from place to place, reached Dundee in May, about three weeks after the battle. Among these were James Graham of Duntrune, who, accounting himself heir to Graham of Claverhouse, assumed the title of Viscount Dundee; David, Lord Ogilvy, eldest son and heir of the Earl of Airlie; Fletcher of Balinshoe; Hunter of Burnside; David Grahame, and Alexander, his son, merchants in Dundee; Henry Patullo; ——— Sandilands of Bourdeaux; Thomas Blair, merchant in Dundee; Alexander Blair, writer in Edinburgh; and Fotheringham, the former Governor. These adventurers, with a design to make their escape, seized a sloop which was lying at anchor off Monifieth, belonging to James Wemyss of Broughty Ferry, and, putting to sea, arrived in Bergen in Norway on

¹ The address is too long for transcription, but the curious reader will find it in the *Scots Magazine* for 1746.

the 13th of the same month. Immediately upon landing, they were apprehended and committed to prison, in consequence of orders from the Danish Government to confine all British subjects that should enter the dominions of his Danish Majesty without having proper passports.¹

From some original papers with which we were favoured, we find that the freedom of the town was presented to the Duke of Cumberland in a gold box. The box was made in Edinburgh, sent over to Dundee to be shown to the Magistrates and their friends, and returned again to Edinburgh, in charge of a deputation, to be presented, which was done about the 9th or 10th of March. The document which mentions this, is a letter to Alexander Duncan, at that time town-clerk, from his agent in Edinburgh, but which gives no further information on the subject.

At this time, Dundee seems to have sunk under the complicated misfortunes which affected the whole nation. The depression of trade rapidly reduced the population, while those who remained languished in hopeless inaction. The principal street of the town could not boast of six houses completely built of stone, all the rest were of wood and partly stone, and exceedingly inconvenient. The shops did not rent at above three pounds sterling per annum, and some that, before 1790, sold at four hundred and fifty pounds, were entirely shut.

Soon after the suppression of the rebellion, Government began to bestow some attention on the affairs and condition of Scotland, which had hitherto been prevented by the intervention of national jealousy. The period was now arrived when the arbitrary system of hereditary jurisdictions, and all the oppressive enactments of the feudal *regime*, which had not hitherto yielded to the operation of good sense and the diffusion of knowledge, were to give way to a more enlightened and better order of things. These jurisdictions and rights, which were wrested from ancient sovereigns by circumstances, or given in many cases by caprice, were now bought up, and vested in the crown. Under the act of 1747, the Duke of Douglas, as Constable of Dundee, received the sum of £1800 sterling, being the sum at which the Lords of Council and Session valued the constabulary rights and privileges. From this time, the acknowledged and tyrannical powers of the Constable merged into the mild and regular government of the Provost and Magistrates; and thus peace, harmony, and good order obtained the

¹ Trans. in Scotland, 1715-16 and 1745-46.

ascendancy. Meanwhile, the liberality of Parliament, by granting a bounty on brown linens made for exportation,—manufactures which, from the weight of fabric and lowness of price, could not be carried on without loss,—again revived trade, and stimulated the industry of the inhabitants. Manufactures were established and prosecuted with a success that operated in a most beneficial manner on the domestic habits and comforts of the people. Since this happy period, Dundee has continued to flourish. Fields which not many years since “displayed their yellow treasures in the sun,” have been transformed into spacious suburbs, seats of manufacturing activity, and the homes of thousands, whose peaceful industry has raised our town to a high position in wealth and importance.

Section X.

DAWN OF TRADE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY—THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES AND LINEN MANUFACTURES—THE FIRST VENTURES IN BANKING—COMPARATIVE PICTURES OF SOCIAL LIFE IN 1746 AND 1799.

FROM the period of the '45, when the cause of the Stuarts received its death-blow, the history of Scotland assumed a different aspect. The distractions which the partisans of the rival dynasties kept up were so inimical to the peace and security of the country that its progress in agriculture, manufactures, and commerce was slow and fitful. But the cannonade on Culloden Moor proved the knell of expiring feudalism, and a new era dawned on Scotland,—less picturesque and thrilling, no doubt, for the pages of history or romance, but more grateful to contemplate as an era in which the dormant energies of her people achieved as marked a pre-eminence in peaceful enterprise as their forefathers had maintained by the sword for national independence.

In 1727, an act of Parliament was passed, establishing a Board of Trustees in Scotland to administer a sum of £4,000, set aside for the encouragement of manufactures and fisheries. The promotion of the linen trade was the chief object aimed at by the Board in the earlier years of its existence; and the increase in the exports of linen goods

from 2,183,978 yards, in 1727, to 12,823,048, in 1764, was held to demonstrate the success of its labours in that direction. It is curious to find that a serious impediment to the operations of the Board in its early days was found in a sort of monetary vacuum which ensued when the Royal Bank entered the field hitherto solely occupied by the Bank of Scotland. The latter was first established in 1696, with a capital of £10,000; and a branch was tried at Dundee, but speedily withdrawn for want of support. When the Royal Bank was launched in 1727, with a capital of £111,000, the most ruinous consequences to the country were predicted, and it was solemnly avowed that "nobody that knows the nature of banking does believe that two banks can be carried on in the same country!" In 1731, this possibility had forced itself upon the directors of the Bank of Scotland, for they again tried a branch in Dundee and other provincial towns, but only to be again recalled, after two years' unsuccessful trial. In 1746, the British Linen Company was established at Edinburgh, with a capital of £100,000, the object of which was to encourage native industry, by advancing ready money to the poorer manufacturers for their goods, and supplying to merchants, trading to Africa and the British Plantations, such kinds of linen cloth as they had hitherto been obliged to purchase from abroad. Mr Warden observes, "although it is rarely safe to pronounce authoritatively on the reason of any social change, in which many causes and elements are usually combined, yet it is a fact that the Linen trade underwent a rapid development, after the establishment of the British Linen Company; and no doubt that progress is due to the assistance it rendered to traders and others engaged in the manufacture. The Company was not long in discovering that assistance could be best given by advancing money to the individuals engaged in it, and allowing them to prosecute the manufacture on their own account, free from the competition of a corporation. This led the Company to withdraw from the direct dealing in yarns and linens, and to adopt banking as their sole business. . . . After the institution of the Company, they had an agent in Dundee, for the purchase and sale of goods, of the name of Palmer; but that agency was long discontinued before the present branch Bank establishment was opened in 1811."¹

The Board of Manufactures had a more extended intercourse with Dundee during the infancy of its staple trade. In 1729, an offer of a

¹ "Linen Trade," p. 443.

spinning-school was made, but, strange to say, had to be declined on account of the poverty of the town precluding its contribution of the small quota required for its support. Three years afterwards, however, we find Richard Holden, a skilled man, whom the trustees had brought from Ireland, setting up a bleachfield at Pitkerro, the Guildry of Dundee sharing the cost with the Board. Ten years later, we find the making of small quantities of Osnaburgs in Dundee and Arbroath recorded as something noteworthy. In 1799, a premium of £50 was paid to William Alison & Co. towards the expense of establishing an extensive manufacture of buckrams (which was located where Messrs Don Brothers' mills now stand;) and in 1791, we find the Board interested in the first experiment of spinning by power, which was made by James Ivory & Co., at their water-mill at Brighton, Kinnetles, and towards which a grant of £300 was promised, on certain conditions. This marked the advent of a new era in the linen trade, when machinery was to supplant the antiquated spinning-wheel. Hitherto "the spinning of flax on the hand-wheel formed the principal occupation of females of all classes, both in town and country, and some of them, from long practice, became great adepts in the art. The yarn was either weaved at home, or sold in the district markets—of which there were many throughout the country—to agents from the large towns, such as Dundee, Glasgow, Montrose, &c. It was either made into linen in these towns, or sent off to England and manufactured there. After the introduction of flax-spinning by power, the trade became completely changed. The spinster and the hand-wheel of last century gave place to the factory girl and the spindle of the present; the manufacture ceased in the rural districts, and became concentrated in towns where spinning-mills were erected, and in a few other places."¹

We cannot better conclude the narrative of domestic events for the eighteenth century than by reproducing, from the "Dundee Magazine" for 1799, two letters, which describe the state of the town, and the manners of the citizens in the years 1746 and 1799. To those who know anything of the Dundee of to-day, the complacency of the author, in contemplating the high pitch of progress and prosperity reached at the close of last century, cannot fail to be amusing; and the contrast between our external and social condition then and now appears infinitely more striking and suggestive.

¹ "Warden's Linen Trade." p. 437.

Tempora mutantur, Mr Editor, since I first studied my hornbook (now full half a century ago) under good Dame Gilchrist, the town of Dundee, I may say, then lay in the compass of a nut-shell. At the close of a civil war and rebellion, Scotland was sadly torn and divided, and in a state of lamentable distraction and idleness. Manufactures (in so far as they were advanced) were almost wholly at a stand; the men were in a high fever of political delirium; property was nowhere safe (my father's black gelding was taken out of his stable by adventurers); and the credit of the country was naturally suspected and limited. From repeated insurrections, the happy effects of the Union with England had not yet been felt, and its consequent blessings were of course unexperienced and unknown.

INHABITANTS.—The inhabitants at that period did not exceed six thousand. The living were warned to bed by the sound of the bagpipe and the toll of the curfew, and the dead were carried to their graves by the tinkling of a hand-bell.

EXTENT.—The extension of the town was not so far westward as present Tay Street, except a straggling brewseat and malt-loft in the Nethergate, and a house or two in the Overgate. It was bounded by the *houff* or burying-ground *northwards*, and the present Sugarhouse terminated it to the *east*. Besides this there were no buildings so far as Blackness, *westwards*; Craigie (except Wallace of Craigie), *eastwards*; and Dudhope, *northward*. Black's Garden, Chapelshade, and Black's Croft were unenclosed, and in corn cropping. The last was let at an annual rent of fifty shillings sterling only. *Hill-town* or *Rotten-Raw* always formed an ancient barony of itself. The West Shore buildings were bounded on the south by Mr Smith's house, the lower part of which is now (1799) possessed by Mr Thomas Neish. The tide flowed up to it, and frequently up to the present Fish-market. My worthy couzin Grizzel's country-house or villa was then at the *West Port*, on the south, and not fifty yards from the present Mr Pyott, the wheelwright's shop. The situation was prescribed to her by her physicians for the salubrity of the air, but above all for the singular advantage of the precious and wholesome flavour arising from a cow-byre below stairs.

BUILDINGS.—The buildings were generally of wood. There were not then above half a-dozen of stone houses in the High Street or market-place. Large vacant areas were lying in a state of nastiness and puddle in the most central parts of the town, particularly in the Thorter-row and Burial-wynd; and premiums for building had been given by the magistrates. The town, in police, inhabitants, &c., had been above a hundred years stationary! A couple of dirty houses called inns, or public-houses, were situated in two narrow and dreary lanes, and not so good as a modern alehouse. These were comfortable caravanseras for the repose of the wearied traveller! and, alas! *Bonny Dundee* had none better.

SHIPPING.—The shipping (comparatively with the present) were extremely limited; and these were regularly unrigged and laid up for the winter, and there was no voyaging after October. The annual port revenue did not amount to above twelve hundred pounds sterling; and small vessels were then built close to the west gable of the present Sailors' Hall.

VIVRES.—Vivres (especially vegetables) were scarce, and could only be procured fresh on a Friday, and that only in summer and autumn, there being then no winter feeding. Onions, leeks, carrots, common kail, and cabbage formed the verdant

catalogue. (John, Lord Gray, was the first who introduced potatoes for sale from the field in 1753.) They were indeed cheap, and about one-fourth of the present price. Beef one penny halfpenny per pound, a hen fourpence, and eggs three halfpence per dozen. Spirits had not then shed their baneful effects, in general, over the constitution and conduct of the lower orders. A draught of malt beverage formed all the debauch of the labourer and mechanic, and this was then so powerful as to send them reeling and happy home. Butchers' carrion (for such things *were*, and perhaps now *are*), was then seized and hung up in *terrorem* at the market-cross, and afterwards thrown into the river. Flour was unmixed, and milk was unadulterated. A choppen of ale was sold for a halfpenny, a goose for one shilling, a decent roasting pig for eightpence, and a Scotch pint of claret for four or five shillings.

CHURCHES.—According to Dr Small, there were then only two established churches; one of them well frequented, and a second one but indifferently. There was, however, a third one (the Cross Church) which was appropriated solely as a repository for hay for his Majesty's dragoon horses. So comparatively small was the population at that period.

SHOP RENTS.—The highest rent in the High Street did not exceed three pounds sterling; and from the shops in general little was to be procured. The shop-keeper locked his door at one o'clock p.m., and retired to feed: his customers (if he was of any note) were forced to wait his bellyfilling, and there was no resource. Some of these shops contained a motely assortment of train oil and salt, candles and molasses, black soap and sugar, all crowded into less than a square of three or four yards.

LODGINGS.—In those days, our predecessors were easily accommodated. No houses fetched above ten pounds of rent, and few half that sum. A lodging, indeed, of five rooms, low kitchen, garret, shop, a couple of gardens, and pigeon-house and stable, in the High Street, was let, in 1753, at £14 rent only. It was thought very dear, and every wiseacre wondered. The shop alone would now rent at £25 a year. *Withdrawing-rooms* were not known, at least not used. The man and wife lived and soaked lovingly in their bedchamber, and the dining-room was reserved as a cold-bath for the first unfortunate visitor. The *father parent* of the middling and lower classes was then little known to his children: he breakfasted at the alehouse; they went to school and returned before he went to dinner; they were in bed and fast asleep before he returned in the evening from his club, his two-penny, and his tobacco. Thus, unless on a Sunday, he saw no more of his children than the man in the moon.

MERCHANTS.—The venerable character of merchant was then in the background. The respectable place they now hold in society was not then filled up. *The toe of the peasant had not then come so near the heel of the courtier as to goll his hide.* The landed gentry, who (*like the woodcocks*) did us the honour to pass the winter amongst us, strutted it about on tiptoe, and in sullen *hauteur*. The feudal manners then scorched us, and reigned uncontrolled. *Floating wealth* had not then balanced her current account with *landed insolence*, and the simple cottager, drudging tenant, and useful mechanic were in a total state of poverty, servility, and depression.

CARRIAGES.—One single one-horse chaise supplied the demands and travels of the whole inhabitants. Even *John Barnet*, the *solitary* saddler, who repaired it daily before a journey, grew pert and saucy, from self-confidence and importance. John scrupled not tauntingly to desire his customers who were displeased to employ his neighbour. John should have had his ears cropt.

CARTS AND CARTERS.—Robert Black in the Wellgate was the only carter in town.

ROADS.—Turnpike roads were then unknown. The roads were bad, narrow, and unshapely. A journey to Edinburgh was a serious business for a thinking person. It was a route of some days, with the addition of terror from rascally boatmen and lame hack-horses. A man generally made his bequest before he undertook it.

MEADOWS.—The meadows or greens were then unenclosed, wet, and dirty, and the health of the inhabitants was much infected from stagnant pools there.

POST.—The post arrived then in a very irregular and awkward manner. The letters travelled through Fife by Kinghorn and Cupar, by any common carrier.

MILLINERS AND MANTUAMAKERS.—Of these there were two in all, who, with the aid of Mr Durham, the lank taylor (in the mantuamaking line), did all the millinery and mantuamaking business in Dundee.

DANCING.—*Mr Noseman* was the only dancing-master. I shall ever remember him. He was a tall German; he wore a small silver-laced hat, diminutive round silver buckles, and cane, and walked upright as an oak; drank brandy, and was a thorough pedant in his profession. The present postmaster and I figured away in our *first minuet* with him, on the same day, and paid each a pound of *Bohea* to the servant maid, as the accustomed and stated dues, and as the first fruits of our *labours saltant*.

HORSE MARKET AND SHAMBLES.—In the centre of the town, and in the narrowest street, was held a horse market twice a-year. There horses neighed, galloped, trotted, and kicked; and the aged, the women, and children, were wholly at their mercy. In that same choice spot did our forefathers, in the exertion of their architectival abilities, erect shambles and slaughtering place. Wounded animals escaping from the hands of the butcher, seldom failed to stick their horns in the first unguarded inhabitant that came in their way. Trembling scenes for parents, guardians, and relatives, and (I was going to add, husbands and wives), and a rich harvest for surgeons, undertakers, and gravediggers.

STREETS.—The streets were in a wretched state. Two narrow lanes¹ formed all the communication from the town to the shore and shipping; and they were coarsely paved with round sea stones. The pavements were worse; and stairs jutted out in the common path. Open cellar stairs adjoining formed men-traps for catching the heedless and unwary.

LAMPS.—Not a lamp was to be seen; not even the shadow of light. All was

¹ The lanes here mentioned are Tindal's Wynd and St Clement's Lane, which last joins with the Vault, at the point from which the name *Vault* is derived. A specimen of the ancient style of paving by *round boole*, now extinct, was last seen in Tindall's Wynd—such as is still visible in Arbroath and Forfar.

dark as Erebus, save when the moon lent her friendly aid. There was then no fire-engine in the town, and houses burnt at their own leisure.

RAIMENT.—The raiment of the ladies were costly. Fashions did not change or vary much. High-priced stuffs could not easily be renewed. The grandmother's marriage brocade served the grand-daughter for her wedding garment. A *linsy winsky* clad the middling people. The lower order of the sex were barefooted, except on a Sunday, when, in imitation of their betters, (for white stockings were rare,) they put their limbs into mourning. A full suit of broad cloth was the general wear of gentlemen, and every youngster assumed a round curled wig at his marriage or majority; like barristers, it was thought necessary to convey the semblance of wisdom to the wearer. Wig and bonnet makers were then tolerable trades. The first is now sickly, and the last is lost, and in it is a corporate novelty—there we view a *corporation without one active constituent*.

BANKRUPTS.—A bankrupt was then hardly known on this side the Tay, if we except a few lairds whose estates were brought to the hammer with less than a reversion. There were in truth no adventurers. There was little money, and less credit, for poor people could not afford to trust. With all our riches and improvements, the Jews have not yet ventured to make a settlement amongst us, —whether we are yet too *poor* or too *sharp*, is a problem that my modesty or talents will not at present permit me to solve.

MONEY BANKS.—There was no money bank north of the Forth. Old women and children kept their pokes in their *kist neuks* and *pirly pigs*. Dealers got cash and notes the best way they could from Edinburgh.

TOWN'S REVENUE.—The town's revenue was then in a low state. The present town-house, or public building, had been lately erected, and had cost a round sum. One of its public rooms (the west one) was not finished till near twenty years after the building. A Provost Fletcher had, before that period, given a severe wound to the funds by vanity and extravagance, and by entertaining the Convention of Burghs in this place. It therefore required wisdom, time, and economy to repair the breach, and to bring the funds again to useful and public purposes.

SUNDAY.—The Sunday or Sabbath was kept holy and decent; old women went to church with their bibles under one arm and a folding stool under the other. Those persons who did not attend at church gave at least no public offence, and disturbed not those that did. None but a straggling blackguard or two, who were deemed to be past all grace and reformation, were seen idle and parading in streets during divine service, or in any part of the day, or even in the evening. Field ambulation was not practised on that day. *There were seizures in those days*; and boys were not then publicly permitted to infest the streets and lanes, and to play at *marbles*, *penny-stone*, or *pal-a-alls*, to the offending of tender and sober consciences, and to the extinction of all decorum in a Christian society.

PASSAGE BOATS AND PIERS.—The boats of the passage were not then decked, and, it must be confessed, were insufficient; and there was no sloping, shipping, and landing pier at all times of the tide. These too deservedly impressed travellers against it, and there was too much reason for their complaint.

WATER.—Water-pipes, for the supply of the inhabitants from the Ladywell

Fountain, had then been introduced, and a few wells were placed in convenient situations for that purpose.

Such was the general state of the town, for I am not writing a minute history. Many other matters stood nearly on the same footing as now. As, for example, swallows' nests, as far as I can learn, were built in the same manner, and were as wantonly destroyed by schoolboys ; bees varied not in the texture of their cells ; crows and magpies followed their several accustomed styles of architecture, and all instinctively defied improvement. Mankind came into the world with a bad grace, and often left it with a worse. Incontinency held its wonted place, and knavery lagged not behind. Pedants whipped boys, and apprentices lightened their masters' tills. Virtue despised vice ; and she in her turn laughed at virtue. Cats mewed, dogs barked, mice chirped, geese cackled, frogs croaked, and things went on at the ancient jog-trot. Rich men died, and young spendthrifts succeeded. Children looked up for the death of the parent, and the parent looked down for the reformation of the child. Animosities and family feuds prevailed then as much as in the present day ; and, like great potentates, the heaviest purse held out longest. Parsons preached long sermons by sand-glasses, and their wives administered salves and potions by midnight. Little rogues were hanged, great criminals escaped, and captains swore big oaths. Physicians wore large muffs, dangled gold-headed canes, hemm'd loud, and looked wise ; and according to the strength or weakness of the natural constitution, the patient recovered or expired. The rich lorded it over their dependents, and they, in their turn, domineered over theirs. Whig and Tory were the pass-words for broils and bickerings. Sycophants and parasites scraped and bowed, and even gravest men swallowed the enticing bait. The wealthy feasted, and the poor starved. A sceptic in religious matters was a character not then known. Such an animal would have been caged in iron, and shown, like a wild beast, for sixpence. Toppers swilled, guzzled, and besotted in the tavern ; and their ladies in revenge took a cup of spirited or wine comfort at home. Lovers ogled, scoundrels broke vows, and dotards coo'd and bill'd. Servants rode before their masters, and running footmen skipped it before their coaches. Farmers toiled hard, and fed on meal, milk, and water. They now live lustily on beef, pudding, and punch. Feasting ruled the roast, gave consequence, led the world, and enlisted table friends and flatterers. Guns and dogs, hawks and hounds, fiddles and flutes, and billiards and cards, made dreadful havoc amongst youth. Fornicators received the benefit of ghostly counsel. The case is now commuted ; the session funds receive the benefit of their cash. Men smacked each other in the forum on the New Year's Day, and danced *chapeau bas* in the minuet at Christmas. Ladies tripped it in monstrous hoops, bound themselves up in bone stays and husks, like Egyptian mummies, and footed it to church in gold, silver, lace, scarlet, and short mantles. Cowards blustered, and brave men fought. Official men loom'd large, and taylors and shavers looked little. Ingratitude was healthy, and required no nursing—like fern, it flourished in the barrenest soil. Cockfighting was publicly taught and encouraged at school, and (would you believe it, Mr Printer ?) the unfortunate combatants were, in imitation of the American savages, slain, boiled, and devoured. To sum up all, the sun rose in the east and set in the west. Lightnings flashed, thunders rolled

and rains poured. Scandal, hypocrisy, and backbiting brought up the rear of this heterogeneous mass; and the world continued to roll like clock-work.—I am, yours, &c.,

PHILETAS.

Dundee, April, 1799.

To mark the auspicious years when Tusculum
 Wax'd great, was wealthy, and a goodly place;
 Its glittering spears the ploughshares quickly form'd,
 And industry sat at the silken loom:
 Its manners, habits persons, fashions, chang'd,
 The seat of nobles, and of classic lore;
 Surrounded by green fields and pleasant villas;
 Its sons were wise, and all its daughters fair:
 And tho' withal, 'twas thus a rising city,
 It lacked much, as travellers would tell.

SIR,—He that will take the trouble to investigate the true source of barbarism and beggary in a nation, may trace it in the lone cottage of indolence, in the dregs of feudal infection and vanity, and in the cabins of sloth and idleness. It is the hand of diligence and perseverance that maketh rich; and it is industry that lifts the man from the dunghill, and places him in a comfortable and respectable situation.

It is a maxim and leading feature in the commercial world, and confirmed by practice and experience, that agriculture and manufactures are the parents of wealth in all countries. They give birth to ease, affluence, and conveniency, and are the consequent supporters of the State. Without these, and a government such as Great Britain enjoys, towns and cities, were they paved with emeralds, their buildings fluted with gold—were their sites pleasant as Zion, and their councillors wise as Solomon—they must (in the seaman's phrase) *stand fast*, and be stationary.

I have, in my former letter, laid before you a brief state of the town of Dundee more than threescore of years ago; and am now about to show the *reverse*, or *modern picture*, that you may from both form the contrast. We are now to view this little local circle in happy progression, and to mark out the handywork and transactions of mortals in social arts, from *still* and *infant life*, to a more busy and matured age.

THE TOWN OF DUNDEE, from 1746 to the present æra of 1799, hath risen in rapid style to trade, to wealth, and to population. It bears little resemblance to those early times when civilization was hardly in blossom, and refinement not even in abeyance; when our manners were wild, stiff, and formal; when dark ignorance prevailed; when habitations and accommodations were confined, limited, and inelegant, and the minds of the inhabitants borne down by poverty and wretchedness. Our forefathers, indeed, like the wild Indians, or those in distant and insular situations, were contented only because they knew no better. From years and experience, we are now happily enabled to weigh comparatively, and to form our conclusions accordingly. It is, therefore, with pleasure that I turn from

wastes and wildernesses, and from rude and ancient years, to more polished times, and to scenes of luxury and refinement; and I gratulate my fellow-citizens (the present generation) on the change. The minds of our grand-parents, like their clothing, were stiffly buckramed; and unmeaning and pedantic formality and ceremony were esteemed the essentials of good breeding: To sit erect as a pole at table, to drink healths regularly with small beer, and to pledge your neighbour at dinner, *lest his throat should be cut in the quaff*, were deemed the *haut-ton of manners*. The gentleman valued himself on the ceremonious bow, and the lady piqued herself on the sinking courtesy.

IN EXTENT, the buildings of Dundee are now doubled—they stretch to Blackness, Craigie, and to the Hill or Rotten-row; and to the south we have encroached on the river. Some of them approach to elegance. The environs and country are much improved, and we are encircled by water, by gardens, and by villas. Families live in an improved taste, and require more accommodation. *House rents* are now from £5 to £40, and even to £50 per annum. Ground for building in the centre of the town hath become extremely valuable, and there is hardly a vacant spot in it. A small area, containing about 300 square feet, was lately sold at a public sale at the amazing price of £300.

IN NUMBERS OF POPULATION we are, since 1750, quadrupled—that is, they may now be fairly taken at 25,000 souls.

IN INNS we are completely accommodated—neither Gordon's nor Morren's would do dishonour to any town in Europe; and it is by rivalry the country can be well served. We have had *enow of John Barnets* in our time already.

THE SHIPPING is wonderfully increased—foreign tonnage is at least quadrupled; vessels are well found and manned, and they voyage without interruption from Christmas to Christmas.—The London trade sail and arrive every fortnight; and our home tonnage may be reckoned at 8 to 9000 tons.

PIERS FOR THE SHIPPING AND BOATS, as yet but every imperfect, are greatly extended, and have cost large sums—particularly a shipping one hath been added with arches for passing tide. The whole staple trade is loaded and unloaded there; and it forms a pleasant and healthy walk to the inhabitants. A ship-building dock is well occupied and employed, and vessels can be built there from 2 to 300 tons. A declivous boat-pier hath been built some years ago, with much judgment, under the management of the late Bailie Myles, at the West Shore, and gives easy access to passengers at all times.

MANUFACTURES are on a very increasing and large scale. The staple Osnaburg hath advanced greatly: a single weaver may now earn £50 a-year by his daily labour.

BUILDINGS have been greatly extended. There are now five churches well occupied and frequented, exclusive of every denomination of sectaries. A *new market place for butchery meat*, and a *slaughter place*, hath been built. We have an elegant hall for the Nine Incorporated Trades, a handsome English Chapel, and a Glassite octagon; and these give real ornament to all around. The Town-house or Tolbooth is a piece of noble architecture; but in its present situation can never be viewed to advantage or justice to the architect. Our forefathers (and even some of the present generation) seem to have looked no farther than their noses

when they turned proprietors and builders. Never was a building (if we except the *Mansion-house* of London and the *Sailors' Hall* here) so murdered in situation. It is set down in a hole fitted only for a hog's sty, and, what is to be much lamented, it is one of those capital blunders which cannot, without immense expense, be now remedied.

THREE NEW STREETS have been recently and judiciously laid out by the public-spirited and persevering exertions of *Provost Riddock*. One of these is literally scooped out of a huge rock by force of gunpowder. Two of those communicate with the shipping, and the other (Tay Street) forms a convenient access to the country and turnpike.

THE MEADOWS are of late partially drained. They are enclosed with stone walls, and laid out (though yet greatly deficient) for washing and bleaching the linens of the inhabitants. A back road by the town is also begun to be made through these Meadows, and will, it is hoped, soon communicate to the turnpikes.

RETAIL SHOPS are found in every street and corner, and we are fully supplied with every family article; and, in general, you are well and civilly treated in return for your money.

MERCHANTS are a respectable, well educated, and wealthy body. The taverns and ale-houses are deserted for the drawing-room and their friends; and elegance and hospitality preside at their tables. The country squires have for the present quitted the town. Like *Cincinnatus*, they have returned to the ploughshares and to their seats, and have thus become *Borough seceders*. They find that, by time, they have acquired very respectable and opulent rivals in the city; that a couple of mansions are not now necessary to spend one *rent-roll*, and that *self-consequence* and *importance* are delicate and tender plants, that are much more quietly reared and nursed in wilds and heaths, and amongst mountains and forests, than in the bustling circle of a mercantile and independent community. We have three banking-houses. The Old Banking Company, established here in 1763, now do business, it is thought, to at least sixteen times the extent they did at first setting out.

THE POST goes and returns daily. A mail coach from Edinburgh to Aberdeen has been established since August last, and travellers of every description profit by such convenience. Letters are received here the third day from London.

THE STREETS are rather better lighted up; nor are we groping about like *Cupids* or *Jocky Blind Men* in the dreary month of December.

We formerly had one single horse gig—we have now, at least, a dozen of elegant four-wheeled chaises, and, from trade and population, these are in constant demand and employ.

In 1746, we had only one carter—we have now one hundred and thirty; and nothing marks the increase of the town more than this article.

GENTLEMEN AND LADIES AND SERVANTS are well dressed, and neatly habited. Even our kitchen wenches carry umbrellas and wear veils, to protect their pretty persons from the inclemency of the winter sky, and their beauty and charms from the sun and dews of the summer. The fashion and ton in one article is wholly changed: the ladies alone now wear wigs, and the gentlemen are turned coppers and round-heads.

VIVRES of all kinds are confessedly dearer, but are to be had in great abundance at all times. Beef is 6d., a hen 1s. 6d., and eggs 6d. a-dozen ; and there is a plentiful and cheap supply of vegetables. We have, in humble imitation of *Covent Garden*, our *melons*, *cucumbers*, and *asparagus* in the public street. Fish seldom exceed 1d. per pound.

THE TOWN'S ANNUAL REVENUE may be valued at about £3000. The tonnage, anchorage, beaconage dues, &c., forming a part of it, did not amount to more than £40 or £50 sixty years ago, and is now let at £1300 to £1400 sterling.

IN THE NECESSARY SUPPLY OF WATER from a plentiful, well-situated, and valuable fountain, there is somehow an unpardonable negligence. The present cistern is inadequate for the purpose. It is not more than seven feet square, and two feet of depth ; and, in place of an elegant and capacious basin and structure, the appearance and entry to it would disgrace the meanest village in Britain. More water is there lost and spilled than would serve another town of the same size, and our supply is very scanty. Our servants are *wanderers*, and idle half the day, journeying to and fro in quest of water, as if we belonged to a caravan in the desert.

THE BURYING-GROUND is, from increasing population, too confined for the purpose of its first appropriation ; besides, it labours under an original evil, and which our predecessors had surely not examined—the ground and soil is damp and wet, and consequently very unfit for the purpose of quick and active putrescence.

MORALITY AND HONESTY, AND SOME OTHER SMALLER MATTERS, seem to have made little progress in amendment these sixty years, in despite of schools and establishments. *Vice*, *manufactures*, and *population*, appear to have kept a steady jog trot together. *The ancient pulpit oratory*, which, from the coldness of its composition, and its still more frigid delivery, if it often failed to command our attention, had the virtue at least, to lay us fast asleep, is in the meantime supplanted in fashion, by the *mushroom field tribe of bawling and bellowing missionaries*. The charms of novelty, the itch of curiosity (combined with the ignorance of their dangers and doctrines) and a wondering habit of enthusiasm, call forth, at once, the critics, the blockheads, the gapers, and the devotees ; and if we may judge from the sample, the auditors return little wiser than they went forth. The narrative system of Wesley is there servilely imitated, without one fresh spark of fancy, genius, or improvement ; and, like other diseases, it bids fair, methinks, to perish from pulmonary affection. Duelling is fast approaching to the North Pole. The sword, (formerly the pride of all true cavaliers) is exchanged for the pistol ; and a bullet in your belly is now as good as an ell of Ferrara steel in your body. Brandy shops vend liquid poison, and, strange to tell ! the resources of the State thus depend, in a certain degree, on the continued gulping and murder of miserable and deluded victims. Professions, in the present age, are not regarded : Mankind consider them, from experience, as the foppery and fashionable compliments of the day, not as marks of sincerity and esteem. The man who betrays you in the morning, riots merrily with you till midnight. Men and women do not always marry for conveniency : They wed not to be happy, but to be rich, powerful, and affluent ; that they and their sons and daughters may shine in the drawing-room and ride in their coaches. Breed and descent, wisdom and madness, tawny or fair,

diseased or wealthy, old or young, are alike from the question in modern matches. The elegance of the ancient dancing assemblies is gone ! and in its place are introduced card-playing ! and a warming reel before departure ! ! Servants pilfer, vagrants steal, and hypocrisy smiles. The deceiver, after forfeiting his honour, is received into the favour of every other woman of the sex. Bankruptcy is not the mortal and fatal disease it was. Its virulence, however, decreases by habit ; and, considering the number of annual patients now-a-days, the recovery is generally wonderful. Skel tramping is yet in full blaze, and to be seen every lawful day of the week. In urinals we are highly improved ; and from the wooden loom and brown jar we have ascended to the fair cream and clouded China-ware. The custom of patching is now happily given up ; it had so much of the Jesebeel in it that I congratulate my fair countrywomen on its being deserted. Haggis and hodge-podge, sheep and crapped-heads, keep their places at the table, in defiance of pork, griskin, and roast-beef. Dad gathers it in farthings, and young Hopeful spends it by guineas. The mother toils at the distaff, and the thoughtless and extravagant young Baggage throws it away on gew-gaws. Quakers begin to mingle amongst us, and to groan in spirit. The Jews, as I formerly mentioned, have not as yet set up shop here ; the stragglers, however, are travelling about the country, with their faar-keepers, and so spying the land ; whilst the main body are setting out to meet their promised deliverer, Bonaparte. Scandal and tale-bearing continue to do the honours of the tea-table, and folly and extravagance to hold their rites at the shop of the milliner. The price of shaving (being frequently a blood-letting case), is advanced by the war ! It was formerly one halfpenny, it is now one penny. War, it is said, raises the price of many things. It hath, indeed, I confess, already raised the value of shoes cleaning and puppet-shows, sour milk and broom-besoms. Writing was taught in my time for sixpence a-quarter ; we now pay ten times that sum. The old women were formerly the only witches, and we roasted them in bonfires. Witchcraft is now confined to the young ; and they in their turn scorch us powerfully by charms. The matter of dead languages is now fully and generally known by translations ; and Greek and Hebrew drag rather heavily. Pedantry, therefore, slackens apace. A gentleman is now better known by his manners than by his Latin ; and merchants begin to find more money is to be got at a loom or desk than by poring over a Greek dictionary or an old classic. The ladies continue to admire red coats, and to have no objection to the blue. Shortwaists, watering places, and bathing-quarters are the present general rage ; and drowning is now as common in summer as starving was formerly in winter. We tread not now on fairy ground. Spirits and hobgoblins are little known in these days—they flee from society and refinement, and from the busy haunts of men. These incorporeals are suffered to glide and betake themselves to cloisters, church yards, and dormitories, and to melancholy aisles. As rooks, magpies, and foxes, they nestle and burrow in the deserted and mouldering tower and ancient chateau ; and there they caw and howl to the midnight winds. 'Tis there only they hold their frantic orgies, take their nocturnal rambles, and startle the watchful and lonely sentinel at his post. 'Tis there, mayhap, the ghosts of Malcolm and Claverhouse perambulate a dreary scene, perform their antic rounds, and vanish at the morning air.

Mankind continue to pout and spar, kiss, wrangle, toy, and trifle by turns. Folly, like death, spares neither sex nor age; and the wise heads, the wrong heads, the blockheads, and the hot heads have been precious and prolific families since the days of their father, Adam.

Thus have I, Mr Printer, presented you with a full state of the town, buildings, police, manners, morals, &c.; and when put in the scale with the state of it in 1746, the difference in many things is great. The comparative view, however, will enable the reader to judge, and he will thence find that these are real and solid amendments.—I am, yours, &c.,

PHILETAS.

Dundee, July, 1799.

[Our gossiping chronicler makes no allusion to any public amusements as being available to beguile the leisure of the citizens of last century; but we glean from other sources that theatricals were, at least, occasionally offered them. In 1734, when a company of players, organised by Allan Ramsay, were struggling to keep on the boards in Edinburgh, they bethought themselves of a tour in the provinces; and, early on an August morning, started for Dundee. Their reception was extremely flattering, being honoured with the patronage of the Freemasons, who marched in a body, with the worshipful G.M. at their head, to the playhouse, "in their proper apparel, with hautboys and other music playing before them;" and heard performed the *Jubilee*, and *The Devil to Pay*;—let us hope, with pleasure to themselves and profit to the poor actors. Dancing assemblies were about the same period introduced at Edinburgh, and Dundee followed suit. In the "*Caledonian Mercury*," the chief newspaper at that time published in Scotland, we find a string of verses extolling, in magniloquent terms, the charms of the ladies who had graced a Dundee assembly:

"Heavens! what a splendid scene is here,
How bright those female seraphs shine!" &c.

Numerous individual allusions occur, by half-blank names, evidently those of the upper ten who then led the fashion in the district, and among which damsels styled Bower, Duncan, Reid, Ramsay, Dempster, and Bow may be mentioned—

"Besides a much more numerous dazzling throng,
Whose names, if known, should grace my artless song."

In 1755, Dundee found a local medium for chronicling the doings in the town, the first number of the *Dundee Weekly Intelligencer* hav-

ing seen the light on May 23d of that year. It consisted of four small pages, sold for three half-pence, and was printed by Henry Galbraith & Co., at their printing office near the "Main Guard"—a location which we have not been able to identify. Its circulation seems to have been limited, for its existence was brief.¹

Towards the close of last century, the town was on several occasions the scene of lawless proceedings, connected with the scarcity of food. In 1772, a "meal mob" occurred of unusual audacity and violence, reminiscences of which have been handed down by old inhabitants as the "mob of Mylnefield." The proprietor for the time of that estate was exceedingly unpopular in Dundee, and the belief had taken root in the public mind that he had expressed a wish to see the townspeople reduced to the condition of the Babylonian king, and forced to eat the grass on his fields. One day the excitement culminated in the assemblage of a mob, which followed a bagpiper, playing warlike airs, westward to the residence of the obnoxious laird. Arrived at Mylnefield, the crowd broke into the house, sacked it of everything portable, and destroyed what could not be removed. There is no record of any of the participators of this lawless proceeding having been brought to justice, although common report pointed to several individuals as having shared in the spoil. A certain weaver was credited with having become possessed of a strong box, with the contents of which he established himself as a manufacturer; another was reported to have secured an ornament in the form of a ball of gold, which hung in the drawing-room, and which, after being discreetly concealed for a time in the "Mausie Burn," was afterwards taken by him to London, where its conversion into cash enabled the possessor to set up a public house. The story would be complete if we could add that the rogue had gratitude enough left to adopt the "golden ball" for the sign of his tavern.

The outbreak at Mylnefield did not exhaust the riotous tendencies of the lower orders; for, in the year following, another "meal mob" occurred; although the price (10½d. to 1s. per peck), was not much dearer than usual. In the books of the Guildry and Trades frequent entries occur of purchases of meal by these bodies, sometimes from such distant places as Aberdeen, Banff, and Inverness, these supplies being retailed at cost price to mitigate the privations and allay the

¹ For this and other incidents which follow we are indebted to the MS. kindly lent by Mr James Duff.—Ed.

discontent of the people. Beans and peas were freely purchased on such occasions to convert into meal, as well as oats; and it is noticeable that, on several occasions of this kind, the barley had to be got by freighting a ship to fetch it from Holland.¹ In 1782, the Magistrates found themselves under the necessity of contracting a loan of £1500 with the Dundee Bank for purchasing meal to retail to the poor; and, in 1795, another loan, to the extent of £4000, had to be negotiated for the same object. Five years later they hit upon a better plan of procuring supplies, by offering a premium of £100 for the first thousand bolls of barley-meal brought into the town.

The effects of the French Revolution in this country were not confined to peaceful discussion, although that was duly provided for in Dundee by the formation of a "Whig Club," which sent a congratulatory address to the National Assembly, signed by its president, "honest George Dempster" of Dunnichen. Not content with this expression of sympathy, some restless spirits conceived the idea of planting a tree of liberty in Dundee. One evening a crowd collected on the High Street, and proceeded to the grounds in front of Belmont House, in the Perth Road, from which a young tree was abstracted. Returning to the High Street, the sapling was planted there with due ceremony, and its branches hung with garlands. Provost Riddoch was a spectator, and it is averred, was compelled to walk three times round the tree, and shout—"Liberty and equality for ever!" Having previously sent for the military, the provost had the tree taken up in the quiet of a Sabbath morning, and consigned to "the Thief's hole," a cellar under the Town-house. It was afterwards replanted in its native soil, and is now a goodly tree, the position of it being indicated to the passer-by from a stone inserted in the parapet-wall by the present proprietor of Belmont.]

¹ Warden's Burgh Laws, p. 161.

Section XX.

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY—TRIALS OF PALMER AND MEALMAKER—FIRST NEWSPAPER—PROVOST RIDDOCH'S REIGN—JAMES CARMICHAEL AND THE STEAM-ENGINE—ROBERT MUDIE AND THE REFORM BILL ADVOCATES—MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT SINCE 1832—THE WATT INSTITUTION—FIRST RAILWAY—WRECK OF "FORFARSHIRE"—WHALE-FISHING—CHURCHES, STIPEND CASE—QUEEN'S VISIT—GAS AND WATER BILLS.

THE political horizon in the opening years of this century was gloomy and portentous. A period of commercial prosperity had been followed by utter stagnation of trade, and hardship and suffering fell to the lot of the working classes. As usually happens in such circumstances, their eyes were turned with eager impatience to political affairs, so that, when the fitful gleams of the French Revolution shot up into the sky, the light was hailed by many, whom trials and suffering had made too sanguine, as the harbinger of freedom and prosperity. To the upper classes, on the other hand, whose sympathies were neither sharpened by privation, nor flattered at the prospect of renouncing a share of power, the light seemed but the lurid glare which presaged a storm. To them any change in the existing state of things appeared fraught with nothing but turbulence and discontent among the people, such as would inevitably result in ruin to the most cherished institutions of the country. In this unsettled condition of the public mind, the Government exhibited so much impatience at the discussion of questions upon political liberty, that indictments and prosecutions fell thick upon those who held advanced opinions, and had the boldness to urge them on the attention of their fellow-men.

In the conflict of authority and thought to which we refer, Dundee had its full share. In 1793, it had its "Whig Club," and thereafter its branch of the "Friends of the People," a political organization which would now be deemed as legitimate and harmless as any "League," but which then was regarded as a very hot-bed of sedition. One of the active promoters of the advanced opinions was George Meal-maker, a handloom weaver, who drew up an address to the people of Scotland on the subject of Reform. This document, on being submitted to a meeting, in the Berean Meeting-house, Methodist Close, was approved of in substance, but handed over to Thomas Fysche Palmer, the pastor of a small congregation of Unitarians recently

organised in the town, for literary correction, and the superintendence of its publication. For this he was indicted, and brought to trial before the Circuit Court of Justiciary at Perth; and, although Mealmaker appeared and avowed the authorship, Palmer was found art and part guilty of writing the address, and guilty of causing it to be printed and published, for which he was sentenced to seven years' transportation. He had, as a companion in banishment, Thomas Muir, a promising advocate at the Scottish bar, who had been sentenced a month previously to fourteen years' transportation, for a similar offence; and a third compatriot was found to enter into voluntary exile with them, under circumstances so romantic as to deserve record:—

"A young man, named James Ellis, a native of Dundee, who then resided near Paisley, where he at one time held a situation as clerk, having occasion to revisit Dundee, made the acquaintance of Palmer. Both being Radicals, and men of cultivated minds, a mutual attachment arose, which was of a most remarkable character. Ellis, who had been a most unwilling witness at the trial of Palmer, resolved, on hearing the sentence that was pronounced upon his attached friend, to share his exile with him; and he accordingly voluntarily accompanied Palmer to New South Wales, and remained with him during the whole of his banishment, cheerfully suffering many hardships along with him. Having served out the term of his sentence, Palmer bought a vessel and quitted the colony, accompanied by his faithful attendant. He was afterwards cast away on one of the Marianne Islands, where he died on June 2, 1802, from fatigue; and Ellis performed the last melancholy duty of interring his beloved master's remains in a Roman Catholic country, in the sands by the sea-shore—such being the only place of sepulchre permitted to heretics. Here, however, the remains of this preacher of political righteousness were not destined to remain. From a paragraph in the *Dundee Mercury* of Aug. 30, 1809, we learn that 'an American captain being there in May 1804, by permission from the Governor, took up the body; and his bones are now in the possession of a gentleman in Boston, who is willing to give them up, free of expense, to anybody who may apply for them.' Whether any application was made consequent on this offer does not appear."

George Mealmaker, though escaping at the time Palmer was tried, not long after fell into the same toils, for writing a political catechism which was alleged to be tainted with sedition. He was tried in 1798, found guilty, and sentenced to fourteen years' transportation, ten of which he had suffered when, in 1808, death cancelled the hard sentence to which a mistaken exercise of power had condemned him.

It is a relief to turn from the record of these harsh and fruitless attempts to repress intellectual progress, and punish, by the heavy arm of the law, those earnest men who sought to exercise their inalienable right to "know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to their conscience," to the dawn of a better state of things, in the advent of the public press, which ere long became the source and safeguard of

political liberty. The first periodical issued in Dundee was the monthly *Dundee Magazine*, started by Thomas Colville in 1799, of which four or five volumes appeared; but its contents were more of a literary than political character. On the 16th January, 1801, the first regular newspaper appeared, in the form of a modest broadsheet, entitled *The Dundee Weekly Advertiser and Angusshire Intelligencer*, sold at sixpence a copy. During its career, the *Advertiser* has steadily kept pace with the development of the town in all its phases, and now deservedly occupies a foremost place among the newspapers of Scotland.

From about the beginning of the century, and during the long period of nearly thirty years, the internal affairs of the town were directed by Alexander Riddoch, who was frequently Provost, and always the real leader in its municipal affairs. Possessed of great natural abilities, and by the constitution of the Council, invested with nearly absolute power, Mr Riddoch was able to mark his rule by important results, and exhibited, in trying circumstances, a sagacity, decision, and promptitude, which secured the attachment of his friends, and compelled the admiration of those who disapproved of his policy. It would be unfair to blame Provost Riddoch for the faults of the close system of burgh government, which existed at the time of his accession to office; indeed, in justice to him it must be said that he exposed the abuses which then prevailed; and, when the time at length came for conceding popular rights, his testimony was not wanting to the justice of them, and his assistance was zealously rendered in obtaining a more liberal constitution for the administration of burgh affairs. During his reign, many important improvements in the town were planned and successfully accomplished, such as the opening up of Crichton Street, Castle Street, and Tay Street, and the widening of the Nethergate, by the removal of a line of old houses which extended along the front of the churches, from the Union Hall to the foot of Lindsay street.¹ It was claimed, moreover, that all these costly im-

¹ The Nethergate was previously a narrow street, the north side of which was nearly in a line with the Union Hall; while, between the rear of these buildings and the churchyard, there existed a narrow lane laid with flags, at the west end of which stood a one storey building containing the Grammar and Parish Schools. To effect this Nethergate improvement, an Act of Parliament was obtained, and, as the owners of the property were mostly persons of moderate means, the magistrates secured nearly all the houses at the prices they offered for them. A Mr Garland, however, was not so accommodating, and claimed £650 instead of the £250 offered him. A jury trial followed, and, after a lengthened investigation at

provements were carried out without imposing a shilling of taxation upon the inhabitants ; although the Provost's opponents alleged, with some show of truth, that his private interests and speculations were furthered at the same time—an allegation not unfrequently made in similar circumstances at the present day. A scheme which brought less credit to Mr Riddoch's administration than those just noticed, was one for the formation of a dry-dock in the locality of Commercial Street, the stones for which were sought to be obtained in the Perth Road, near the foot of Small's Wynd. The dock proved to be an engineering blunder, and was soon abandoned ; and the quarry, which was derisively named "the howkeries," had to be filled up, the whole project ending in a loss of some thousands to the community. Mr Riddoch, who was a native of Crieff, retired from public life in 1819, and died on Dec. 9, 1822, at the advanced age of 78 years.

The commercial affairs of Dundee, about this period, were not founded on that stable basis of realised wealth which its recent prosperity has secured, and were consequently subject to periodical panics, of which one of the most disastrous occurred in 1812. In that year, Russian produce, the material of the staple trade, suddenly fell, upon the conclusion of peace, from £150 to £55 per ton ; and freights, which shortly before had reached £40 a ton, (besides a guinea to the captain, called "cap-laggan" or hat-money,) underwent a like reduction. Amongst other failures was that of William Sandeman, a merchant and bleacher, whose liabilities amounted to £120,000, the largest, it was believed, which had previously occurred in Dundee. Three years later, the trade seemed to be on the verge of extinction, no less than sixty firms having suspended payment within the town, a state of things which, as may be supposed, involved the working classes in distress and privation, which public benevolence exerted itself to mitigate, but was inadequate wholly to relieve.

The great discoveries of Watt were now attracting attention, and, as in other sea-ports, the propelling of vessels by steam formed the subject of experiment in Dundee. On the 14th April, 1814, the new motive power was put on its trial in a steam-boat named the "Tay,"

which eminent counsel from Edinburgh assisted, the claimant was awarded £800 ; which, with the expenses of the trial, mulcted the town to the extent of about £1600. The demolition of these old buildings brought to light large quantities of bones and human remains, which were believed to have been hastily interred during the siege under General Monck in 1651.

which was put on the passage to Perth. With this venture, the name of Mr James Carmichael first came before the public as an engineer, whose services in perfecting the steam-engine have only recently been adequately recognised. Mr Carmichael was a native of Glasgow, and bred as a millwright in a country village ; but, in 1810, he came to join his brother Charles in conducting a similar business in Dundee. The firm, finding a demand springing up for machinery, soon devoted attention to the making of steam-engines, a branch which they steadily carried to a high state of perfection, which is still maintained by their successors in the business. After the "Tay" and other vessels, the Carmichaels equipped, in 1821, the first twin steam-boat for the Newport Ferry passage, which was followed by a second in 1823. In these, various ingenious improvements were introduced, which were freely copied elsewhere, so that ferry-boats of the same construction were soon adopted for similar purposes in this and other countries. Hitherto the tools used in the iron-trade were comparatively few and of an antiquated description : to remedy which Mr Carmichael invented a planing, shaping, and boring machine, which at once took its place in the Government and other engineering workshops. In 1833, the firm turned out the first locomotives made in Scotland, for the Dundee and Newtyle Railway ; and many will remember the wonder, amounting almost to awe, with which these engines were regarded when first placed on the rails, to supplant the horses which then performed the running. The invention of the Fan Blast, for heating and melting iron, was introduced by Messrs Carmichael in 1829, and, being freely given, like their other inventions, to the public, its great practical utility was soon acknowledged by universal adoption. In recognition of the liberality of the firm in thus giving to the trade an invention, which, if protected by a patent, would have secured them a fortune, the leading engineers in Glasgow entertained the brothers to a banquet in that city, in 1841, and presented them with a handsome service of plate. The recognition of Mr Carmichael's talents and generosity by his townsmen, although somewhat tardily expressed, is about to be worthily shown, by the erection of a bronze statue, now in preparation, and destined to occupy a prominent position in the Albert Square.

In connection with the ferry steamers, constructed by Messrs Carmichael, it may be mentioned that the introduction of that means of communication between the opposite shores of the firth resulted

from a disaster which drew public attention to the danger and inconvenience attending the small craft which formerly plied upon the Ferry. In the summer of 1815, one of these, laden with passengers, capsized in the river, by which eighteen lives were lost. A subscription in aid of the families thus left destitute formed the nucleus of our Orphan Institution ; and, to obviate the recurrence of such mishaps, a bill was applied for and obtained, for the erection of proper piers and the equipment of steam-boats. These objects were not accomplished without protracted and acrimonious discussions upon the plans of rival engineers ; but ultimately those of Mr Telford, with certain modifications, were adopted in preference to Mr Stevenson's. The management was vested in a body designated the Tay Ferry Trustees ; but the cost of the works having far exceeded the first calculations, and the revenue proving insufficient to defray working expenses and the interest upon the debt, the control of the Ferries reverted successively to the Government and the Caledonian Railway. The rapid increase of New port, and the desire for further improvements in the ferry service, have recently drawn the attention of the authorities in Dundee to the management, which, after tedious negotiations, became vested in the Harbour Board, Nov. 11, 1873, upon payment of £20,000 to the Railway Co.

About the year 1816, the subject of Parliamentary Reform had taken hold of the public mind, and nowhere was it more energetically discussed than in Dundee. The *Advertiser* became the medium through which several able exponents of popular rights ventilated the subject, and contributed in no small degree to the ultimate success of the movement. Of those who participated in this work must be mentioned R. S. Rintoul, the editor ; Mr Saunders, one of the proprietors ; George Kinloch ; and Robert Mudie, one of the teachers in the Academy. The career of Mudie furnishes a striking instance of the force and vitality of inborn genius. He was the son of a poor man, and reared among the solitudes of the Sidlaw Hills, without any education beyond what he picked up after three months' tuition under a country "dominie," and for whom, as he himself declared :

"Scarcely school, and never college,
Had ope'd to him their stores of knowledge."

From shepherding, young Mudie passed to weaving, and then enlisted in a militia regiment, contriving meanwhile to acquire stores of learning, which, to one in his circumstances, seemed well nigh impossible of attainment. A good story is told of the astonishment he caused in a

cottar's family, where he was billeted in his soldiering days, by delivering from shorthand notes, a verbatim report of a sermon he heard one Sunday, and winding up the evening by expositions of Scripture from his Greek Testament. Leaving the militia at the end of his four years' term, he took to teaching, first in Fifeshire, then in Inverness, and from thence transferred himself to Dundee, where his versatility showed itself in undertaking such varied departments as arithmetic, book-keeping, and drawing. A ready and trenchant writer, gifted moreover with great powers of sarcasm and raillery, it may well be conceived Mudie's pen found ample scope in the region of local polemics. Like other masters of satire, he was unfortunately prone to use that dangerous weapon, without discrimination or good taste, eager only "to smite the natives." With certain public men whom he stung, by personal attacks too broad to be mistaken and too scathing to be quietly endured, Mudie found himself placed in unseemly relations, so much so that on one occasion he got spat upon and kicked by a future provost. In reading now the effusions which provoked such rough rejoinders, we miss no doubt much of their pungency at the time, but enough remains to show their literary ability and incisive satire—as, for instance, in "The Flamingo," which thus began:—

"On Thursday week, when loyalty and drink
Had worked our burghers into royal tune,
It might be seven or eight o'clock, I think,
Or haply later in the afternoon,
Two rosy youths, whose half-shut eyes did wink,
With labouring at the bottle, jug, and spoon,
Anxious to try another sort of funning,
Left talk of pence and punch to try their skill in gunning."

To counteract the influence of the *Advertiser*, sustained by such writers as Rintoul and Mudie, the Conservative party started the *Courier* in 1816, and the wordy war raged with increased asperity between the opposing factions. That expedient seemed, however, too slow a process to silence the irrepressible lampooner, and a more direct method was resolved upon by the dominant party in the Council. As English teacher, Mudie was subject to the control of his opponents, and that appointment was summarily withdrawn; but, as drawing-master, he had his place for life. Negotiations were accordingly opened to buy him off, and a limit of £120 was allowed to the committee which undertook the delicate task. Beginning at the safe figure of £20, the inward delight of the negotiators may be imagined when the

unsuspecting object of their solicitude readily accepted that sum. Shortly afterwards, in 1820, Mudie left Dundee for London, after having unsuccessfully tried two periodicals, the *Independent* and the *Caledonian*, each of which only survived over three or four numbers. In the metropolis, Mudie found employment on the *Morning Chronicle*, the *Sunday Times*, and other newspapers, contributed to the periodicals of the day, and, in a few years, produced upwards of ninety volumes in almost every department of literature. "Many of his works were hastily produced, to provide for the passing wants of the day, and he has been known to throw off a volume of his 'Seasons,' in eight days. He was an able writer, an elegant compiler, an acute and philosophical observer of nature, and particularly happy in his geographical dissertations and works on natural history." While resident in Dundee, he was on terms of intimacy with Dr Chalmers, then minister of Kilmany, in Fife, whose biographer thus narrates one of their meetings :—

"In the autumn of 1811, when Dr Chalmers was alone at the manse, Mr Mudie and Mr Duncan [afterwards a professor—then rector of Dundee Academy] came in upon him from Dundee. On consulting his servant privately as to what there was for dinner, he found to his dismay that there was nothing whatever in the house but two separate parcels of salt fish. Having given particular directions that a portion of each should be boiled apart from the other, he joined his friends, and went out with them to enjoy a walk. On returning to the house, the dinner was served, two large and most promising covered dishes being placed at the head and foot of the table. 'And now, gentlemen,' said the host, as the covers were removed, 'you have variety to choose among; that is salt fish from St Andrews, and this is hard fish from Dundee.'"¹

Poor Mudie, with all his acquirements and industry, found the life of a literary hack one dreary round of labour, embittered with poverty, and ending in complete bodily exhaustion. He died at Pentonville on the 29th April, 1842, aged sixty-four, leaving a widow, by a second marriage, in indigent circumstances.²

¹ Hannah's "Life of Chalmers," vol. i., p. 22.

² The following list of Mudie's principal works may not be without interest; and one cannot help wishing that a collection of them might find a place in our Free Library :—"The Maid of Griban—A Poetical Fragment," 1810. "Glenfergus," a novel in 3 vols., written in Dundee. "First Series of Zoology," London, 1831. "Modern Athens—A Sketch of Edinburgh Society." "Babylon the Great—A Picture of Men and Things in London," 4 vols. "The British Naturalist," 2 vols. "A Popular Guide to the Observation of Nature," (vol. 77 of Constable's Miscellany,) London, 1832. "First Lines of Natural Philosophy," London 1832. "The Botanical Annual," London, 1832. "The Feathered Tribes of the

The Reform, for which Kinloch, Rintoul, Mudie, and their party agitated, came at length in 1832, when the claims of Dundee were recognised to the extent of having a Member to itself, instead of being grouped as formerly with the burghs of Forfar, Perth, Cupar, and St Andrews. Under the old system, the small burghs each elected a delegate, who proceeded to the burgh where the parliamentary election took place—each becoming the returning burgh in succession, and there voted for the Member. The body of the people had no direct participation in the matter; but, when the provisions of the Reform Bill took effect, by which the franchise was extended to £10 householders in burghs, who directly elected their representative, a change equal to revolution took place, and something like an intelligent interest in political affairs sprang up. For its first Member, Dundee chose Mr Kinloch, under circumstances elsewhere described; and, after his too brief career, Sir Henry Parnell was elected in 1833, and continued to represent the burgh until the dissolution in 1841, when he was raised to the peerage under the title of Lord Congleton. Mr George Duncan, a local merchant, was returned in 1841, and continued to represent his native town with much acceptance until the dissolution of Lord Palmerston's administration in 1867, when advancing age led to his retirement. His successor was Sir John Ogilvy, Bart. of Inverquhar, a gentleman long identified with every good work in Dundee, and who has since assiduously represented the interests of the constituency in Parliament. Sir John was associated with Mr George Armitstead from 1868, when a second Member was given, until the resignation of the latter in 1872; when, after a stirring contest for the vacant seat with Mr Fitzjames Stephen and Mr Edward Jenkins, ex-Provost Yeaman was returned by a large majority.

British Islands," 2 vols., London, 1834. "Conversation on Modern Philosophy," 2 vols. "The Natural History of Birds," London, 1834. "The Elements: The Heavens: The Earth: The Air: The Sea," 1835. "Popular Mathematics," London, 1836. "The Seasons," 4 vols., London, 1837. "History of Hampshire, and the Channel Islands," 3 vols. "Gleanings of Nature; Fifty-seven Groups of Animals and Plants," London, 1838. "Domesticated Animals," Winchester, 1838. "Man in his Physical Structure and Adaptations," London, 1838. "Man in his Intellectual Faculties and Adaptations," London, 1839. "Man in his Relations to Society," 1840. "Man as a Moral and Accountable Being," 1840. "China and its Resources and Peculiarities, with a View of the Opium Question, and a notice of Assam. Mudie also wrote the letterpress for "Gilbert's Modern Atlas;" the most of the natural history articles in the "British Cyclopædia;" and conducted the scientific journals called the *The Surveyor*, *The Engineer*, and *The Architect*.

Reverting to the era of the Reform Bill, we find manifestations of literary as well as political activity. The death of James Watt suggested commemorative memorials of his genius throughout the country, and in Dundee, as elsewhere, the idea of a literary and scientific institute found favour, as being more appropriate than a monument in bronze or marble. Though the most important and successful, the Watt Institution was not the first literary and scientific association. In 1810, a society was organised under the direction of Mr Douglas Gardiner, an individual of some attainments in botanical and general science, which took the designation of "The Dundee Rational Institution." Its first librarian was William Lyon Mackenzie, who afterwards attained an unenviable notoriety as a politician in Canada. In this capacity, he became leader of the Opposition in the Colonial Parliament; and having, in 1837, placed himself at the head of a party, which sought to effect by force of arms what could not be gained by legislation, he was defeated, and forced to flee, with a price of £1000 set upon his head. After sojourning in obscurity in the States for some years, he was permitted to return to Canada, and again served in its Parliament until his death in 1861. The "Rational Institution" possessed itself of a library, some philosophical apparatus, and a tolerable museum; but, after a few years existence, its affairs fell into confusion, and its property was scattered under the hammer.

The Watt Institution was started in 1824, under favourable auspices, and for many years imparted a wholesome stimulus in public education. Its first session was opened in Willison Church, Barrack Street, on the 19th January, 1825, with an attendance of 460 members, and the close of the year left a surplus of £601 6s. 7d. to its funds. During the next fifteen years of its existence, its operations were generally successful, and its library and museum assumed respectable proportions; so that the Directors were led to erect a special building, for better accommodation, in the Constitution Road. This was opened in 1840, and embraced, besides the museum and library, a large lecture hall. An exhibition of scientific and artistic objects, held in the buildings, is yet remembered for its excellence, and, though highly successful, has, strangely enough, not been repeated in Dundee until 1873, when a similar exhibition was held in the new Museum Buildings in Albert Square. After 1846, the success of the Watt Institution fluctuated, with a steadily downward tendency, from causes not easily defined, but which operated in the same way upon similar associations through-

out the country ; and, notwithstanding various efforts put forth to galvanise it into new life, among which was a monster meeting in St Andrew's Church, presided over by the present Earl of Dalhousie, its moribund symptoms could not be arrested. The building fell into the hands of parties who had advanced money on mortgage, and it was with difficulty that the library and museum were secured. After being temporarily and most inadequately housed in Lindsay Street, these were at length taken over by the town under the Free Library Act ; and we may now indulge the expectation that they will form the nucleus of collections worthy of the town, and command even a greater measure of prosperity and usefulness than that which attended the Watt Institution in its best days. The building, it may be added, was recently acquired by the Young Men's Christian Association, and is now devoted to uses of a no less praiseworthy kind than those for which it was built ; and the energetic management of this Association justifies the hope that it may long diffuse intellectual light, and stimulate mental progress in the community.

In the adoption of railways as a means of communication, Dundee was in the field at an earlier date than other places superior to it in population and resources. About 1830—in which year Stephenson had opened the first English railway for passengers, between Liverpool and Manchester—the line between Dundee and Newtyle was likewise completed ; and though its engineering was such as could not be tolerated by modern ideas, there can be no question that, considering the circumstances in which it was made, it evinced a degree of enterprise that deserves acknowledgment. After doing duty for some five-and-thirty years, the exigencies of the traffic led to the original lines of the Newtyle being improved nearly out of existence ; so that the once well-known sight of its three or four carriages, crawling up the acclivity of the Law at the end of a rope, now lives only in the recollection of the lieges. The Dundee and Arbroath line, opened in 1838, proved more successful in its engineering, and from the first yielded a good return for the capital expended in its formation. The Dundee and Perth line followed, a few years after ; and railway communication with Fife and the south was also secured by the Edinburgh and Northern—afterwards known as the Edinburgh, Perth, and Dundee, and now part of the North British system—as the first-named lines are of the Caledonian.

Prior to the formation of railways, Dundee, from its maritime posi-

tion, was tolerably well served with steam-boats, lines of which still compete successfully with the railways. In 1834, the Dundee, Perth, and London Shipping Company, superseded the sailing smacks, by which their trade had previously been conducted, by two paddle-ships, propelled by steam, which were then regarded as exceptionally handsome and powerful vessels. These, named the "Dundee" and the "Perth," were built by Napier of Glasgow; and, with the "London," added in 1838, sufficed to carry the whole trade with the capital of the empire for many years. They were in their turn superseded by the fleet of improved iron screw-steamers, built in Dundee by Messrs Gourlay Brothers & Co., by which the large trade with London is now conducted with great regularity and comparative safety.

In 1838, however, a disaster occurred in connection with the s.s. "Forfarshire," plying betwixt Dundee and Hull, under circumstances which made a profound impression in the town and neighbourhood. On the morning of the 7th September, in that year, while on her passage from Hull northwards, with a valuable cargo and some fifty passengers, the "Forfarshire" struck on a rock among the Fern Islands, off the coast of Northumberland. The immediate cause of the catastrophe was the defective state of the boilers, which leaked so badly as to extinguish the fires, and thus left the vessel at the mercy of the storm, which raged with great violence during the night. The rock on which she struck cut her in two immediately aft of the paddle-boxes, the after part sinking in deep water, while the stem remained upon the reef. Eight of the crew and a passenger betook themselves to the long-boat, and were afterwards rescued by a Montrose vessel, and landed at Shields; while such of the others as had escaped a watery grave in the portion which went down, clung to the fore part of the ship. At daylight, the handful of these, who had not been swept away during the terrible night, were descried from the Longstone Lighthouse, erected on one of the islands about a mile from the scene of the wreck. John Darling, the keeper, and his heroic daughter, Grace Darling, lost no time in launching their little boat and attempting to reach the wreck. In the tempestuous weather which raged at the time, and in a craft so poorly equipped to breast the heavy sea then running, it seemed as if the fate of the two figures in the boat—now whirled aloft on the crest of the wave, and the next moment lost in the trough of the sea—were more hopeless and terrible than that which threatened those whom they were so gallantly attempting

to save. By incredible exertions, however, the boat was pulled to the rock, and nine individuals rescued, and, with the utmost difficulty conveyed to the Lighthouse. There they had to remain for three days until the storm moderated so far as to permit of a boat conveying them to the mainland. The loss of life by this calamity could not be exactly ascertained; but it was believed that between forty and fifty perished, among whom were the captain and his wife, and several individuals in the upper class of society in this district. The courageous conduct of Grace Darling, then in her twenty-third year, and not in robust health, sent a thrill of admiration through all hearts, and made her the heroine of the day. Testimonials were subscribed for, and presented to her and her gallant father, and their portraits were painted and hung up in the Trinity House.

In another department of maritime enterprise, that of the whale-fishing, Dundee has long held the foremost place in this country. So long back as 1782, it was a regular industry, the fishing of that year being rendered notable by the loss of the "Dundee" in the ice, a narrative of which was published by Captain Robson. Twelve years afterwards, another whaler of the same name was pounced upon by a French privateer, which was about to take its unsavoury prize into the port of Bergen, in Norway, when it was recaptured. The casualties attending the whaling trade, however, are mostly confined to the crushing of the vessels in the ice, by which something like a score of them have been lost, within living memory. In 1836, two whalers, the "Advice" and "Thomas," were beset, amongst others from various ports, the latter being wrecked, her crew taking refuge in the other ships. From the severity of the winter and the privations undergone by the men, it was found, when the survivors reached home in June of the following year, that only four were able to be on deck in the "Advice," and that 83 deaths had occurred amongst the crews of the two ships. The adoption of steam and the screw-propeller has signally improved the efficiency of the whaling fleet, enabling the vessels to move about the fishing regions with greater freedom, and to prolong their search for fish with less risk of being beset in the ice, while it also enables them to prosecute the seal-fishing in the early part of the season, return with their cargoes, and again proceed to Davis' Straits in time for the whale fishing. It has been found, however, that iron vessels, though now preferred in other

branches, are less suitable than wooden hulls for service in the arctic regions; at least this was the conclusion drawn from the total loss, on her second voyage, of an iron vessel expressly built for the whaling trade a few years ago; and consequently wooden ships alone are now employed in the trade. The following is a list of the cargoes obtained at the whale and seal-fishing, by the Dundee vessels, during the last nine years:—

WHALE FISHING.			SEAL FISHING.		
	Ships.	Oil.		Seals.	Oil.
1865.....	7.....	630 tons.....	4.....	63,000.....	730 tons.
1866.....	11.....	340 ".....	7.....	58,000.....	690 "
1867.....	11.....	20 ".....	11.....	56,000.....	640 "
1868.....	13.....	970 ".....	12.....	16,670.....	190 "
1869.....	10.....	140 ".....	11.....	45,600.....	460 "
1870.....	6.....	760 ".....	9.....	90,450.....	870 "
1871.....	8.....	1,156 ".....	9.....	65,480.....	648 "
1872.....	10.....	1,010 ".....	11.....	40,621.....	429 "
1873.....	10.....	1,352 ".....	11.....	25,594.....	265 "

The money value of the combined fishing in 1873, was upwards of £103,000. The largest single cargo of whale-oil brought to the port was in 1832, when the "Dorothy" fetched 290 tons.

The awakened interest which we have seen displayed in regard to public affairs during the first quarter of the century, and which was then directed to political subjects, found another sphere for its exercise after the passing of the Reform Bill, in the ecclesiastical controversy which agitated Scotland during the "ten years' conflict" which preceded the Disruption of the National Church in 1843. In this Non-Intrusion controversy the Dundee clergy took an active share, and were supported, as the result showed, by a large section of the people. Of the thirteen ministers who held charges in the Established Church within the burgh, ten joined in the secession, and cast in their lot with the Free Church. The result was that ten new places of worship were erected within a few years after 1843; and the number has since been increased to eighteen congregations, which now constitute that denomination in the town, of which some have been planted as territorial or mission churches in the more populous and destitute districts. Of late years the Established Church has evinced a commendable zeal in the same direction, having now twelve congregations in its communion. The United Presbyterian body, the Congregationalists, the Episcopalians, and the Roman Catholics have also erected numerous

places of worship for their adherents: the United Presbyterians now holding eight churches; the Congregationalists, six; the Episcopalians, five; and the Catholics, five. Of other denominations represented amongst us may be mentioned the Wesleyan, Baptist, Catholic Apostolic, Unitarian, Original Secession, Old Scotch Independent, &c. The total number of congregations may be taken at seventy, so that the religious wants of the population may be considered as fairly provided for so far as church accommodation is concerned.

The edifices used for public worship are mostly of unpretending character, being adapted more for convenience and comfort than architectural display, although those more recently erected show a marked improvement in taste, and contribute to remove the reproach which Presbyterianism has been charged with, of being inimical to artistic excellence in church-building. Of elegant and ornate churches the most prominent are St Mary's, the South, and St Mark's, connected with the Establishment; St Enoch's, St Paul's, M'Cheyne Memorial, and Gaelic, Free Churches; St Paul's, and St Salvador's, Episcopal; St Andrews and two St Mary's, Roman Catholic; Catholic Apostolic; Lochee United Presbyterian; and Ward Chapel and Panmure Street Chapel, Independent, &c. The Stoeple Church provides the largest accommodation, being seated for 1,800 persons.

One result of the Disruption, which came to be regarded with less satisfaction by the community at large than the denominational activity and multiplication of churches, was the once famous litigation known as "the Stipend Case," which arose from the policy adopted by the dominant party in the Council of cutting down the livings of the incumbents in the Town's Churches to £105—on the ground that no larger pittance was legally exigible out of the "Hospital Fund." This fund originated in the gift of certain Church property by Queen Mary in 1567, for the support of the Ministry and the Poor; but, in course of time, the income so derived was mixed up with the other revenues of the town; and the double task of separating it, and of allocating the proportions payable to the ministers and the poor respectively was one of great difficulty. Prior to 1843, it appears that the funds were divided in the proportion of about two-fifths to the clergy, and three-fifths to the poor; but, in 1847, the Council disbursed only £64 10s. 5d. to the former, while £600 7s. 8d. was applied to the poor, or rather to decayed burgesses and other

recipients. In 1854, the sums were £63 11s. 6d., and £1177 15s. 5d.; and to defend an allocation so obviously disproportionate and unreasonable as this, the Council embarked in a protracted and ruinous litigation, first as defenders against the action raised by Rev. Mr Caesar in 1847, and another by the Presbytery in 1852. In order to expiscate the facts involved, the Court of Session made a remit to Mr Cosmo Innes, whose report, issued in 1855, gives an exhaustive account of the origin and appropriation of the Fund, together with much interesting information regarding the ancient Church revenues of the town. After years of unseemly contention, in which a vast sum of public money was wasted, the Council found it expedient to close this discreditable litigation by a compromise, which conceded the major part of the ministers' claims, and placed the administration of the Hospital Fund on a more intelligible basis. The cost of this conflict—in addition to that incurred in an equally ill-judged dispute, which arose in 1840, as to whether a supply of water should be undertaken by the magistrates or a company—so reduced the burgh finances that for many years the town was under trustees. After the settlement of the Stipend Case, the resources of the town assumed a more promising aspect, and its debts having been duly paid up, the control of its affairs was resumed by the proper authorities, and will not, let us hope, be suffered to undergo such another financial eclipse.

After a lapse of almost two centuries, Dundee was honoured by a visit from the Sovereign in 1844. The circumstances attending the visit of Queen Victoria were widely different from those which attended Charles II. in 1651. Her Majesty had then only begun those royal progresses which have since been so frequently undertaken, and which have been attended with such happy results; and her visit to Dundee was therefore an event which aroused the liveliest interest amongst all classes of her faithful subjects. The royal party performed the journey from the Thames to the Tay by sea. The squadron, consisting of seven steamers, under the command of Lord Adolphus Fitzclarence, in the "Victoria and Albert," arrived in the river early on the morning of the 11th Sept. By five o'clock, the town was astir, and carriages were rolling in from the surrounding country in all directions. Thousands of people were parading the streets, examining the devices with which the more loyal of the inhabitants had adorned their houses. There was a meeting of the Magistrates and Council at six o'clock, who, along with the public bodies of the neighbouring

towns, were all on the quay, ready to receive Her Majesty by seven o'clock. The Royal Yacht, which contained the whole cause of the preparations, was lying in singular quietness, when contrasted with the activity on shore. The uncertain element on which she rode was calm as a lake, while the land was changing its aspect with every humour of a holiday crowd. At the harbour, preparations on a grand scale had been made for the landing. Some of the finest vessels were ranged along the quay, with their yards manned by seamen in blue jackets and white trousers. The Sixtieth Rifles were drawn up in double column from the Royal carriage along the line of procession. The upper end of the broad middle quay was occupied by a splendid triumphal arch, eighty feet across, consisting of three archways, closed by ornamental gates, and embellished with appropriate emblems and mottoes. From the sides of the arch, running down each side of the quay, were platforms, containing hundreds of spectators, between which the Royal carriage and Suite passed amid deafening cheers and waving of handkerchiefs, until it arrived at the arch, whose doors were thrown open, and the Queen was received on the outside by the escort of the Scots Greys.

Her Majesty disembarked about eight o'clock, accompanied by the Prince Consort, leading the Princess Royal by the hand ; and, after receiving an address by Provost Lawson, the procession was formed, and the cortege proceeded slowly along Castle Street, by High Street, Nethergate, and South Tay Street, amongst every demonstration of loyalty and respect. On arriving at Dudhope Church, the public bodies drew aside, and the Royal party proceeded at a rapid pace towards Coupar Angus, *en route* for Blair Athole. After a sojourn of three weeks, the Royal party returned to Dundee, when equal enthusiasm was manifested, and similar arrangements observed on their embarkation. As a permanent memorial of Her Majesty's visit to Dundee, the present "Royal Arch," a structure in the Norman style, designed by Mr Rothead of Glasgow, was erected on the site of the temporary arch, in 1848, at a cost of about £3000.

During the last quarter of a century, the course of events in the town, while neither few nor unimportant, have been such as require no detailed narration from the historian, being confined to internal improvement and the steady development of its commercial prosperity.

The introduction of gas dates from 1826, when the first company was formed for that purpose, with a capital of £14,664. In 1846, the

New Gas Company, with a paid-up capital of £27,460, established its works alongside those of the "Old" Company, at Peep-o'-Day, and thus instituted a wholesome competition, from which the public derived the benefit for many years, until the two Companies came to an understanding by entering into a working agreement. The effect of this being to create a practical monopoly in the supply of what had come to be regarded as a prime necessary, the attention of the authorities was directed to the expediency of following the example led by other large towns, which had taken the manufacture and supply of gas into their own hands; and accordingly an arrangement was come to, by which, in 1869, the works of both Companies passed into the hands of a mixed body representing the public as Gas Commissioners. To fix the compensation to be paid to the Companies, recourse was had to arbitration, and accordingly evidence, as to the value of their works and business, was led at great length, in London, before the arbiters—Mr Hawkins, Q.C., acting for the town; Mr Hawksley, C.E., for the Companies; with Mr Pownall as umpire. The formal claim made by the Old Company was for £14,000; and for the New Company, £7,000, per annum, in the shape of perpetual annuities, together £21,000—equivalent, at 25 years' purchase, to a capital sum of £525,000; but it was understood that for £362,250, which was named in the private negotiations which preceded the arbitration, the Companies would have settled, and probably for a less sum. The award in the arbitration was £6,125, and £2,537 respectively—together £8,662 of annuities—equivalent to a capital sum of £216,550. In addition to this, however, the Corporation had to defray the expenses of the arbitration, amounting, it was understood, to about £30,000. A large share of the credit of this transaction was due to Mr Thornton, the solicitor for the Commissioners, by whose energy and skill this weighty and complicated case was conducted to a successful issue. The result of the transfer has already proved to be highly advantageous to the community, by placing, on very favourable terms, the gas supply in the hands of the consumers—thus precluding any monopoly in future, and securing to the public all the benefits derivable from undivided management, efficient and economical manufacture, and the profits accruing from a consumption which is yearly extending with the growth of the town.

The history of the Water supply of the town does not convey the same satisfaction as is afforded by the transfer of the Gas. As

already mentioned, an attempt was made by the Town Council, in 1840, to introduce a supply, and a bill was actually obtained for the purpose; but, in consequence of the omission from it of the money clauses, while passing the House of Lords, it was found that no rates could be levied, and the measure was thereby rendered practically useless. A joint-stock company, however, obtained an Act shortly after, and succeeded in introducing a supply from the Monikie district, in 1847, which conferred a great benefit on the town, in comparison with the wretched system which had till then prevailed, of doling out that important necessary of life by water-carts. The works at Monikie were designed by Mr Leslie, C.E., and, though adequate at the time, were dependent on a limited drainage area, which twenty years later proved unequal to the increasing necessities of the town, notwithstanding that two additional reservoirs were successively formed to increase the storage. A water famine, which occurred in 1868, aroused attention to the subject, and negotiations were opened with the Water Company in 1869, which resulted in the transfer, by private arrangement, of their undertaking to the Town Council, as Water Commissioners, for £14,315 of annuities; in addition to which, a sum of £55,325 had to be forthcoming to liquidate other floating obligations. A capital sum, equal to £377,362 (at the present market price of the annuities), thus appears to have been paid for the concern; which, had the supply been adequate, or capable of being increased, would probably not have made the terms excessive.

No sooner had the Monikie Water Works been taken possession of, however, than the recurrence of another water famine ensued, which required the most energetic appropriation of temporary supplies to ward off serious consequences, and forced on the consideration of new sources of supply. It was wisely resolved that a mere storage system was incompatible with modern ideas, and that it was indispensable to look for some perennial source, which could be relied upon to yield a pure and abundant supply for domestic, sanitary, and manufacturing purposes, and fully adequate to the wants of the town for a generation to come. The Commissioners appointed a committee in 1870, of which Mr Robertson was convener, to consider the subject, whose report followed the previous recommendations of Mr Leslie and other engineers, in pointing to the river Melgum, at Lintrathen, as the best source of supply. The Commissioners then employed Mr Bateman, F.R.S., the eminent engineer, to advise them in the matter.

and, in September of the same year, he furnished an able report, recommending the Melgum as the source, with the Loch of Lintrathen, as the nucleus of a reservoir of 413 acres, which would contain 252,000,000 cubic feet of water, at an altitude of 655 feet above the sea level. Mr Bateman further advised that the water should be conveyed by Monikie, in order to utilise the existing works. A bill was accordingly lodged, and an Act obtained to carry out this scheme; but, before proceedings could be taken, discussions arose in the Commission, of a somewhat acrimonious character, as to the propriety of changing the route, so as to bring the Lintrathen supplies direct to Dundee. Eventually this was resolved upon by a narrow majority; Messrs Leslie and Stewart were appointed engineers in place of Mr Bateman; and a new Act was obtained giving legislative sanction to the "direct route." Power to raise £230,000 was taken; but, from the enhanced price of iron and other causes, this was found likely to prove insufficient, and additional borrowing powers have been sought for £100,000 more. Should these sums require to be expended, as there is little doubt they will be, the total cost of the water supply for the town will amount to £667,362. The new works have been partially contracted for, and in a few years Dundee will doubtless be in possession of a supply of water every way equal to its necessities.

The latest, and not the least important of the public measures undertaken by the authorities, are those comprised under the Improvement Act of 1871. Besides the opening up of new accesses to the harbour, the north-eastern, and western districts, this scheme embraces the widening of the Murraygate, Seagate, and Nethergate in the centre of the town, by which, and the removal of various blocks of squalid and unhealthy dwellings, important improvements will be effected. The Act likewise provides for many other much-needed sanitary and police arrangements, and secured an extension of the Council, which now consists of twenty-eight members, of whom twenty-seven are elected by the ratepayers, with the Dean of Guild as an *ex-officio* member. The six Bailies and Provost, chosen by the Council among themselves, form the Magistracy, and with the Town Clerk and Chamberlain as permanent officials, make up an adequate and efficient Municipal Executive.

Section XXX

BARONY OF DUNDEE—JUDICIAL PRIVILEGES—DUDHOPE CASTLE, AND THE CASTLE OF DUNDEE—EXTENT OF THE BARONY—DUDHOPE AND THE SCRYMSZOURS—THE EARL OF DUNDEE—SECTIONS OF THE ANCIENT BARONY :—CLAYPOTTS, CRAIGIE, ETC.

HAVING brought down the civil history of Dundee to the present time, we shall now proceed to give a descriptive sketch of the town, its antiquities, topography, &c. ; but, as introductory to this, a chapter may be devoted to an account of the Barony of Dundee.

A Barony is defined to be a certain extent of territory, granted by and holding of the Sovereign, to which particular rights and privileges were annexed, such as holding courts and to a certain extent inflicting punishments, possessing mills and markets, and other privileges. During the palmy days of feudalism, the possession of a Barony entitled the owner, as a tenant of the Crown, to a seat in Parliament, which, being the supreme court of the universal superior, the Sovereign, all his tenants were bound to give personal attendance in it, to consult with him upon such matters as affected the interest and well-being of the whole. This grand privilege in course of time, from some real or imagined grievance, dwindled away into a vote in the election of a knight or baron of the shire, to represent the body of his brother barons in the court of the Sovereign Lord. By the purchase and abolition of the Heritable Jurisdictions in the year 1748, the privilege of holding courts, civil and criminal, and of profiting by their issues and escheats, was taken away and vested in the Crown, from which it ought never to have been separated ; for, while in former times the King's Courts were not free from suspicion of injustice, the Baronial and Regality Courts were overwhelmed with it, and often were the engines of the most tyrannical oppression.

“ Every Heritor,” says Sir George M’Kenzie, in his *Institutes of the Law of Scotland*, “ may hold Courts for causing his tenants pay their

rents ; and if he be infested *cum curiis*, he may decide betwixt tenant and tenant in small debts, and may judge such as *commit blood on his own ground*, though his Land be not erected in a Barony ; but if his Land be erected in a Barony (which the King only can do), he may, like the Sheriff, *unlaw for blood wits* [fine for effusion of blood] in £50, and for absence £10. If he has *power of Pit and Gallows*, he has ample *Criminal Jurisdiction* as the Sheriff, with this difference, that the Sheriff can judge a thief upon citation, whereas the Baron can only judge him if he apprehend him in his barony ; but if the Sheriff has first cited or attached the Malefactor, this supersedes and excludes the *Baron's Jurisdiction*." In an account of the ancient constitution and laws of Scotland,¹ it is stated that those who "hold their lands in barony have criminal jurisdiction over the inhabitants of their lands as to punish all who strike and wound any, and make effusion of blood, or do other corporal injuries, if death or mutilation thence ensue. In like manner, because theft is very common in this kingdom, the said barons have like power to punish thieves and receivers, and for doing this they have authority to erect within their jurisdictions as many *potences* [gibbets] as pleases them."

All Baronies at their erection were not granted privileges alike, some being invested with one set of privileges, and others with a different class ; but certain privileges, which, by the constitution of the feudal system, were inherent in a barony, were common to all. Besides baronies, there was another, and a more noble species of holding, because invested with higher powers, called a Regality or Lordship. This consisted of a jurisdiction which, besides including the authority of a barony, was vested with powers equal to the King's Judges in criminal cases, and to the Sheriff in civil suits. Under the feudal institutions, a Lord of Regality had a right to all the moveable property of rebels and delinquents residing within his jurisdiction, wherever they could be found, whether within or beyond the bounds of his Regality. He could replevy all his own offenders (his tenants and vassals) from the King's judges and the Sheriff, and carry them into his own court and there try them, except in cases of treason and other pleas expressly reserved for the cognisance of the King's Courts ; but at the same time he repledged an offender, he was bound to give *culreuch* or *col-rath*,—that is, he should give sufficient security to do justice upon him

¹ Drawn up by command of the Queen Dowager by the Lord Clerk Register M'Gill, and Lord Justice Clerk Bellenden, and dated 11th January, 1559.

within year and day of the replevy. In former times, a Lord of Regality possessed so much power and so often abused it, that Parliament assumed to itself the sole right of erecting or granting a Regality.

Previous to the return of David, Earl of Huntingdon, from Palestine, the lands of the Barony of Dundee were Crown-demesne, and it does not appear that they had before that period ever been other than Crown-lands. After the return of the Earl, his brother, King William I., gave to him the whole of this extensive barony, and it is natural to suppose that he would erect a residence somewhere within the boundaries of his new and vast acquisition. Possibly he may have erected a castle at Dudhope, which, variously altered and modified from time to time by subsequent proprietors, may be the same house that still remains. The Earl of Huntingdon, of course, could build where he pleased within his own territory; and as in his time people built more for security than pleasure, it is perhaps more probable that he adopted, if he did not erect, the Castle of Dundee as a residence for himself, a defence to the town, and for the sake of aid in emergencies from the inhabitants of his own burgh. At the time he received the barony, its extent covered a number of square miles, comprehending the town, such as it then was, with a large extent of land to the westward, Upper and Lower Dudhope, the Clepingtons, by whatever name they were then known, Wallace-Craigie, all the modern Craigie, Claypots and Guthriestown, Baldovie, Drumgeith, Pitkerro, and, generally, all the country from thence westwards, on the south side of Dighty Water, to Upper Dudhope,—an extent of territory fully six miles in length by an average breadth of about two miles. If this be admitted—and as all these properties were comprehended within the limits of the ancient and original Barony of Dundee—we must come to the conclusion that Dudhope Castle was erected by a proprietor, or Baron, much later than the Earl of Huntingdon, which view has certainly every appearance of being correct.

How long the Barony of Dundee remained integrally in the family of the Earl is a question impossible at this distance of time to solve, at least we apprehend so; for, as he left no legitimate issue, excepting three daughters, his co-heiresses, and, as they all married, it is clear that each would carry a portion, her tierce, of his possessions to her husband. King John Baliol was descended from the eldest of the three, and, as a matter of course, he would succeed to her portion of the Prince's territorial lands, of which the Barony of Dundee, or at

least part of it, was a parcel ; and hence, in the treaty of marriage between his son, Prince Edward, and his bride, a niece of the King of France, part of the revenues which were to be set apart for the maintenance of the royal pair was to proceed out of the profits of the Castle of Dundee ;¹ and Wallace, when he conferred upon his illustrious compatriot in arms, Alexander Scrymseoure, the office of Royal Standard-bearer and Constable of Dundee, gave also certain of the lands of Dudhope.² If these lands had not been in possession of the Crown, or the property of the Sovereign, Wallace could not have granted them, however meritorious or serviceable the services were of which they were the guerdon ; but, being Crown-demesne, or the personal property of the Sovereign, his authority, as Keeper or Governor of the Kingdom, was perfectly competent to their alienation.

During these troublous times, a Knight, designed Sir Ranulph de Dundee, possessed a part of the barony. In the year 1286, he is first met with as one of an inquest that inquired into the boundaries of the pasture lands of Panmure. In 1292, he acquired the lands of Benvie and Balruthrie, or Balruddery, with the advocacy of the church of Benvie, from Sir William de Maule of Panmure. In 1296, he swore fealty to Edward I., probably on the visit of that monarch to Dundee in August of that year. His son and successor, also a Knight, Sir Rodolph, by attaching himself to the interest of England, and aggravating that imprudent step by doing homage to its Sovereign in the year 1306 for certain lands in Perthshire, forfeited his estates. It would appear from the *Fœdera*, and the *Rolls of Scotland*, that, before the close of that year, Sir Ranulph had died, for his wife, Isabella, again did homage and took the oath of allegiance to the King of England, and thereupon had his letters addressed to the Sheriff of Angus to restore her to the Barony of Dundee ; and hence the grant of land to Alexander Scrymseoure, dated two years later, might have been a part of the barony forfeited by these traitors. Sir Rodolph died in 1312, and, after this period, there is no more mention of this family as connected with Dundee or the barony. At a subsequent period, however, it showed itself in the county of Perth, the lands of Benvie and Balruthrie having continued in the family until 1368.

Dudhope Castle, the principal seat of the ancient family of Scrym-

¹ The Treaty of Marriage, concluded at Paris, 23d October, 1295, is given in Rymer's *Fœdera*, I., part ii., p. 831.

² See Appendix, Note A.

seoure, Constables of Dundee, is beautifully situated on a fine terrace at the foot of the Law, on the south side. The present being a modification of the ancient structure, shows but little of the form of the original building, which, till after the middle of last century, consisted of a square tower or donjon, with a warder's or watch-tower on the top, and two considerable lateral buildings or wings, the one fronting to the south, and the other to the east. The former had in the rear two circular turrets containing stairs, which rose from the floor immediately above the vaults, and ascended to a point higher than the battlements. The whole house is now of one elevation, the excess of height of the donjon being reduced by the removal of the watch-tower, and the wings being brought up by the addition of a flat to each. A small turret has been placed for a bell on the top of the keep in lieu of the warder's tower.

About the year 1792, the Castle of Dudhope was taken on lease, and fitted up as a manufactory, by a speculator in woollens and worsteds from London; but, previous to that date, Archibald, first Lord Douglas, occasionally used it as a residence, as it constantly was that of Mr Lyon, his Lordship's factor. The manufactory failed, and very soon after (in 1794) the Castle was leased to the Crown for barracks,—the house, in a sense, remodelled, the gardens and orchards wholly erased, and the whole appearance of the landscape completely changed. As barracks the Castle still continues to be used, without any features of interest remaining to show its ancient baronial grandeur.

From the time of Alexander Scrymseoure to that of the Earl of Dundee, thirteen of his descendants or relations held the office of Constable of Dundee, and that of Standard Bearer or Vexillarius. Sir James Scrymseoure, the fourth Constable, was killed at the Battle of Harlaw, Aberdeenshire, 24th July, 1411;¹ Sir John, fifth Constable,

¹ Sir James entered, with the Earl of Mar, into the military service of the Duke of Burgundy in 1408, and is thus celebrated by Andrew Winton, the rhyming Prior of Lochleven:—

“Schere James Scremegeoure of Dunde,
Comendit a famous Knight was he;
The kingis hanneoure of fe,
A lord that well aucht lovit be.”—II. 433.

And in the ancient ballad of the battle of Harlaw he is celebrated as follows:—

“Sir James Scrymgeor of Dudhope, Knight,
Grit Constabill of fair Dundie,
Unto the dulefull deith was dicht;
The king's chief bannerman was he;

had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him at the coronation of James I., at Scone ; James, eighth Constable, dying without male issue, was succeeded by his cousin, John, son of John Scrymseoure of Glaster, who acquired various lands in 1500, 1510, and 1511. James, his son and tenth Constable, who was several times Provost of Dundee, died 13th July, 1610, and was succeeded by his son, John, eleventh Constable, who was knighted, and, by Charles I., created Baron Scrymseoure of Inverkeithing, and Viscount Dudhope, 15th November, 1641.¹ His son, James, twelfth Constable and second Viscount Dudhope, was mortally wounded at the battle of Marston Moor, 2d July, 1644, where he was on the side of the Covenanters. His son, John, thirteenth Constable and third Viscount Dudhope, was also a Covenanter, and accompanied Charles II. to Worcester, as colonel of a regiment of cavalry, which was raised and equipped in Angus for the service of that monarch. For a debt of 5440 merks, incurred to John Fithie, a burgess of Dundee, the lands of Benvie and Balruthrie were made over to him by the Viscount. On the 18th September, 1660, Charles created him Earl of Dundee. He was the only Earl of the family, and the only person who ever bore that title. His Lordship married Lady Ann Ramsay, second daughter of William, first Earl of Dalhousie ; but, dying without issue in or about 1669, the title and family became extinct,² and the representation of the family devolved upon John Scrymseoure of Kirkton, whose descendant, Mr Scrymseoure Wedderburn of Birkhill and Wedderburn, is the present representative and Standard Bearer.

After the death of the Earl of Dundee, Charles Maitland of Hatton brother of the Duke of Lauderdale, acquired the life-rent of the Countess in the Dudhope estates by means which do not clearly appear, and along with it the office of Constable of Dundee. After the death of Charles II. and accession of James VII., Hatton was divested of the Dudhope estates as well as the Constablenesship ; but, instead of

A valiant man of chivalrie,
Quhaise predecessor wan that place
At Spey, with gude King William frie,
'Gainst Murray and Macduncan's race."

¹ It was in the time of this Constable that James VI. visited Dundee, and slept one night at Dudhope Castle.—See p. 84 *ante*.

² The Countess was again married to Mr Bruce of Clackmannan on the 13th October, 1670.—See Lamont's Diary for this, as well as two or three other curious anecdotes connected with the Earl.

being restored to the lawful heir, they were granted to John Grahame of Claverhouse, afterwards Viscount Dundee, upon payment of £2000 sterling, in 1684. At his death and forfeiture in 1689, all, or at least the greater part, of his estates were granted to the Earl of Forfar, who, dying without issue, of the wounds he received at the Battle of Sheriffmuir in 1715, where he was on the Royal side, the whole devolved on the Marquis, afterwards Duke of Douglas, who was succeeded, after the famous litigation called the Douglas cause, by a nephew, a son of Lady Jane, his Grace's only sister. On the death, in 1848, of Charles, third Lord Douglas, the estates passed to his half-brother, the last Lord, who died without issue in 1857, and are now the inheritance of the Countess of Home, through her mother, a half-sister of the last Lord Douglas. In the year 1748, the Duke of Douglas very modestly claimed the sum of £4000 for the baronial jurisdiction of Dudhope, and £6000 for the Constabulary rights of Dundee, but was contented to take £100 9s. 1d. for the former, and £1800 for the latter, being the sums at which they were respectively valued by the Court of Session.

A particular and prominent part of the Barony of Dundee is the beautiful hill which rises immediately on the northern side of the town, to an elevation of 571 feet above the level of the sea. In the old Statistical Account of the town, drawn up for Sir John Sinclair in 1792, Dr Small says,—“On the top of the Law, which is the most remarkable hill in the parish, are the remains of a fortified post; the ditch is yet visible. Though the whole enclosure, which is of square form, is not of the structure with the towers, which have been supposed to have been cemented by the force of fire, one small part of it has been thus compacted. Probably on this the fires for alarming the town were lighted, and, by frequent lighting, some of the stones have been put in fusion.” The length of the fort or body of the place is about forty yards from north to south, and about twenty-five from east to west. The angles present the remains of circular towers; and, along the verge of the hill, the remains of an outer rampart are discernible. The entrance was on the east side by a winding path and upon this side the outer rampart seemed to have been strongest; and below the summit several terraces or outworks appear. In the neighbourhood, great quantities of human bones have been turned up by the plough and spade in all directions, unequivocal evidences of the destructive rage of the demon of war; but, unfortunately, no records survive from which any particular account can now be given of the

sanguinary conflicts that must have occurred about the Law while Edward I., Montrose, and Monk entrenched their forces upon its summit.

Another extensive and important part of the ancient Barony of Dundee is that which constitutes the Barony of Claypotts, with its capital messuage, the castle of the same name. The first mention of Claypotts, separate from the Barony of Dundee, which we have seen, occurs in the reign of Alexander III., who, on the 12th November, in the thirty-third year of his reign [1282], granted the lands of the western third part, or Hilltown of Craigie, and the lands of Claypotts, both in the Barony of Dundee, with the lands of Balmaw, in the parish of Newtyle, to the Abbey of Lindores, near Newburgh, which was founded and erected in the year 1178, by his granduncle, David, Earl of Huntingdon; and David II. confirmed these grants respectively to the Abbot and Chapter, by Charter under the Great Seal dated at Dundee, 20th September, in the thirty-sixth year of his reign.

It is commonly believed that Cardinal Beaton erected the Castle of Claypotts; but this belief is erroneous, as the estate continued ecclesiastical property, from the time of the grant by Alexander III., till the proscription of the ancient Church in 1560. It is true that the ecclesiastical dignitaries in ancient times had castellated residences upon their more valuable estates, and occasionally resided in them, uniting, for the time, the hierarchical splendour of a Lord Spiritual to the barbaric pomp of a temporal Baron; but to suppose that the Castle of Claypotts was erected by an Abbot of Lindores, as a place to which he could occasionally retire, is rather too much for credulity. Equally groundless is the story that it was erected by Cardinal Beaton for the accommodation of one of the numerous mistresses with whom tradition has honoured his eminence; for, as the lands of Claypotts never formed a part of the temporalities of his preferments, the supposition that he built the Castle is quite untenable.

The first lay proprietor of the Castle and Barony, after the Reformation, with whom we have met is Gilbert Strathauchtyn or Strachan, as the name is now rendered; but the time and manner in which he acquired them are probably unknown, at least we have seen no record mentioning the transaction. It appears, however, that he had become proprietor, either by purchase or right of succession to his predecessor, very soon after the Reformation. That it had been by purchase we consider evident from the fact that the date 1569 is on what may be

called the oldest part of the house, nine years after the Reformation was established by law; and, on another part, there are a coat of arms, the initials I and S, and the date 1588, nineteen years later than the other. This last date appears to us to have been put on the castle, as well as the initials and 'scutcheon of arms, by John Strachan, son and successor of Gilbert, when he erected the north wing, on which they are. In the Register of Retours of Services, we find it recorded that, on the 15th December, 1599, John Strathauchtyn, son and heir of Gilbert Strathauchtyn of Claypotts, was restored in half of the lands of Skryne, three-fourth parts of the mill and mill-lands of Skryne, called Craigie-mill, half of the lands of Fishertown of Skryne [East Haven], with half of the port and fishings of the same, all within the Barony of Panmure and parish of Panbride, stented at £4 old, and £16 new extent. This retour, we think, is decisive of the point that neither an Abbot of Lindores nor Cardinal Beaton had anything to do with the erection of the castle.

From the Strachans the estate passed to the Grahames of Claverhouse, on the 8th of June, 1625; and, on the forfeiture of Lord Dundee, their descendant and representative, it was granted to the Earl of Forfar; and, at his death in 1715, it passed to the senior branch of the noble House of Douglas, in possession of whose representative it remains.

The castle stands very near the high road from Dundee to Arbroath, at a distance of about three miles and a-half from the former. The centre part of the house is square, with a large round tower in the south-west angle, which has a square sloping roof, and has been furnished with a small and narrow battlement. The oldest date is upon this part of the edifice, which would seem to show it is all that had originally been intended to be erected. The part which bears the second date is at the north-east angle of the body of the house, and is a tower exactly similar in form and dimensions to the other, and seems to have been erected by John Strathauchtyn after he had succeeded to the estate.

Of the other parts of the Barony of Dundee we can only speak with certainty of Wallace-Craigie, Craigie, Baldovie, Drumgeith, and Pitkerro; but that it was more comprehensive is without doubt, though we are not in a state to give the details. Wallace-Craigie, which comprehends an eastern suburb of the town, extends to about one hundred and twenty acres; and, since 1824, has been wholly taken up for building purposes. The first proprietor of it, as a detached portion of

the Barony, we have found mentioned is Sir William Bruce of *Earl's Hall*, in the parish of Leuchars, Knight. This gentleman had a crown-charter of the lands of Wallace-Craigie, or, as they are sometimes called, "the Wallace of Craigie," along with some other lands, supposed to be those of Newton, in the parish of Longforan, with a salmon-fishing in the Tay, in the parish of Errol. The charter was dated 10th February, 1539. Long after this, we find that one of his descendants, designed of *Earl's Hall*, in conjunction with Sir John Elliot of Newton, Knight, sold Wallace-Craigie to Alexander Watson, Provost of Dundee, for the sum of 9509 merks, or £6333 6s. 8d. Scots. The purchase was ratified by act of Parliament, passed 21st February, 1672, at which time the tenure, which was by wardholding, was changed to freehold. Previous to this, both Elliot and Bruce were proclaimed infamous for mal-practices by the Court of Session, and all persons cautioned against having any transactions, especially in money matters, with either of them, which seems to be the reason why the Provost had sought the security of an act of Parliament. In the course of last century, the lands became the property of the family of Constable, one of whom, George Constable, who died at an advanced age in 1803, is supposed to have been the original Jonathan Oldbuck of *Monkbarns*, in Sir Walter Scott's "Antiquary." The Craigie property was, in former times, divided into parcels among different proprietors. Next to part of it being granted to the Abbey of Lindores, by Alexander III., the first mention we find of it is, that, on the 11th February, 1366, David II. confirmed a charter of Margaret de Lesly, relict of Norman de Lesly, ancestor of the Earls of Rothes, to William Guphyld, and Norman, his son, of her parts of the lands of Craigie and Linlathen, which belonged to her as grand-daughter and one of the co-heiresses of Sir Alexander de Lamberton. At a period long subsequent to this, the whole estate became the property of a family called Kidd, from one of whom it was acquired by purchase by the Guthrie family. The first proprietor of Pitkerro whom we have found mentioned was Mr Durham, descended from the Durhams of Grange (*Monifieth*.) Passing, in the reign of James V., to Mr George M'Kenzie, he in turn sold it Mr Dick, ancestor of the present proprietor. Bal-dovie was the property of Mr Robert Clayhills before 1640; and at the end of last century it was the property of a family called Anderson. Drumeith was a long time in the possession of the predecessors of Major Fyfe of Smithfield, and has twice changed hands since that family held it.

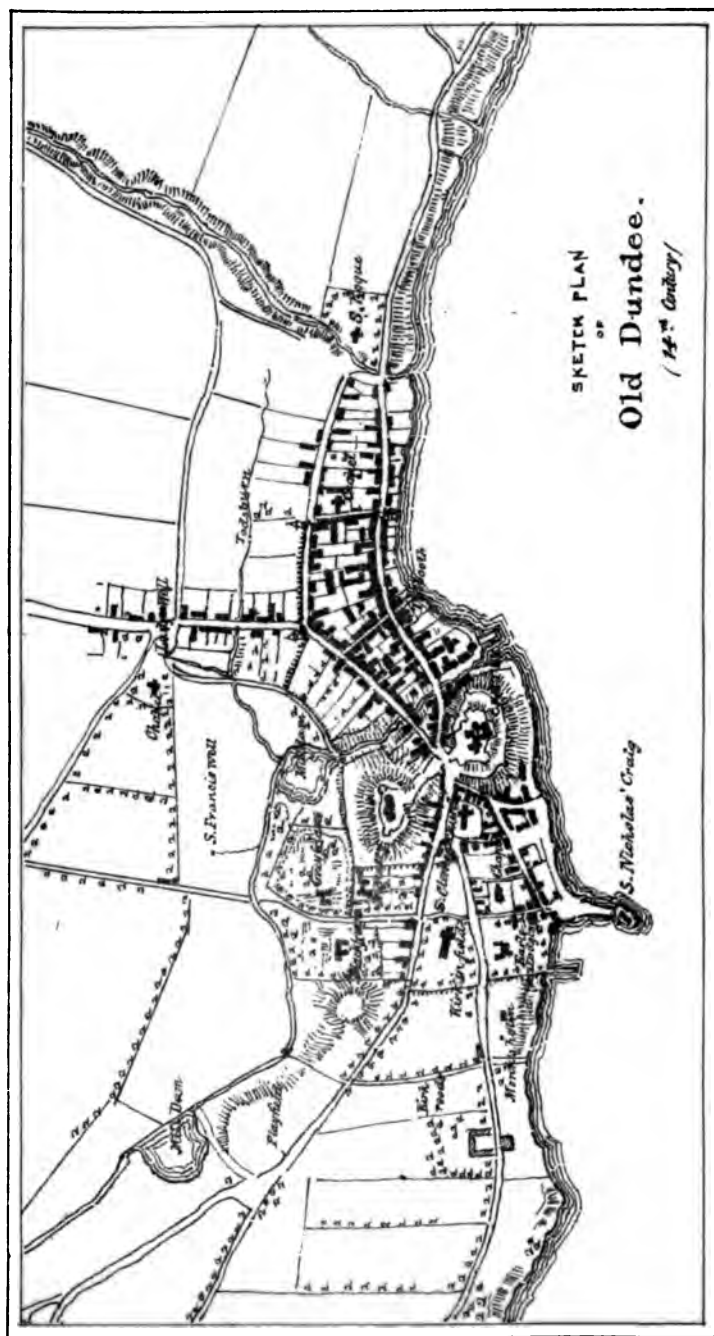
PART SECOND.



Description of the Town of Dundee,

ITS

PUBLIC WORKS, BUILDINGS, AND INSTITUTIONS.



Section I.

SITUATION AND AREA OF DUNDEE—VIEW OF THE TOWN FROM THE OLD STEEPLE AND THE LAW—GEOLOGICAL CHARACTER—LEADING THOROUGHFARES AND OBJECTS OF INTEREST.

DUNDEE is pleasantly situated on the north side of the estuary or Firth of Tay, ten miles above its confluence with the German Ocean at Buddonness. The Town-house, which may be taken as the central point, stands in $56^{\circ} 27' 37''$ N. latitude, and $2^{\circ} 58' 6''$ W. of the meridian of Greenwich. It is distant twenty-two miles east of Perth, fourteen south of Forfar, seventeen west of Arbroath, and forty-two miles northward, by way of Cupar through Fife, from Edinburgh. The ancient town, as will be seen from the sketch map here given,¹ lay wholly to the eastward of the High Street, and was comprised within very narrow limits; but, in the 16th century, it had extended considerably westward, so as to form the nucleus from which the modern town has expanded itself—with tolerable equality as regards extent—to the north, east, and west. The boundary of the ancient royalty, which embraced a larger area than could have been enclosed by even the latest walls or defensive works, and which may be assumed to have defined the town in the middle of the 17th century, gives an area of 104 acres. The present parliamentary boundary stretches four miles in length from its western side at Hazel Hall to its eastern at Craigie Terrace; the greatest breadth (from Magdalen Green on the south to King's Cross on the north) being two miles; and the area thus enclosed is about 2640 acres, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ square miles.

Although military critics would pronounce Dundee untenable, according to modern ideas of warfare, from its being accessible on all sides, and commanded from every point, it is of more consequence to know that its situation is highly advantageous for commerce, and

¹ It is scarcely necessary to say that no other means exist for compiling this map, and the later one given in another place, beyond historical allusions—the Rent Rolls, given in Appendix, Note F.—and inferences deduced from natural features, the first trustworthy map being an excellent one, surveyed by William Crawford in 1776, and engraved by Lisars.

favourable to the development of those sanitary requirements which conduce to the public health of a dense population. Nor has the general aspect of the town, stretching upwards from the noble river to the bold eminences which form its background, failed to evoke the admiration of every lover of the beautiful; and, when seen from such points as the roadstead or the opposite shore of Fife, it fully justifies the title "*Bonnie Dundee*" of national song, and *Ail-lec* (the beautiful) of Highland enthusiasm.

The view of the town from the upper parapet of the old Tower is peculiarly striking; and, if one may be pardoned the comparison, recalls that of London from the dome of St Paul's. Though situated as it is on the lower level of the town, the spectator finds himself, on climbing to this coign of vantage, occupying a position like the proscenium of an amphitheatre. A dense foreground of grey roofs lie at his feet, vaguely discernible through the smoky haze, but which the hum of traffic marks as the hive of labour and activity. One by one, as the eye becomes accustomed to the medium, the features become distinct enough for identification—here a huge mill, with its serried rows of windows and guardian chimney-shaft—there a public building rising in massive form above its more common-place neighbours, and there, again, a bit of sinuous street, dotted with moving things, that appear no bigger than flies alternating with spider-like objects, which closer scrutiny identifies as laden carts and lorries. Raising the eye above the lower stratum, an atmosphere less sombre in colour reveals rank upon rank of buildings of every grade rising up the slope as far as the eye can reach, until the encircling heights bound the view to the northward, embracing a sweep of four miles from the heights of Craigie on the east to the Balgay Hill on the west of the town, the rounded cone of the Law standing out boldly in the centre.

From the summit of the Law the prospect is equally striking, and so varied and extensive that no one can pretend to have seen Dundee without planting foot on this eminence, dear to every Dundonian alike in its natural features and its historic associations. The road—if road it can be called—is devious, making laborious what might be a comparatively easy ascent, and which the awakened interest in the matter will surely secure at no distant date; but, once seated on its grassy ramparts, the spectator quickly forgets fatigue in the splendid panorama which is unfolded to his gaze. The town is now seen as it were from the gallery of the theatre, and the extent and beauty of its

site and surroundings can be fully appreciated. Looking eastward to the horizon, the Bell Rock Lighthouse lifts its white shadowy form in the blue expanse of the German Ocean, while nearer, the picturesque promontory of Broughty, guarded by its old fortalice, on the one side, and the irregular outline of Tayport, equally picturesque from a distance, on the other, form as it were the gates of the Tay. The noble river, carrying stately ships on its ample bosom, and the crowd of masts in the spacious harbour fills what the painter would call the middle distance in the picture; while beyond, the swelling hills of Fife engage the eye, among which are seen the grey towers of St Andrews, the silver thread of the Eden in its fertile valley, the peaks of the Lomonds, Largo and Norman's Law, and even the Pentland Hills, beyond the Forth, looming between earth and cloudland in the far distance. Further west, the Ochil range bounds the horizon, while nearer "the fair plains of Gowrie" lie spread out in fertile luxuriance. Turning northwards, the view embraces the Perthshire Grampians, with the leonine mass of Schiehallion rising into the clouds; while lower and nearer, appear the classic Dunsinane, and the bold chain of the Sidlaws, enclosing the picturesque valley of the Dichty, the course of which is traceable almost from its source among the Crags of Lundie eastward to the Linlathen woods. Whichever way we turn, the eye luxuriates in scenery, which is delightful from its variety and contrast, and almost sublime in its effect. It is, indeed, such a prospect as one might suppose the poet of the "Seasons" to have contemplated when he sung—

"Enchanting vale! beyond whate'er the muse
Has of Achaia or Hesperia sung!
O vale of bliss! O softly swelling hills!
On which the power of cultivation lies,
And joys to see the wonder of his toil.
Heavens! what a goodly prospect spreads around
Of hills and dales, of woods, of lawns, and spires,
And glittering towns, and gilded streams!"

Having already noticed the historical incidents in connection with the Law, we may, before leaving the spot, advert to its geological formation, and that of the immediately adjacent district.¹ This may be described as the intermediate series of rocks subjacent to the carboni-

¹ A fuller account, from the pen of Dr M'Vicar, will be found in the "New Statistical Account of Scotland," Vol. V.

ferous strata, and interposed between these and the members of the primitive series. The nearest coal measures are found about fifteen miles south, in Fifeshire; and of the primitive rocks the nearest is the mica slate of the Grampians, some twenty miles to the north. Dundee rests on rock of igneous or volcanic formation; the amygdaloid form of Trap being interjected through masses of Sandstone and Porphyry. In the Law, Balgay Hill, the Castle Hill, and the heights of Craigie, the Trap has been upheaved in masses, more or less conical in form. Much of it is of a tufaceous texture, and not durable when exposed; but other samples, as at Craigie, are more of a basaltic character, and make excellent material for the macadamising of roads and building purposes. The underlying Sandstone appears at Blackness and the Roodyards, the junction, or rather the fissure between it and the Trap, being traceable at the Dens. The Sandstone frequently exhibits the characteristics of the variety known as Claystone, an earthy and compact stone, so called from its purplish colour and resemblance to indurated clay. Porphyry, the lowest of the group, is seen in the cliff and railway cutting at Will's Braes, in the western suburbs of the town. It is of a brownish-red colour, marked by crystalliform spots, and intersected with veins of jasper, heavy spar, and sparry iron ore, with occasional acicular crystals of manganese. The surface drift is chiefly a clay deposit, which, in the lowest depression in front of the Law, was pure enough to furnish for many years materials for brick-making. In other hollows and slopes upon the Trap, drift-sand and gravel are found; while the tract of deep mossy ground, extending from Panmure Street to Ward Foundry, marks what in primeval times had been a wide ravine or basin, through which the Logie burn had found its way to the Tay, and in which fossil trees have been discovered, from time to time, at a considerable depth. As the diluvium accumulated in this hollow, it would assume the form of swampy ground, and in that state doubtless facilitated the defence of the town on the north in the old fighting days. From swamp it advanced by easy transition to the Haughs, Meadows, or Wards, which are the subject of frequent allusions in our history. They then fell into the hands of the religious houses in the neighbourhood, and were either cultivated by the inmates or farmed out to others. The stream of water, which formerly had served to fill the ditch outside the walls, was now utilised by being stored in dams to grind the citizens' corn. Of these dams, one exceeding an acre and

a-half in area, was situated on the north of the West Port, and another occupied part of the area now covered by Messrs Keiller's works.

In the disposition of its principal thoroughfares, Dundee resembles other old Scottish towns—the ancient roads which formed the means of communication with the neighbouring towns still forming the main arteries of the modern burgh. Its situation on the river side fixed one line of road, roughly parallel with its banks, leading to Perth on the west, and still retaining its original name, the Perth Road, until near the centre of the town, where it is known as the Nethergate (anciently the *Fleukergaitt*;) while the Seagate, starting from the High Street, or *Marketgaitt*, formed the access to Arbroath on the east. Starting also from the High Street, the road to Coupar Angus proceeded north-westerly in a more sinuous line, skirting the basin of the Meadows, and ascending by Lochee. This street, from its commencement at the High Street to the West Port, now bears the name of Overgate, and was anciently known as *Argylesgaitt*, though from what circumstance it took the name of the chief of the Western Highlands does not appear. On passing through the west gate, a branch road diverged due west, ascending a considerable acclivity, which still bears the name of the Hawkhill, and which terminates in a junction with the Perth Road. Another road diverges in like manner from the old Coupar Angus Road (now known as the Scouringburn), a little beyond the West Port, and runs also in a westerly direction, having served as the road to the suburban property of Blackness, which name it still bears. Returning to the High Street, we again find that the old road to Forfar and the northern district passed out by the Murraygate Port, and then struck due north up the steep acclivity of the Bonnethill (anciently *Rottenraw*;) but in time the impracticability of such a route for traffic became intolerable—the gradient of the “Hill” being something like 1 in 7—and a new road starting from near the Murraygate Port, was laid out on the sensible plan of going round the hill instead of over its summit. This thoroughfare, by King Street, Princes Street, &c., is now the leading communication to the north-eastern districts.

The old lines being thus perpetuated, the modern streets have partaken too much of their characteristics, being for the most part irregular in line and gradient, and varying in width from sixteen to eighty feet—the narrowest being nearest the High Street, precisely where the accumu-

lation of traffic renders them most inconvenient and dangerous. Like all old towns, the imperfect ideas of convenience which obtained in early times required no cross streets, our forefathers being content to file out from the back quarters by narrow closes, so numerous, however, that one occurs alongside of almost every house. The houses were usually placed with their gables to the street, after the fashion of Flemish and other continental towns. It is due to the memory of our earliest citizens, however, to say that the demolition of old tenements reveals the fact, that the streets originally were more spacious, and that such thoroughfares as the Murraygate, Seagate, and Overgate have been contracted by encroachments on either side, supinely permitted by the authorities of the day. Before shops were introduced, moveable booths, in which the merchant displayed his goods, were set up in front of his dwelling; these gradually came to be erected permanently in wood, and, when one citizen came out in this way, it may be readily assumed his neighbours would follow. When a fire or decay rendered rebuilding necessary, the new structure came boldly to the front. In some instances, we have seen the old front walls standing ten or twelve feet back from the false front, which occupies the present line of street; and it is curious to notice the repetition of a similar process in the present day, even in the Scottish metropolis, where the front areas in many of the streets are being fast absorbed as shops, to be succeeded by loftier buildings. It is satisfactory to know that our local authorities are now fully alive to the importance of spacious thoroughfares, and have initiated many important improvements in that direction, with the full support of public opinion. Within a few years, therefore, such dangerous streets as the narrow of the Murraygate and the Bucklemaker Wynd will have become things of the past.

There are points of interest connected with some of the older streets which deserve to be put upon record. Beginning at the High Street, we find several features worthy of note, and may recal others which now live only in the memory of very old inhabitants. On the south side, standing forward a little from the line of the adjacent buildings, and occupying as fine a site as could be desired for a public edifice, the Town-House first attracts our attention. It was erected in 1734; and, though now regarded as scarcely worthy of Dundee in point of accommodation and architectural character, it was undoubtedly an achievement at the time of its erection, and, indeed, so taxed the

finances of the burgh that a portion of its internal finishing remained for twenty years unexecuted. The building has a frontage of ninety-eight feet to the High Street, and a depth of fifty feet. It is three storeys in height above the street level, and, with the exception of the two large rooms at either end of the first floor, is vaulted throughout. The basement is also vaulted in stone, and one of its compartments, used for many years as a place of durance, is still remembered as "The Thief's Hole." Several cells in the upper floor formed the regular prison down to the opening of the new Bridewell in 1836, and the condition of the inmates was wretched in the extreme, as many as fifty prisoners being frequently packed into four or five small apartments.

Externally, the Town House is a fair specimen of that phase of classic architecture known as the Palladian. It was designed by William Adam, "the elder Adam," the father of, and associated in business with, the brothers Adam,¹ who, as the fashionable architects of the time, executed many important buildings throughout the kingdom, including the College, Register House, St George's Church, &c., in Edinburgh; and the Adelphi, Portland Place, and Finsbury Square, in London. The marked peculiarity of their buildings is excessive rustication, which is well exemplified in our Town-House. The street floor exhibits an open vaulted arcade or loggia, formed of seven arched openings with square piers—popularly known as "The Pillars,"—and giving access to several small shops, which extend back to the rear of the building.² Over the three central arches the front is marked by coupled Roman Ionic pilasters carrying an entablature and pediment, in which appear the town's arms and the inscription:—

*Confervandis Legibus Quercendis Sceleribus Basilicæ hæc a
Deidonanis extructa. A.E.C. MDCCLXXXIII.*

The building is surmounted by a spire 140 feet in height, which contains a clock, marked 1735, with four dials and three bells. To these were added, about seventy years ago, at the instance of Mr

¹ The father acquired the estate of Blair-Adam, near Kinross, for which county his eldest son, Robert, sat in Parliament, and the seat is now occupied by the present representative of the family.

² The eastmost of these shops was the first office of the Dundee Banking Company, which, in 1788, was plundered by parties who had descended through the floor above. Six persons were apprehended on suspicion; three of these were condemned to death, and two executed, though it was believed they were innocent, and that one more closely connected with the Bank was the guilty party.

Adams, a merchant in town, four small bells to chime the quarters, which were replaced after a fire, in 1857, by the present peal. *

Internally, the building has a wide turnpike stair, from the first landing of which a short corridor branches to the large rooms at either end. These extend the full width of the building, and measure thirty-eight feet by twenty-three feet. The west room is the Council Chamber or Town Hall, of no special pretensions internally, but containing several good pictures, including portraits of Admiral Duncan, by Gainsborough; George Dempster of Dunnichen, long Member of Parliament for this district of burghs; and James Johnston, a provost during last century. The large room at the opposite end of the building was long used as a Sheriff Court-room, but is now restricted to the meetings of the Guildry and Justice of Peace Court. The other apartments are small and inconvenient, yet until three years ago were made to serve for the accommodation of the Magistrates, Town-Clerk, Chamberlain, and other officials. A movement then took place for the erection of a new Town Hall and Municipal Buildings, on a scale worthy of the town, but it resulted only in the immediate necessity being met by erecting a plain block of offices behind, and in communication with the present building. To make way for these, several old buildings fell to be cleared away, one of which, on the west of St Clement's Lane, had experienced some vicissitudes of fortune. Its vaults are supposed to have been originally in some way or other an appurtenance of St Clement's Church (which occupied the site of the Town House;) at a much later period it was the Grammar School; afterwards, during the time of the Fencibles and the volunteering consequent on the French war, it became a guard-house—then successively a police office, auction hall, printing office, coffee-rooms, &c.

Thrice since its erection the Town House has been in danger of destruction from fire. The first accident occurred last century, about 1773, when, by the carelessness or recklessness of some persons confined in the prison rooms, the roof was actually in flames, but happily they were extinguished before much material damage was sustained. The second happened during the riots that occurred while the Reform Bill was before Parliament. A party of youths, having prepared a bonfire on the High Street, were dispersed by the police, and the apprehension of some of the ringleaders was the signal for an outbreak of popular frenzy, much more potent than any that had been witnessed in the town since the destructive "meal mob" in 1816. In course of

the riot, the windows of the Town House were smashed in pieces, the Police Office (behind it) literally gutted, and all the books and other property either wholly or partially destroyed by fire; and a desperate attempt was made to fire the Town House itself, by forcing a ship's boat blazing up the stair, where fortunately it stuck, and the flames were extinguished.

The site of the additions in the rear of the Town-House embraced what was formerly the Meal Market, which was transferred thence on the erection of the old Episcopal Chapel, from its former location at west end of the High Street. In process of time, the stalls and court of the Meal Market became deserted by the dealers, and were made use of by the Police Board on its first establishment, the entrance being, as before, from the Vault, on the western side of the Town House. On the opposite side of the Vault, within a small walled court, an old lofty house still exists, which was formerly the town residence of the Barons of Strathmartine, and hence called "Strathmartine's Lodging."

At the west end of the High Street, on the north side, may be seen an old timber-framed house, almost the only specimen of that ancient style of building, and closely resembling the examples to be found at the top of the Lawnmarket in Edinburgh. It bore the name of "Our Ladie Warkstayris," and would thus appear to have been an eleemosynary establishment under the auspices of the Church before the Reformation.

Near the middle of the High Street, but inclining to the north side, stood the Market Cross, a tall octagonal pillar surmounted with a unicorn *sejant*, holding between its fore paws a 'scutcheon of the royal arms of Scotland; but the artist has placed the lion looking to the *sinister* or left, instead of to the *dexter* or right side of the shield. Near the top of one of the sides of the column, the arms of the town are placed, with the motto, *dei donum*, and the date 1586, the time of its erection, and under this there is a peculiar mark incised into the stone, similar to those made by masons when they are performing what is technically called "tasked" work. The whole was supported by a small octagonal building, surrounded by a flight of six steps. From the gargoyle water-spouts of this building, wine was made to flow on the King's birth-day and other occasions of public rejoicing. As the erection was considered to incommode the street, it was removed in 1777. The lower part was carried away as rubbish, the pillar laid

beside the Old Steeple, and the unicorn lodged below the staircase on the same. When the Steeple became a prison, before the erection of Bridewell, the pillar was erected close to the west door, and the unicorn placed again on its top, tastefully garnished with an additional tail, manufactured for the nonce, the new queue waving *courage*, while the original one lowers *coward*, as Snowdown would express it. Until the High Street was lowered, a few years after the opening of Reform Street, the site of the "cross" was pointed out by a peculiar arrangement of the stones in the causeway, indicating the extent of the base, with the figures of the dates of erection (1586) and demolition (1777), occupying the eight divisions of the octagon. It is now marked by a circle in the paving. It is satisfactory to record that the "cross" is now in process of restoration, and is to be set up in the south-west corner of the grounds of the Town's Churches.

When the public wells were erected, in or about the year 1749, one of them was placed on the High Street, near the east side of the "cross," and of course contributed its share to render the passage of the street incommodious. The removal of the "cross" occasioned the removal of the well, which was re-erected in St Clement's Lane, behind the Town House, whence it was cleared away for the Town House additions already referred to.

Taking our departure from the Town House, we may note that, on the north side of the High Street, at the entrance into the OVERGATE, in ancient times were situated a Palace and a Mint. Several sovereigns resided occasionally in the Palace. It subsequently became in succession the property of the Earls of Angus, of the Douglas family, of the Viscounts of Dudhope, and last of the "bloody Claver'se," the Viscount Dundee. On the lintel of the chimney of a large upper room there is an uncharged armorial escutcheon, with the date 1507. The Mint was used as such only by Robert III., by whom it was probably erected. According to tradition, the Palace was inhabited by a Mr Watson when Sir James Kinloch took possession of the town in course of the Rebellion in 1745. Mr Watson favoured the cause of the Insurgents, and gave an entertainment at the top of the Mint Court to the officers of a reinforcement that had arrived from France. After the Battle of Culloden, Watson is said to have succeeded in reaching home in safety, where, for a considerable time, he avoided his pursuers by secreting himself within a recess in the wall of one of the apartments. This was discovered within this century, and was

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found to contain a decayed pair of old-fashioned trooper's boots and a rusty broadsword.

On the opposite side of the gorge of the Overgate stands an old house fronting the High Street, having a flat-capped turret at its north-east angle. This building was once connected with the erections used as the Council Chambers and other public offices, after the Town House in the Seagate was deserted, and before the Vestry of St Clement's Church was applied to these uses. It was, indeed, known as the "new tolbuith;" and the records of the Guildry, under date Oct. 1590, contain a curious memorandum of contract, entered into with "Alex. Young, meason and burges of the burgh," for erecting an octagonal bell-turret on this edifice—the preamble running thus:—"Whilk day ye Deane of Gild and assessors, with consent of ane great number of ye merchandis, hes resolved to cause edifie, and repaire vpon yaire common charges and expensis, ane steiple, and pricket of aistler wark upon ye east newk and tunzie of ye new tolbuith of ye burgh, for hingin yairintill of ye Gild bell."¹ In this house also, about the year 1650, was born Anne, in her own right Countess of Buccleuch, and afterwards, by marriage with the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth, the first Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth—the lady to whom the aged Minstrel addresses himself in Sir Walter Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel."

From the north-west corner of the High Street, the Overgate strikes away in a westerly direction until it terminates at the West Port, whence the Hawkhill and Scouringburn, two long and sinuous streets diverge, and where North and South Tay Street cross it at right angles. In the Calender Close, a long narrow court on the south side of the Overgate, at a short distance east of the Long Wynd, a house is shown which the reputed witch, Grizzel Jaffray, is said to have occupied previous to her execution. In ancient times this street was the chief entrance into the town from the west; and until the year 1812, a large block of stone, with the word "Dundee" rudely scratched upon it, lay at the north-east corner of South Tay Street, and marked the western limit of the official peregrinations of the public crier. It was also the point whence distances were measured, when the rule was to reckon from town-wall to town-wall, and was known as "Dundee Stone;" being thus mentioned in several muniments of property,

¹ "Warden's Burgh Laws," p. 145.

as well as in the town's archives, so long ago as 1565. It now lies buried under the causeway of the street.

The eastern end of the Overgate, where it joins the High Street, was formerly called the "Lucken-Booths," a name now almost forgotten. This name is derived from the old Scottish word *lucken*, a word signifying close or shut, as applied to a very narrow passage, which doubtless had arisen from the circumstance of booths, as shops were anciently styled, being erected in front of the houses on each side of the street, and thus rendering the passage-way between them very narrow. The entire length of the Overgate presents a continuous line of lucken-booths, very inconvenient as a business thoroughfare, now that wheeled vehicles are almost innumerable, although it might have suited the traffic of the town down to the close of last century, when there were only *one* carter within the royalty.

In ancient times several families of note resided in this street, among whom, exclusive of the noble family of Angus, were some of the Wedderburnes, Stirling of East Braikie, in the parish of Kinnell, and Scrymseoure of Fordell. This last occupied an old house, which stood, until two years ago, near the top of South Lindsay Street, and which, before the Reformation, had been the residence of the Chanter or Superior of the Chantry of the Blessed Virgin and St George the Martyr, in the Parish Church.

On the north side of the Overgate, and opposite the top of Tally Street, Barrack Street, a well-finished thoroughfare, strikes off in a northern direction, and along with the Constitution Road, into which it expands, forms a line of more than half a mile in length. Originally this street was called the Friars' Vennel, subsequently the Burial Wynd, and, since 1812, Barrack Street. Its first name it received as the direct passage to the Grey and Blackfriars' Monasteries, its second from the proximity of the Burial Ground, and its third as the readiest access to the Barracks.

On the north side of the NETHERGATE, towards the east end, stands the Church of the Blessed Virgin, with its fine lofty square tower; and on the south, opposite the Church, Union Street, an elegantly built thoroughfare, opened since 1828, communicates directly with the Ferry Harbour and Perth Railway Station. At the east end of the Nethergate, the old English Chapel, now doomed in the march of street improvement, stands on the site of the old Meal Market and Salt Tron. Nearly opposite, within a dirty narrow court called White-

hall, there existed until recently the remains of a very strong vaulted building, in which Queen Mary, James VI., and his grandson, Charles II.,¹ have resided. On the lintel of a door that opened from the court into one of the vaults there was inscribed, "TENDIT. ACERRIMA. VIRTUS;" and on the broken lintel of a chimney, which is built in the wall of a house on the opposite or east side, but a little nearer to the top of the court, the royal achievement of Scotland is placed, along with an escutcheon uncharged, but parted per cross, the date 1588, and the inscription, "OBAY. ZE. KING. KING. IAMIS. 6. IN. DE——," the remainder of the word, "FENS," is broken off; and in the front of the house to the Nethergate, at the top of the court, is placed the coat-armour of Charles II.—Scotland, England, France, and Ireland quarterly—with "GOD SAVE THE KING. O. R. 1660." In the wall of the building that constitutes the present Whitehall, and beside the door, appears an ornamented niche, and the figure of a flying angel, which, though they were built in the wall of the former house, may have been brought from the ruins of the chapel that stood in the next court to the west. It was here that the Convention of Royal Burghs met on the 13th of July, 1692, at the instance of James Fletcher, at that

¹ While Charles resided here, before his defeat at Worcester, he gave an audience to the Rev. John Livingstone of Ancrum, who was one of the deputation of ministers sent by the General Assembly to arrange ecclesiastical matters with him in Holland. In the autobiographical account of his life, Mr Livingstone says, "When I took my leave of the King at *Dundee*, I, being alone with him, begged liberty to use some freedom with him, which he granted. After I had spoken some things about his carriage, I propounded that he saw the *English* army, animated by many victories, for his sake coming upon *Scotland*, which at present was in a very low condition, and therefore that he might with his Council devise some way to divert the present stroke by a declaration, or some such way, wherein he needed not quit or weaken his right to the crown of *England*; only show that, for the present, he was not to prosecute his title by the sword, but wait till their confusions being vanished, they were in better case to be governed, and till he were called by the people there, which I was confident a short while's good government in *Scotland* would easily produce. He was not pleased to relish the motion, and said he hoped I would not wish him to sell his father's blood. By that, and some other passages of my life, I gathered that either I was not called to meddle in any public State matters, or that my meddling should have but small success; for, in the year 1645, when I was in *London*, I propounded to the Lord Protector, that he would take off the heavy fines which they had laid on several in *Scotland*, which neither they were able to pay, and the payment would alienate their minds the more. He seemed to like the overture; but when he had spoken with his Council, many of them being to have a share in these fines, they went on in their purpose."—*Stevenson's Edition of the Life of the Rev. John Livingstone, Glasgow. 1754.*

time Provost, whose vanity, in the occupancy of the chair, is believed to have been somewhat seriously detrimental to the "common good" of the town. The chief business, in so far as we know, transacted at this famous annual gathering of the Delegates of the Royal Burghs, was the granting the privilege of trade and manufactures to the burghs of regality and barony, clogged, however, with the condition of paying ten per cent. of the missive-dues or tax-roll of their royal patrons. This transaction was confirmed by Act of Parliament, passed 14th June, 1693. The missive-dues vary according to the ability of each individual burgh. From 1711 to 1792, Dundee received from the Convention the sum of £90, in aid of its harbour improvements; and in the course of ten years from July 1823 to July 1833, it was called on to pay the sum of £426, in aid of the improvements in some of the less wealthy burghs.

At some distance west of Whitehall was situated the most aristocratic of private edifices which old Dundee could boast of—the ancient residence of the Earls of Crawford. The "Earl's Lodging," as it was called, with its grounds and gardens, covered a large space extending from the Nethergate southwards to the river, and from Spalding's (now Couttie's) Wynd, westward to the line of South Lindsay Street. In the 15th century, the marriage of the famous Archibald, fifth Earl of Angus, of the Douglas family, to the Lady Maud, daughter of the Earl of Crawford, was celebrated with unusual splendour in this house. Long afterwards, when changing fortunes led to the alienation of the property, the Earl of Kellie obtained a portion next the Nethergate, and erected a residence there. When demolished, some forty years ago, to make way for Union Street, the Kellie arms were found, in good preservation, carved upon the lintel of a chimney-piece, which seemed to have adorned the hall.

The SEAGATE was at one time the fashionable region—the "Bond Street" of the town—containing the greater part of the winter residences of the landed gentry of the surrounding country; but it has now, alas! fallen from its former dignity. In ancient times, it also included the Market Cross and "Tollbwith," or Town-House. Both stood nearly opposite the foot of Peter Street, which was completed and opened for passage only in 1775. The site of the "cross," which was removed to the High Street in 1586, is identified by a peculiar arrangement of the stones on the causeway; and the Town-House, from a stone which was dug out of the foundation when the site was

- preparing for the erection of the buildings opposite the foot of Peter Street, seems to have been built about the middle of the 13th century, perhaps the year 1260. So late as 1736, the only tolerable dwelling-house in the whole street was that of Provost Alexander Robertson (of the family of Bandirran), which stood on the north side, its site being afterwards occupied by the Baptist Meeting-house; while on the opposite side there were several older houses occupied by families of some distinction, such as the old burghal family of Brown of Horn, in the Carse of Gowrie. A member of this family, Bailie George Brown of Horn, was mortally wounded at the storm of the town by General Monk, on the 5th September, 1651. His son, Provost George Brown, founded an educational institution in 1695. Besides all this, the Seagate is understood to have been the scene of the incrimination of Grizzel Jaffray, whose treatment for "witchcraft" we have already noticed.¹

At the head of the Seagate, on the south side, stood an old hostelry, which, a few years ago, was removed to effect a much-needed improvement of the street, and which was long as familiarly known by the excellency of its entertainments as by its sign of the "Blue Bell," especially by the *bon vivant* agriculturists of the Carse of Gowrie, many of whom made it their "houff" on market-days. This old building possessed an interest as being the reputed residence of Sir George Stewart of Grandtully, in which the Chevalier St George slept one night in January, 1716, and in which also Admiral Lord Viscount Duncan was born on the 1st July, 1731. His Lordship's father was Provost of Dundee in the stirring era of "the forty-five," and this was probably his town-house, purchased or rented from Sir George Stewart. Tradition designated it the Magazine of the Castle, obviously from no other reason than its proximity to the Castle rock, the fortress which crowned it having been demolished centuries before a stone of the "Magazine" could have been dug from the quarry.

Nearly opposite this building, at the east end of the High Street, and filling the space between the Seagate and Murraygate, is the Trades' Hall, occupying the site of the old Shambles and Flesh Market, and which in its turn is doomed to demolition for improvement purposes. The site was purchased from the town in 1776 for £391, and, two years afterwards, the building was erected from the

¹ See ante, p. 102.

design of Samuel Bell, by the Nine Incorporated Trades, and has undergone various transformations to adapt the ground-story for modern shops. The west front shews attached Roman Ionic columns on the upper story surmounted by a pediment, while a domical lantern surmounts the roof, in which is hung a good-toned bell, having the following inscription recording the names of the office-bearers of the "Nine in One" for the time :—

"Convener—W. Bisset; Wm. Keith, Treasurer; and Deacons—Geo. Mudie, Rt. Brown, Matw. Buist, Patk. Millar, Jas. Mill, Saml. Matters, Wm. Kinnear, Rt. Elder, and Ja. Anderson, contributed to this bell to the Trades' Hall, Dundee. Paok & Chapman, of London, fecit. 1778."

The upper floor contains a rather handsome room, fifty feet by thirty, and twenty-five in height, which was long used as the Exchange Coffeeroom, occasionally as a theatre by itinerant players, and latterly as a Banking-office—the Clydesdale Bank having acquired the whole building in 1864.

From the south-east corner of the High Street, Castle Street, a well-built thoroughfare, which was cut through the vast rock on which the ancient Castle stood, affords a direct communication with the Harbour from the very centre of the town, as does Crichton Street from the south-west corner of the High Street. Castle Street terminates at right angles with Dock Street, a spacious thoroughfare running along the Docks, and in which the bulk of the traffic of the port is conducted. The Green Market is only remarkable for having once been a Fish Market, and at its west side, filling the space between Butcher Row and Fish Street, for a large, heavy, old-fashioned building, with a circular turret at each of three of its angles, and the ground flat sunk several steps below the level of the street, and ornamented with slight recesses arched at the tops, some of which might once have been open. In the year 1808, a mason, while employed in repairing the chimney tops, found a "pose," consisting of nearly two hundred pieces of silver coin, embedded among the mortar. They belonged to the mintages of James VI. and Charles I.; and it is thought that they were concealed there by some careful citizen about the time of the siege of the town in 1651, and that the owner had been killed in the assault. Until a few years from the beginning of the present century, this old house was used for the "receipt of custom," in which Robert Middleton, Esq. (father of Admiral Charles, first Lord Barham, who was born here about 1730), acted as Collector on behalf of the Lords of his Majesty's Treasury, long before and for

some time after the middle of last century. This edifice is also made the scene of much of the incident in Grant's novel, "The Yellow Frigate."

Until sometime before the commencement of the Harbour Works, in 1815, a broad walk, paved with flags, extended from the south end of the Public Weigh-house, along the west side of the Green Market, about midway to Fish Street. A bench ran along a considerable extent of the line, and a row of fine plane trees bounded the outside of the pavement, affording an agreeable shade in sultry weather. This spot was the great resort of retired skippers and seamen, and idlers about the port; but it would appear from the following extract that, in former times, it was used in a different way—"From the Harbour to the town is a pleasant walk, paved with flag-stones, and shaded with rows of trees on each side, which serves for an *exchange* to merchants and shipmasters; and on one side are large storehouses for goods, and granaries for corn."¹ The Harbour works and street improvements have long ago swept away the trees, but some of the warehouses remain.

On the north end of the MURRAYGATE, an old house once looked directly east, which was taken down to make way for Panmure Street. To this house there was a lofty outside staircase, on the top of which stood formerly a turret, containing a clock and bell, for the benefit of that part of the town. When St Andrew's Church was erected in 1772, the clock was for a time placed in the steeple, and the bell sold to Colonel Hunter of Burnside, who took it to Broughty Ferry; and, when the church there was erected in 1826, his son, General David Hunter, bestowed it for the use of the congregation. When sent next year to Messrs Carmichael's Foundry, at the West Ward, to be re-cast, the bell was found to bear the following inscription in Roman capitals:—

"Gloria. in. altissimis. Deos. Monvmentvm. hoc. Testimonio. amoris. ne. pro. vrbe. Taodvana. fieri. feci. Georgivs. Gardine. iunior. Margarita Gardine. coniunx. ne. mar. M.O.D. 6 Iulli. 1636."

At the point where the "narrow of the Murraygate" merges into the broader portion of the thoroughfare, a public well stood until a few years ago, known as the "Dog-well." It was set up in 1749, by Mr Alexander Doig, a merchant in the neighbourhood, who placed the figure of a dog, cut in stone, on the top, where it remained till 1824. Beside this well there had stood one of the towers in the

¹ Brice's Universal Dictionary of Geography, folio, London, 1759.

ancient town wall, called Mauchline Tower; but how it came to be associated with the secondary title of the noble family of Loudon does not appear. The tower was not wholly erased till after 1812, when a Mr Hackney erected a block of dwellings on its site, in the lower flat of which the Commercial Bank was first located, in 1825. The sole memorial of the Mauchline Tower is now the adjoining court, which bears its name.

At the north end of the Murraygate, but on the east side and within the Port, stood the town residence of Mrs Giles Gall, the first Lady of Claverhouse of the family of Grahame, who occupied it at and before the year 1565. From her sprung the celebrated Viscount of Dundee.

From the port or gate at this end of the Murraygate, the Cowgate strikes off eastward, until it terminates a few yards beyond the Port in an arched gateway, the sole relic of the ancient fortifications, and from the top of which it is believed George Wishart preached in the time of the plague.¹ There is some reason to doubt however, whether this could be the gate in question, as Wishart suffered in 1546, while it would appear that the fortifications of the town were not commenced until late in the following year, and hence it must have been the gate which stood at the top of Fintry's, now the Sugarhouse Wynd, where the martyr preached. Previous to 1547 and 1548, the only defences the town possessed were the courage of the inhabitants, and a gate at each end of the street, uniting the houses on the opposite sides; and, when the fortifications were completed, the gate at Fintry's Wynd became the gate in the inner wall, as the present Cowgate Port was that in the outer. Several applications have from time to time been made to the Council to have this time-honoured relic of a bygone age removed, on the plea that it narrowed and incommoded the street; but these applications have always been met with a negative—respect for the memory of the martyr, and the affectionate services rendered by him to the inhabitants, being specially urged as reasons for its retention. Years ago, it was proposed to erect some statue or memorial of Wishart at the Port, but, like many other magnificent designs that have been formed in the town, it never took practical shape. Something after all has been done by the United Presbyterian body, who, in 1841, erected a neat chapel without the Port, with the name and date, "WISHART CHURCH, MDCCCXLI," inscribed on a marble tablet in the front wall.

¹ See ante, p. 47.

In the year 1756, the Cowgate was poorly built and as poorly tenanted, consisting chiefly of gardens and old walls, apparently the remains of former edifices, as there is good evidence that in 1560 the street was better built, though the buildings were chiefly, if not wholly of wood. In the former year, a house which had been recently erected at the top of Fintry's Wynd, and another near the Port Well, were the only inhabited tenements on the south side; while on the north there were only the Trades' Hall, such as it then was, and a few mean cottages, occupied by some weavers and their families. Certain small courts that communicate with the Cowgate contain now more inhabitants than did the whole street in the middle of last century. The storm of the town by Monk, in 1651, is the probable cause why this part of the town had been so backward in the march of improvement, as it is believed to have been here that the assault was made, and the greatest desolation effected.

The general disposition of the older thoroughfares and landmarks of the town was sought to be conveyed in a quaint "*Description of the County of Angus*," published, in Latin, in 1678, from the pen of Mr Edward, the minister of the neighbouring parish of Murroes, from which the following translation, by James Thomson, may be quoted to close this section:—

"The town is divided into four principal streets, which we may suppose to represent a human body, stretched on its back, with its arms towards the west, and its legs towards the east. The steeple represents the head, with an enormous neck, rising upwards of eighteen storeys, into the clouds and surrounded with two battlements or galleries, one in the middle, and another at the top, like a crown adorning the head—whose loud-sounding tongue daily calls the people to worship. The right hand is stretched forth to the poor, for there is a large and well-furnished hospital on that side; but the left hand, because nearer to the heart, is more elevated towards heaven than the right—indicating a devout mind panting after celestial joys. In the inmost recesses of the breast stand the sacred temples of God. On the left breast is a Christian burying-place, richly and piously ornamented, that the pious dead may be long held in veneration and esteem. In the belly is the market-place, at the middle of which is the 'cross,' like the navel in the body. Below the loins stand the shambles, which, as they are in a proper place, so are they very neat and convenient, having a hidden stream of fresh water, which (after wandering through the pleasant meadows on the left), runs under them; and which having thus, as it were, scoured the veins and intestines of the town, is afterwards discharged into the river. Here the thighs and legs are separated. The sea approaching the right, invites to the trade and commerce of foreign countries; and the left limb, separated from the thigh a full step, points to home trade, in the northern parts of the country."

Section XX.

THE ANCIENT CHURCH AND TOWER OF ST. MARY.

HAVING described what may be called the minor ecclesiastical antiquities, we now propose to give an account of an edifice of a higher rank, which in former times was regarded as the glory of Dundee, and the surviving fragment of which is still an object of pride to every native, and of admiration to every stranger who surveys its noble proportions. The Church of the Blessed Virgin has long ago disappeared, by the violence of warfare or the flames; but the great Tower has outlived human and elemental violence, and restored, as it has been by reverent and skilful hands, stands in something like its pristine grandeur, to recal the memories of the past, and gather round it the associations of the present and future generations of Dundee.

The story of its foundation, by David Earl of Huntingdon, in fulfilment of a vow made on his return from the Crusades,¹ has been so frequently repeated, and possesses moreover that air of romantic interest which commends it to popular belief, that it almost seems a pity to disturb the illusion. But the historian, who aims at presenting a truthful narrative, must not evade the duty of eliminating fact from fiction, and presenting the sober truth in preference to legendary stories, highly seasoned with the marvellous, and having nothing to support them but constant reiteration. In opposition, therefore, to the belief hitherto accepted, we venture to affirm that the Earl of Huntingdon was certainly *not* the founder of the edifice, of which the western tower remains to us; and as the question is of considerable interest, the evidence which can be adduced in support of this statement may be briefly submitted.

In the first place, it may be mentioned that the story of Earl David's

¹ See *ante*, p. 19.



ST. MARY'S TOWER SIR G.C. SCOTT'S DESIGN FOR CROWN.

shipwreck, the vow, and fulfilment of it in the erection of St Mary's at Dundee, originated with Boece, since whose day it has been merely copied and re-copied, without doubt or enquiry, into other works, until, by the force of iteration, it has come to be accepted without challenge. As Boece's History was published in 1526—more than three centuries after the event described—it is obvious that he could only have obtained his material in one of two ways—either from writings then accessible, or from floating tradition. No previous writer, such as Fordun or Wynton, and none of the archives of the great religious houses of St Andrews, Arbroath, or Brechin, make any allusion to Boece's story, so that we are in a manner shut up to the alternative of tradition as the source of it. It seemed to be the fashion of the times to associate the foundation of every important religious building with some unusual occurrence, and where recourse was not had to a miracle, some legendary marvel supplied its place. It is too well known that from this vague and dubious source Boece drew much of his matter, so that his unsupported statement carries little or no weight. He is an author whom succeeding writers might copy, but would not quote. Lord Hailes, an author of a very different stamp, and whose work is well known as a model of learning and research, gives the gist of the story from Boece, but with the important substitution of Lindores for Dundee. Here is the passage :—"Many were the disasters of this zealous prince. Shipwrecked on the coast of Egypt, he was made captive. His rank unknown, he was purchased by a Venetian, who brought him to Constantinople; *there* some English merchants accidentally recognised him; they redeemed and sent him home. After having surmounted various difficulties, he was in imminent danger of a second shipwreck on the coast of Scotland. He ascribed his deliverance to the Virgin Mary, and, in memory of her efficacious intercession, *founded a monastery at Lindores, in Fife*. There is nothing incredible in this story; yet the evidence of it is somewhat suspicious."¹

The suspicion does not apply, however, to the founding of the Abbey at Lindores by the Earl of Huntingdon, and which he dedicated to St Mary and St Andrew. That is matter of history, and beyond all doubt; and being so, it will be at once seen, that, if the date (1198) given by Hailes for that foundation be correct, it is in the highest degree improbable, to say the least, that the Earl should be simultaneously building another splendid votive church in Dundee,

¹ *Annals*, vol. I., p. 134.

dedicated to the same saint.¹ This supposition is further negatived by this other ascertained fact, that, about the year 1200, Earl David granted the church of Dundee, with the tithes of the church lands, to the Abbey of Lindores. This would imply that our church was then but a small cure, such as might be gifted, along with a score of other parish churches, to swell the revenues and power of the greater and more favoured establishment on the other side of the Tay. Indeed, it is ascertained that the church was rated in the taxation at only forty pounds Scots,² a sum which, singularly enough, was afterwards assigned to defray the maintenance of a promising student from Lindores, while pursuing a theological course at the University. From these considerations, we are justified in holding with Mr Jervise, that "there is nothing to show that Earl David ever, in the literal sense of the word, *founded* a church at Dundee,—the very name of St Mary's itself not being met with in any chartulary or other writing until about the year 1406."³

Passing from the scanty documentary evidence which exists on the subject, we shall next examine the architectural style of the "Old Steeple," from which a reliable conclusion may be arrived at as to its age. That also justifies the statement that the edifice, of which it formed a part, could not have been reared in the days of the Earl of Huntingdon. To enable the general reader to appreciate the conclusiveness of this argument, it may be explained that the development of Gothic architecture was in a regular progression, which admitted of classification into styles or "periods," having certain well-defined features, and each extending over a space of time which can be fixed with tolerable certainty. This classification provides a basis, analogous to that laid down in the science of geology for example, enabling one to refer with confidence any particular example to its proper place in the series. The large field for generalization afforded by the numerous Gothic buildings of England has enabled the classification of styles to be satisfactorily fixed for that country. Every

¹ It is right to say, that some writers give 1178 as the date of foundation of Lindores, but apparently that is either a misprint or an error. To assume it would raise many difficulties, such as the youth of the Earl, and his being about that time a hostage in England for obligations undertaken by his brother, King William, to say nothing of inconsistency with the known period of the Crusade, from which he had just returned.

² Reg. Ep. Brechin, ii., p. 316.

³ Memorials, p. 179.

country has, however, more or less of individuality in its architecture, and in none is this more marked than Scotland; besides which, our adoption of the successive styles was tardier, and the transitions were more prolonged, than in the sister country. "Though so near a neighbour, and so mixed up with England in all the relations of war and peace, the Scotch never borrowed willingly from the English; but, owing probably to the Celtic element in the population, all their affinities and predilections were for continental nations, and especially for France. So completely is this the case, that there is scarcely a single building in the country that would not look anomalous and out of place in England; and though it is true that the edifices are not entirely French in design, the whole taste and character of them is continental, though wrought out in a bolder, and, generally, in a simpler and ruder fashion, than the corresponding examples in other countries. . . . The one thing which the Scotch seem to have borrowed from the English is the lancet form of window, which suited their simple style so completely that they clung to it long after its use had been abandoned in England. This circumstance has given rise to much confusion as to the dates of Scottish buildings, antiquarians being unwilling to believe that the lancet windows of Elgin and other churches really belong to the middle of the 14th century, after England had passed through the phases of circle and flowing tracery, and were settling down to the sober constructiveness of the Perpendicular."¹ The retention of the round arch, which naturally belonged to the Norman, through succeeding styles down even to the days of the Flamboyant—as seen in the doorways of St Giles's, Edinburgh; Balmerino; and our own Tower—is another distinctive peculiarity of our Scottish Gothic. It has also been remarked, that, in our ecclesiastical edifices, features of civil and castellated buildings were not unfrequently adopted, so that our Tower has been characterised as more like one belonging to a continental hotel de ville than a church. All these minor variations, however, do not interfere with the general classification of the successive styles which prevailed in Scotland.

To convey a proper idea of the subject, we submit a chronological table of the various styles of Gothic architecture in England, parallel with their development in Scotland. In the former, the nomenclature of Rickman has been adopted as being simplest and best known, but with the synonyms of other authors appended:—

¹ *Ferguson's Architecture*, vol. ii., p. 393.

ENGLAND.			SCOTLAND.		
Sovereign.	Access.	Prevailing Styles.	Access.	Sovereigns.	EXAMPLES.
William I., 1066		NORMAN. (Romanesque, Round Arched, Anglo-Norman.)		1057, Malcolm III.	
William II., 1087				1095, Duncan II.	
Henry I., 1100				1098, Edgar.	
Stephen, 1135				1107, Alexander I.	Nave, Dunfermline.
Henry II., 1154				1124, David I.	Kirkwall.
Richard I., 1189		EARLY ENGLISH. (Lancet, First Pointed, Plantagenet.)		1153, Malcolm IV.	Dalmeny.
John, 1199				1156, Wm. the Lion.	Leuchars, South Transept Elgin.
Henry III., 1216				1214, Alexander II.	
Edward I., 1272				1249, Alexander III.	Arbroath, Kelso.
Edward II., 1307		DECORATED ENG. (Geometrical, Middle-pointed, Edwardian.)		1286, Margaret.	Crypt and Tower, Glasgow.
Edward III., 1327				1292, John Baliol.	
				1298, Wallace, Regt.	
				1306, Robert Bruce.	Choir Elgin, St Andrews, Holyrood Chapel.
				1329, David II.	Melrose, earliest portion.
				1370, Robert II.	Haddington.
				1390, Robert III.	Chapter-house of Elgin, Tower.
Richard II., 1377		PERPENDICULAR. (Third-pointed, Tudor, Florid, Lancastrian.)		1406, James I.	Glasgow Cathedral, St Giles, St Mary's, Dundee.
Henry IV., 1399				1437, James II.	Linlithgow, Dunkeld.
Henry V., 1413				1460, James III.	Trinity Church, Edinburgh.
Henry VI., 1422				1488, James IV.	Foullis Church.
Edward IV., 1461				1513, James V.	Melrose—E. end.
Edward V., 1483					
Richard III., 1483					
Henry VII., 1485					
Henry VIII., 1509					

The Decorated style, it will be observed, was being developed in England shortly before the War of Independence. During that protracted and heroic struggle, the whole energies of the Scottish people were devoted to sterner duties than the erection or embellishment of public buildings, and a great gap therefore occurs in our architecture, until some years of peace had supervened upon the decisive battle of Bannockburn (1314). The Decorated style was then taken up, but in a feeblar spirit, that told of the impoverished state to which the sacrifices of the war had reduced the country. The English types, too, gave place to a distinctly foreign influence—the outcome evidently of the closer intercourse with France and the Low Countries; so that, while the English Perpendicular is scarcely represented—the east and

of Melrose (*circa* 1460) being almost the only example—the Continental Flamboyant, which never took root in England, became the dominant style in Scotland. This style is characterised, amongst other features, by the waving flame-like forms of the tracery, the prevalence of circular windows, the retention of the round arch in doorways, and elaborately pierced parapets. It is also to be remarked, that, “during the 15th century, the figure of the blessed Virgin, bearing in her arms the infant Saviour, occupied much more frequently a prominent position on the exterior of churches, in a niche over the portal, or in a niche in the western wall of the towers. . . . Sculptured representations of the Annunciation, and of the Lily Pot, the symbol of purity, which was considered an emblem of the blessed Virgin, were not uncommon.”¹ We need scarcely point out how distinctly the above and other peculiarities of this late style appear in St Mary’s Tower. The church at Linlithgow contains a window with tracery of the Scotch Flamboyant style, unsurpassed for the elegance of its design, of which Dunkeld had a duplicate,² and which has been found in almost identical form in the Lamberti Kirche at Munster, and elsewhere in Westphalia;³ while the large circular window of our Tower may be described as a simplified reproduction of that in the west front of St Pierre at Caen, in Normandy.

Having fixed their character, let us now examine the dates of Scottish churches, which, from their coincidence of style—the late Decorated verging into the Flamboyant—may be held to be contemporaneous with St Mary’s. Linlithgow and Dunkeld belong to the latter end of the 15th century. The former had its Tower finished with flying buttresses supporting an open lantern, in imitation, it is supposed, of the ancient Scottish Crown; but which, in recent times, was removed as insecure. St Giles’s, at Edinburgh, a well known example of the same style, dates, for the Choir (now High Church) and Tower, from the reign of James II., 1437-1460;⁴ King’s College at Aberdeen, was finished so late as the early part of the 16th century; and St Nicholas at Newcastle—the last of the crowned towers, the only one known out of Scotland—was completed about 1450. The

¹ Bloxam’s Gothic Arch., 8th ed., p. 290.

² This may be accounted for by the circumstance that Bishop Brown, of Dunkeld, was also vicar of Linlithgow at the time of its completion (1484-1514).

³ Fergusson, vol. II., p. 911.

⁴ The crown, which had become dilapidated and dangerous, was rebuilt in 1646.

crown of the last-named work is accepted by all good judges as the nearest to what our Dundee Tower was originally designed, and, accordingly, Sir G. Scott proposes to reproduce it, with a change of the angle pinnacles from octagon to square, and some other unimportant modifications in detail.

The concurrence of these examples of square towers, identical in general style, and exhibiting in particular that peculiar finish, leaves no reasonable doubt that our Tower must be referred to the same period in which they were erected. This view might be further supported by reference to numerous other churches, which exhibit the same late Decorated or Flamboyant features, and agree historically with the recognised time in which that style prevailed. We shall only mention King's College Chapel, Aberdeen; Brechin; St John's, Perth; St Monan's; Corstorphine (1429); Trinity College Church, Edinburgh (1470); Haddington (1290); Seton; Paisley (1445), &c. Roslin Chapel (1466) is an example which stands by itself; but, in the exuberance of its ornamentation, many details, identical with those found elsewhere, may be detected—as, for instance, the small buttress niches, the corbels of which are segment-sided, a peculiarity which is found also in our Tower.¹ In the case of Roslin, the foreign influence is directly traceable, William St Clair, the founder, having brought the workmen specially from the north of Spain, where it is ascertained French Freemasons had been extensively employed.² These bands of masons, it is well known, moved from place to place, establishing their “lodges” at the scene of their labours. Masons' “marks” are to be found on St Mary's Tower identical with those found on other buildings in the South of Scotland, which both accounts for similarity of details, and strengthens, if that were needed, the argument for fixing the age of a particular edifice from that of others presenting similar features.

¹ We should rather say they were so; for Mr Scott has, in restoring these niches, departed from the originals, by making the corbels all straight-sided. As very slight details are often of great value in ecclesiological discussions, we apprehend few will approve the liberty thus taken.

² “We are not left to infer the influence which France exercised upon Scottish architecture merely from the similarity or identity of style: we have record of Frenchmen who had oversight of the chief temples of the north. A rhymed inscription, on the south transept of Melrose, relates that John Murdo, ‘born in Parys certaynely, had the charge of St Andrews, Glasgow, Melrose, Paisley, and the abbeyes of Nithedale and Galloway.’—*Quarterly Review*, June 1849.

The conclusion at which we arrive, from the comparison of style, and collation of ascertained dates of contemporaneous edifices in Scotland, is that the Tower of St Mary's, so far from belonging to the time of David, Earl of Huntingdon, must be assigned to the period of the Jameses, most probably the first half of the fifteenth century. At the same time, it may be observed that, where a western tower formed part of the design for a church, it was usually the last portion to be built, and thus the main body of the edifice might have been of an earlier style. St Mary's followed the orthodox plan of such structures, in taking the form of a Latin cross, having its greatest length from east to west, and consisting of Chancel or Lady Chapel, Choir, Transepts, and Nave, terminating with the western Tower. It was customary to commence with the eastern end or head of the cross; and, when the choir was finished down to the Transepts, that portion was used for the celebration of divine service. The remaining sections were proceeded with, often after the lapse of many years, as necessity arose, or the funds could be provided;¹ and hence considerable diversity of style appears in almost every edifice of any magnitude. It has, indeed, been supposed that a chapel occupied part of the site of St Mary's Church,² and, being converted into the Chancel, formed the nucleus of the larger structure, to which the Transept, Nave, and other parts were added to complete the cruciform figure; but this is mere conjecture, and the probabilities are against it. The more likely supposition is, that the eastern portions were commenced from thirty to fifty years prior to the completion of the Tower—say, during the latter years of the fourteenth century, which accords with the earliest authentic notice of the fabric. In that case the choir and chancel would be of early Decorated, possibly of a transitional character from Early English, while the Transepts and Nave might present a later Decorated character, approaching that of the Tower itself.

Owing to the limited extent of the town, which then extended no further westward than the present High Street, the church was erected in the fields outside the western gates, and for a long period was designated the "Kirk in the Fields." In some titles of property, in the

¹ The Metropolitan Cathedral of St Andrews, begun in 1159, was not completed, through various causes, until 1318.

² A chapel, dedicated to St Mary, is believed, on good grounds, to have stood not far from the present churches, on the east side of Couttie's Wyrd, and this may have been the old St Mary's referred to

Nethergate, still extant, to which the churchyard was a boundary, the church was called by that name so late as the beginning of the seventeenth century. The dimensions of the original edifice, when entire, can be approximately stated, and are here given, along with those of other cathedral or collegiate churches in Scotland :—

	Total Length.	Length of Nave.	Width of Nave and Aisle.	Height.	Length of Transept.	Width of Transept.	Height of Tower.
St Mary's, Dundee,.....	250*	120	68	54	174	44	146
St Mary's, Lindores,	240						
Balmerino Abbey Church,.....	235		58		135	52	
Arbroath Abbey Church,	284						
Melrose Abbey Church,.....	258		69		115		
Haddington Collegiate Church,	210		62		110		90
St Giles's, Edinburgh, Collegiate Church,	206		76		129		156
Linlithgow Collegiate Church,.....	187				105		
Glasgow Cathedral Church,	283						
Dunblane Cathedral Church,.....	216		56				

* Exclusive of Tower, which would add other 34 feet.

It will be seen from the above that St Mary's, in point of size, held an honourable place in comparison with even the most celebrated ecclesiastical edifices in Scotland ; nor is the idea of its importance diminished when we come to enumerate the chaplainries connected with it, and the numerous altars before which the services of the old faith were celebrated within its walls. From various sources, more or less authentic, we have compiled the following particulars of the

FOUNDATIONS THAT WERE WITHIN THE CHURCH OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN.

I. Chantry of our Lady and St George the Martyr, and Altar of All Saints.—In the year 1398, Sir David Lindsay of Glenesk, knight, the first Earl of Crawford, having been victorious in a tournament at London Bridge, on the festival of St George, the tutelary Saint of England, founded and endowed in this church, in December 1406, a chantry of five priests or vicars choral, which he dedicated to the honour of our Lady of Victory and St George the Martyr, in remembrance of his prowess. At the same time, he also founded an altar, which he dedicated to the memory of All Saints, at which he appointed two chaplains to officiate, and endowed both the chantry and this

altar with an annual stipend of forty merks, payable out of his dwelling-house, called the "Earl's Lodging," which stood at the foot of Union Street. The other endowments of the choristers, separate from All Saints, in so far as our means of information extend, are as follow :—

At the foundation of the choir, the noble founder granted annually, and for ever, for its support, twelve merks, payable out of his lands of the Kirktown, and Halltown, or Hatton of Inverarity, near Forfar ; twelve merks, payable out of his lands of Aberbothrie (now, we believe, called Balmyle), near Meigle ; twelve merks, payable out of his lands of Balgray, Megginch, and Barony-mill of Megginch, all in the parish of Errol ; and twelve merks, payable out of lands of Dunfin, Dounie, and Mill of Dounie, all in the barony of Dounie, and parish of Monikie. Each of these grants was conveyed by a separate charter, and each was separately confirmed by Robert, Duke of Albany, Regent of the kingdom, under his seal of office, being all dated at Perth on the same day, the 24th February, 1406. Besides these, the choristers had revenues amounting to £83 2s. 11d., which were drawn out of the profits of certain houses and properties, situated at different places in the town and elsewhere. Of this sum, however, a part, amounting to £1 5s. 4d., was payable out of the Mill of Ballumbie ; £1 10s. out of the Laird of Fintry's mill, and a merk, or 12s. 4d., out of the mill of one of his tenants, both at Mains. The gross income of the choir, so far as known, including the moiety of forty merks granted by the founder, was £128 9s. 7d., averaging to each of the choristers an annuity of £15 12s. 9d.

II. *St Andrew the Apostle*.—In the beautifully groined vault, which formed the east end of the south or front aisle of the Chancel, there were a chapel and an altar, dedicated to the honour of St Andrew the Apostle and national tutelary. At what time and by whom they were erected we cannot say, neither can we state how the chaplain was endowed, farther than, at the Reformation, the revenues, as ascertained by the most ancient existing Rent Roll of the town's property, amounted to only £13 13s. 6d.

III. *The Rood or Holy Cross*.—There is nothing known concerning the founder or foundation of this altar, beyond the somewhat dubious fact of its having occupied one of the arches of the Chancel ; and all that is known relative to its endowments is, that they amounted to only £9 16s. 8d., arising from certain properties in the town. Of this

paltry provision, an annuity of £1 6s. 8d. was paid by the Laird of Fintry out of his mill at Mains.

IV. *The Holy Blood*.—This was, perhaps, the last altar or chapelry which was founded within the church, or within the town, before the Reformation ; but, as the particulars concerning it are fully stated in the Merchant's Letter or Charter of the Guildry, it is unnecessary to repeat them here.

These four foundations, with the exception of the doubt expressed in connection with No. III., are all that are known with certainty to have been within the church before the Reformation, as there were none founded after that era, although Sir George Douglas says there is a charter under the Great Seal, dated 19th February, 1589, for the support of a chaplain in the Church of Dundee, but we suspect the date is a misprint for 1389, or, perhaps, 1489. Besides those above mentioned, there were other four altars, which, as their sites cannot be traced to any particular point in the town, it is possible may have been erected within the Church ; but as this is a matter wholly uncertain, we shall content ourselves with stating their names and the value of each living at the Reformation. 1st, St John the Baptist, living, £17 13s. 4d ; of this sum £4 were an annuity paid out of Trottick Mill by the Laird of Wester Powrie. 2d, St Agatha, living, £11 6s. 8d. 3d, St Catherine of Sienna, living, £9 18s. 4d. 4th, St Ninian, living, £8 14s. 10d.

The exact position of the various chapels and altars within the Church cannot now be determined ; but, from casual allusions to several of them, the known position of similar foundations, in contemporary churches and other data, it is believed that the accompanying ground-plan of the Church, in which an attempt is made for the first time to indicate these and other arrangements of the ancient edifice, is at least an approximation to the truth. It is confessedly a work of difficulty thus to recal the features of a building of which every fragment has long been obliterated, and some of these features must be regarded only as probabilities, derived from the study of contemporaneous buildings of the same class. One of these, the *chevet* or open apse, surrounded by an aisle having chapels grouped around it, is a suggestion based upon French models. This beautiful feature grew out of the practice of enlarging the small ancient chapel, by piercing its walls to communicate with an encircling aisle, and adding the choir portion to the west end. The latter was used for the accommodation of the

people, while the original chapel became the sacred shrine of tomb or relic—the Holy of Holies, in which the clergy celebrated high rites and prayed apart. Later, this arrangement formed the model of new churches; and, although we profess no favour for traditions as such, it may be conceded that the one already noticed, relating to an early existing sanctuary on the site of St Mary's, gives some colour to the *chevet* arrangement introduced into our plan.

Having set aside the traditional account of the building of the Church, it would have been satisfactory if we could offer an authentic narrative of its erection, but unfortunately no records can be found for such a task. Ecclesiologists have the same confession to make regarding almost every one of the ancient ecclesiastical edifices of Scotland; nor is this to be wondered at when it is remembered that, generally speaking, churchmen were the designers, and migrating bands of craftsmen the rearers of these medieval works. Any chronicles, therefore, which would throw light upon their erection, are to be sought for in the archives of the mother abbeys or cathedrals; yet even in regard to famous places like St Andrews, Arbroath, or Glasgow, associated with the names of such dignitaries as Lamberton, Bethune, and Wischart, the Registers that have been preserved contain little to dispel the uncertainty which invests the subject. We have already seen that St Mary's belonged in property to the Abbey of Lindores, which drew the tithes of the church lands. These included the ancient burgh; and, in return, the Abbey undertook to maintain the vicar, and to uphold the fabric of the choir as the parish kirk. "By diocesan and papal authority, it was afterwards arranged that the vicar should receive the *altarage*, or the baptismal, burial, and certain other dues, instead of the vicarage teinds; and, subsequently, by consent of the bishop, the burgesses bound themselves to maintain the choir, and the church in general, on receiving an annuity of five merks from the Monastery of Lindores."¹ This took place in 1442, and, as we surmise, about the time or not long after the fabric had been completed. From that date, frequent mention occurs of gifts made to the magistrates, in the way of church furniture and ornaments. In 1491, George Spalding, a wealthy and pious burgess, presented some altar plate, including "ane Ewcaryst of syluer owr gylt, ane gryt bell, ane ayleuer chalys owr gylt, ane new mess buyk, . . . ane new war stall to keip the vestiaments of the hye altar in till, ane gryt kyst, and

¹ *Jervise: Memorials*, p. 180.

twenty schillingis of annuall rent"—a proviso being added that the book and chalice were only for the service of "the Lady prayak." The magistrates evinced their sense of the continuance of this gift by requiring the officiating priest to exhort the people to pray for Spalding, "hys awill, hys wyf, and for thair antecessouris and successouris," after his own and his wife's death, and to say psalms, and "kast haly water on thair grawys. An annuall mass was also to be said in the choir of the kirk, with "dirgeis and torchys at the awill mess," and they were to "gar ring thair bellis of the kirk, and the hand-bell throu the towne as offeris." The donor and his successors were also to have "larys [graves] in the quair of the kirk, under the furrest gree befor the hys altar."¹ This was a concession which sufficiently shows the high estimation in which Spalding was held, as in early times interments were forbidden in the Church; and, after this rule came to be relaxed, the remains of high personages or church dignitaries only were honoured with sepulture within the Church. The western Tower was not so scrupulously preserved, and it is found, in the case of St Mary's, to be full of human remains.

Though belonging to Lindores in property, the Church of St Mary's was subject ecclesiastically to the See of Brechin, and accordingly such references as the above are met with in the Register of that bishopric. The earliest recorded "person de Dundee" was William of Kerneil, who was alive in 1214. Down to 1455, no other name is found; but in that year Pope Calistus III. issued a bull in favour of Gilbert Forster, Archdeacon of Brechin, in virtue of which he was to succeed one Richard Craig in the vicarage of the Church of Dundee. The only other ascertained incumbent, before the Reformation, was John Barry, who held the cure about 1490-5.² With the establishment of the Protestant faith, the succession of pastors becomes more readily traced. According to the accounts hitherto accepted, the first minister was Mr William Christison; but, as we have already shown, the post was previously filled by Paul Methven.³ His successor, Mr Christison, is described by Melville as "a faithful pastor," and a particular friend of his elder brother, Roger Melville, Burgess of Dundee. The stipend, in 1567 was 200 merks (£11 2s. 2½d.)—payable out of the thirds of the Abbey of Lindores, and of "Scone, in the baronye of Angus vnder the Bra" (probably Kinnochtry near Coupar Angus).

¹ Reg. Ep. Brechin, B. 316.

² Reg. Ep. Brechin, 134.

³ See ante, p. 61.

Besides Mr Christison, who died in 1603, there was one William Kyd, whose duty it was to read prayers or Scripture-lessons within the church, and whose salary was the modest pittance of £40, Scots (£3 6s. 8d.) The following is the succession of ministers from the Reformation :—¹

Admitted.	ST MARY'S or FIRST CHARGE.
— 1558...	PAUL METHVEN—removed to Jedburgh 1560.
19th July, 1560...	WILLIAM CRYSTESONE—Moderator General Assembly, 1569.
14th March, 1597...	ROBERT HOWIE—afterwards Principal of St Mary's, St Andrews.
— 1606...	DAVID LYNDSAY, A.M.—appointed Bishop of Brechin 1619.
— 1626...	PATRICK PANTER, A.M.
— 1635...	ANDREW COLLACE, A.M.—deposed 1639.
— 1642 {	ANDREW AUCHINLECK, A.M.—taken prisoner to London after siege in 1651.
25th Aug. 1664...	HENRY SCRIMSHOUR, A.M.
6th Sept. 1699...	SAMUEL JOHNSTONE, A.M.
16th March, 1732...	THOMAS DAVIDSON.
20th May, 1761...	ROBERT SMALL—elected D.D. 1778, Mod. Gen. Assem. 1791.
5th Oct. 1808...	ARCHIBALD M'LACHLAN, D.D.
12th July, 1848...	CHARLES ADIE, D.D.
20th Feb. 1862...	ARCHIBALD WATSON, D.D.—the present minister.

The choir and chancel portion of the ancient fabric, which we are now describing, was variously known as St Mary's, the East, and the Old Church—the latter, from its being the first of the four divisions of the complete structure, which was used as a place of worship according to the Reformed ritual. After the appropriation of the Transept, it acquired the name of the “Eist LITTLE Kirk” The numerous alterations made, at different times, upon this portion so changed its character that the original form could scarcely have been recognisable. The spaces between the twelve piers which separated the aisles, were all filled with galleries, resting on the capitals, with the exception of four in the south, and one on the north side. From the Council minute of 10th January, 1561, when a kirk-master was appointed, it appears that the edifice was in very bad order, repairs were authorised, and “na stanes or tymmer to lie in the kirkyaird on pane of confiscation.” Three years afterwards, little or no progress had been made : the repairs had become so urgent, and funds so scarce for executing them, that various expedients were resorted to, such as the fines imposed on delinquents, special collections every Sunday, and privileges granted to such craftsmen as could be found to give their services. A “glasin wricht” was rewarded with a “maill-free” house or lodging, for repair-

¹ These lists are mostly compiled from Dr Scott's great work—*Fæsti Ecclesiæ Scotiæ*—vol. III., part 2.

ing the "glass woundokis," and agreeing to uphold them during his lifetime, which he found to be no easy task, in consequence of "bairnis reccleslie breking the glass."¹ In 1581, special collections were again ordered for "repairation of the kirk, revestrie, and loft or steple;" and again, in 1588-9, a vigorous effort was made to accomplish certain repairs, and have "all impedimentis within the samin removit, and loftis maid therein." By what seems a strange perversity, accommodation of a very different sort was also ordered to be provided within the walls of the church, as we find by the following Council minute, under date Jan. 1588:—"The baillies and counsell, finding the place of imprisonment devysit for fornicatoris and adult-eraris to be very incommodious, it is concludit that there sall be ane new prissoun biggit above the volt of S. Androis Iyle, in the eist end of the Kirk for that effect, and the present passage to serve thairto, and hes nominat William Man, baillie, attendare on that wark."

As the greater part of the accommodation in this, the parish church, belonged in property to the heritors, to the various incorporated trades, and private families, the galleries and pews exhibited great diversity of taste. The front seats of some were covered with coloured cloths, prettily festooned and fringed, while those of the Magistrates and Hammermen, with the double-fronted gallery of the Fraternity of Seamen, were richly decorated with carved work. Until the year 1834, when the church was thoroughly cleansed and gas introduced, numbers of brazen chandeliers were suspended at different places, and, when all were blazing on a winter evening, they produced a very splendid effect. The pulpit and desk, both covered with velvet of so deep a green as to be almost black, were built of oak, upon one of the pillars on the south side of the middle aisle, and were ornamented with elaborate

¹ "Ye Magistrates and Counsell have dispoit to yair well belovit Andrew Cowper, glasin wright and master-cunner, all and haill ye biggin, whilk ye said Andro presentlie occupies, by and on ye south-east end of yair new flesch-house, with free iah and entre yairto, for all ye dayis and space of ye said Androwis lyf-time, bott ony revocatioun; for ye whilk ye said Androw Cowpr has acht himself, now, presentlie to mend and repair ye haill glass woundouks of ye said Parochie Kirk of yis burgh, and mak ye samen sufficient, and alsua sall uphald ye samen during his lyfetime, providing giff ye said Andro can try ony persoun breken ye said glass windouks, or ony bairnis of yis burgh reckialie duing ye samen, or wil-fulie, yat ye said bairnis sall recompense and pay to ye said Andro ye hail of ye skayth; and alsua the said Andro sall attend ye Artailrye of his burgh in vaing yearoff, quhen tym necessar sall chance, and yis lugeing above written to be maill are to ye said Andro dursing ye space forsaid."—(MS. Head Court Minute, 28th Aug., 1566.

carvings—chiefly flower pieces, and these principally roses, in all stages of growth, from the bud to the full-blown flower, all of which were extremely beautiful. The octagonal canopy of the pulpit was particularly fine, and was much and justly admired. The whole was the work of a native artist, Mr Bruce, who spent two years in executing them. This pulpit was erected about 1731, and at the same time the church was seated with fixed desks or pews—forms, stools, and such like moveable seats having been previously used. The old pulpit, with its appurtenances, was sold to the Scots Episcopal congregation, and was fitted up in St Paul's Chapel in Castle Street. The pews which belonged to the Incorporations were marked with their symbols or armorial ensigns, but only two of the shields were accompanied with devices—the Bakers and Coopers; the former having “*FLORIANI PISTORES*,” and “*PRAISE GOD FOR ALL*,” and the latter “*CIRCUMEUNDO VINCI*.” The gallery in the east end, appropriated to the use of the Magistrates and Council, which stretched across the middle aisle, was marked in the centre panel of its finely carved front thus—“*FOR PROVEST, BAILZIES, AND COUNSEL, 1621*,” along with the arms of the town in bold relief. This gallery, until the year 1826, was covered with a coarse woollen carpet, which then gave place to a covering of velvet, similar to that on the pulpit, and just so deep as not to obstruct the view of the carvings. Previous to the same year also, the access to this gallery, and that of the Hammermen in St Andrew's aisle, was by a broad clumsy stair on the outside of the church, which was dignified with the high sounding name of the “King's Stair,” derived from Charles II., who attended divine service in this Church while he resided in the town, before his march to and defeat at Worcester. Part of the accommodation, being the front pews in the west gallery,—which like the eastern, stretched across the middle aisle,—was the property of the Incorporation of Bonnetmakers, according to the following quaint inscription, which was on a large board bearing three “blue bonnets” with red rims, and other symbols of the Trade, fixed to the south wall, adjoining the pews:—

THIS IS THE BONNETMAKERS SET QUHA LIST TO SPEYR.

There was formerly another gallery above this, which was taken down in or shortly before 1790; and below it, in the area of the church, there was one, if not two, pews which belonged to an ancient family of Abercrombie of Pitalpin, and were erected by Captain Andrew Abercrombie.

the date, 1620, upon a small pillar which stood at the entrance of one of the pews, a few feet within the north door of the Church.

Before the abrogation of the ancient ecclesiastical establishment, this part of the original building contained the high or chief altar, and the *choir*, whence it was appropriated to the celebration of the grandest rites of the Catholic communion. Its length was 95 feet, the width of the middle span 25 feet, and of the lateral aisles $16\frac{1}{2}$ feet, making an aggregate width of 58 feet.

The Chapter-house or Session-house.—Behind the East Church there was a strong rectangular building, within which the Parochial Kirk-session and the Presbytery of the bounds held their meetings. This building was divided into two floors by a groined vault. The lower apartment, which communicated with the church by a low pointed-arched doorway, was the place in which, before the Reformation, the members of the chantry and the other priests belonging to the church assembled to transact their several affairs. The upper apartment, to which there was access from the lower by a very narrow staircase, erected in 1826, but, before that time, from the outside of the building, was thought to have been used in ancient times as a penitentiary, or place of durance, for such persons as brought themselves under the ban of the Church by their irregular conduct. The lower, and larger apartment, or Session-house, as it was called, was considered as having been the confessional; but it would rather seem to have been the capitular hall of the Church and choristers, where they met in chapter when their affairs required attention. Whether the upper apartment, which had a low stone bench carried round it, had ever been used as a place of restraint in the Catholic times is not easy to say, as it rather appears to have been a record room. It is certain that, under the first Reformed Establishment, it, as well as the Steeple, was used as a place of punishment for those convicted of immorality, and for setting at nought the statutes of the "ecclesiastical magistrates." Having, at some early period, been found inconvenient, from the lowness of the roof, or some such cause, an addition was made to the elevation of the walls, which were covered with a stone arch, and above that with a sloping roof of flag slates. Even with this accommodation it was still found incommodious, and another, much less in capacity, but more convenient perhaps in point of position, was, as we have already seen, ordered to be erected at the south-east angle of the church, above St Andrew's aisle. In the same angle there was a slender octagonal

tower, covered with a stone spire, between forty and fifty feet in height. This tower contained a staircase, by which inveterate transgressors of the rules of decorum were conveyed to the prison, and thence to the leads of the aisle, to do penance in the fashion of Paul Methven, or in any other approved method, their necks being encircled by the clasps of the iron "jouggis" or "chokes," a ring for fixing these being found at each of the clerestory windows. The prison was taken down in 1826, and more appropriate embellishments were substituted in its place. Upon a spur that supported one of the cupples of the roof the arms of the Guildry were rudely *screeved*, bearing the date 1610. Under the shield, the word IVLLIOZ was placed, and below that I. AVGS, but in much larger letters. What these words signify we do not pretend to say, unless that the first may be supposed to be July 2, the the figure 2 being anciently represented by z; and the second to be 1st August, indicating a space of time more than sufficient for the erection of the prison. We consider the erection of the Session-house to date no higher than the establishment of the chantry, and to have been built by Lord Crawford for the use of the members of his foundation.

It may be interesting to state that George, second Earl of Panmure, having died at Edinburgh, on the 24th March, 1671, his remains were brought for interment at Panbride, and lay some days in this apartment. At the meeting of Town Council, 18th April, 1671, a letter was read from George, third Earl, inviting the magistrates and "neighbours," that is, the burgesses, to the funeral, and requesting liberty to entertain the invited in the Council-house and outer Tol-booth; and, also, that the body should remain in the Vestry of the East Church till the day of burial. Again, on the 9th of May, the Council, in consideration that his Lordship's remains were to be brought to Dundee that day, authorised the Provost to order as many "great gunnes" to be fired as he should think fit, and the same to be done on the day of the funeral.

The Vestry and Library.—At the west end of the south aisle of the East Church there was a small apartment, the dimensions of which were similar to those of St Andrew's aisle at the east end. In this apartment the clergymen who officiated in the East and South Churches assembled before and after service; and it contained a library of nearly eighteen hundred volumes, among which there were many rare and curious works, some of them being as old as the invention of printing by moveable types. The older books were in their original oaken .

bindings, literally in *boards*, and many of them bore to have been repaired by William Christison, the second reformed minister of the town and parish, who died about 1590, which gives a considerable antiquity to the library, and evidently shows that its formation belonged to the ancient Church and the Catholic clergy. The knowledge of its existence did not extend to many beyond the lay and clerical members of the Kirk-session; and few besides them, it is believed, took the trouble to inquire into the nature of its contents. The original founder, and time of foundation of the library, are equally unknown, and will in all probability remain so. All that can at the present time be advanced with certainty concerning it is, that, by act of Head Court, dated 6th March, 1636, entitled "Anent the Librarie," the Kirkmaster, and (as we understand) the parish minister, both for the time, were joint librarians—that the Magistrates and Town Council were patrons and visitors—that in former times it was open to the inhabitants at large, upon leaving a pledge of security that the books should not be injured—and that, in 1834 or 1835, or, perhaps, both years, there were some very acrimonious and unseemly disputes concerning it between the Town Council and the Kirk-session, which the destructive fire of 1841 for ever silenced, there being not twenty volumes saved.

Ancient Monuments,—Near the north-east corner of the wall that encircles the churches, and immediately behind the East Church, there are two large ancient monuments built in the wall, which, about the year 1821, were dug up beside or from under the old Session-house. One of them apparently has been the lid or cover of a stone coffin, the other is flat, and had an inscription in Saxo-Roman characters, thus :—

"† HIC: IACET: VLELMVS: DICTVS: LONGVS: CIVIS: ANIMVM: REQUIESCAT: IN:
PACE: —†."

It would be idle as well as useless to inquire who this "William," called the "Long," was, though it has been said that an age of about a thousand years may be ascribed to the monument, but this is out of the question; and, as we are precluded from entering into a disquisition on the point, we shall only call attention to the other relics of antiquity that the preparations for building the new church brought to notice, coupled with some previous matters.

The first of these to which we refer is an old monument, in the form of the cover of a stone coffin, hewn into three panels, which was dug up while a drain was constructing at the north side of the old

East Church in 1838. The centre panel bears the standard of the cross, the head of which, at the top of the stone, is contained within a circle, and is handsomely ornamented. Upon the standard, and immediately under the circle, a large escutcheon bearing three shields of the arms of the family of Hay is placed. On the left panel a sword is represented, whilst the right is inscribed as follows, in old Saxon characters, slightly cut in :—

"*HIC. IACET. IOHANNES. FILIVS. PHILIPPI. CIESORIA.*"

[Here lies John the son of Philip Ciasoria.]

This last name, as well as its connection with that of Hay, is unknown, but it is undoubtedly a proper, though now, perhaps, an extinct family name. The Hays of Errol can be traced to the Anglo-Norman barons who came to England with the Conqueror; and a branch of the family possessed the lands of Dronley from the 15th century downwards. To one or other of these branches the individual here referred to may have been connected by marriage. Along with the monument bearing the above inscription, a few silver pennies, a coffin breastplate, about sixteen inches by twelve, a short sword, the blade of which was twenty inches and a half long, and two inches broad at the broadest part near the point, the hilt five inches and a half, and the cross four inches long and one thick, were also found, with various fragments of arms, among them a two-handed sword, very much decayed. All these relics were picked up and carried away by parties who attended the operation of making the drain, in expectation of something curious being discovered.

In excavating the foundation for the new East Church in 1842, a number of other monuments, variously sculptured, and a very large freestone coffin, formed of one block, and hollowed out to the size and figure of the body which it had contained, were dug up. Some of these monuments were small, but they bore crosses tastefully executed, and some of the large ones had the same emblem elaborately finished. One bore a pair of woolcomber's sheers; and another, which still remains and is in good preservation, has a kind of ship, with a beautiful cross for a mast; on the left side of which there is a bear attempting to ascend the rigging, and on the other side there is a figure somewhat resembling a hand, but very much decayed. Above the bear there is a hand in the act of drawing a sword, a small part of the blade of which is seen; and close to this, but on the very verge of the monument, an old-fashioned hatchet is represented.

A very few of these monuments bore inscriptions. On one there was

"HIC IACET RANVLPEVS CIVIS DE DVNDE ORATE PRO ME IESV."¹

Another had

"HIC IACET WLL GD CIVIS DE ——— KWAAT I H S."

A third had, in Saxon characters,

"ORA PRO ANIM. MATILD FILIA THOMA."

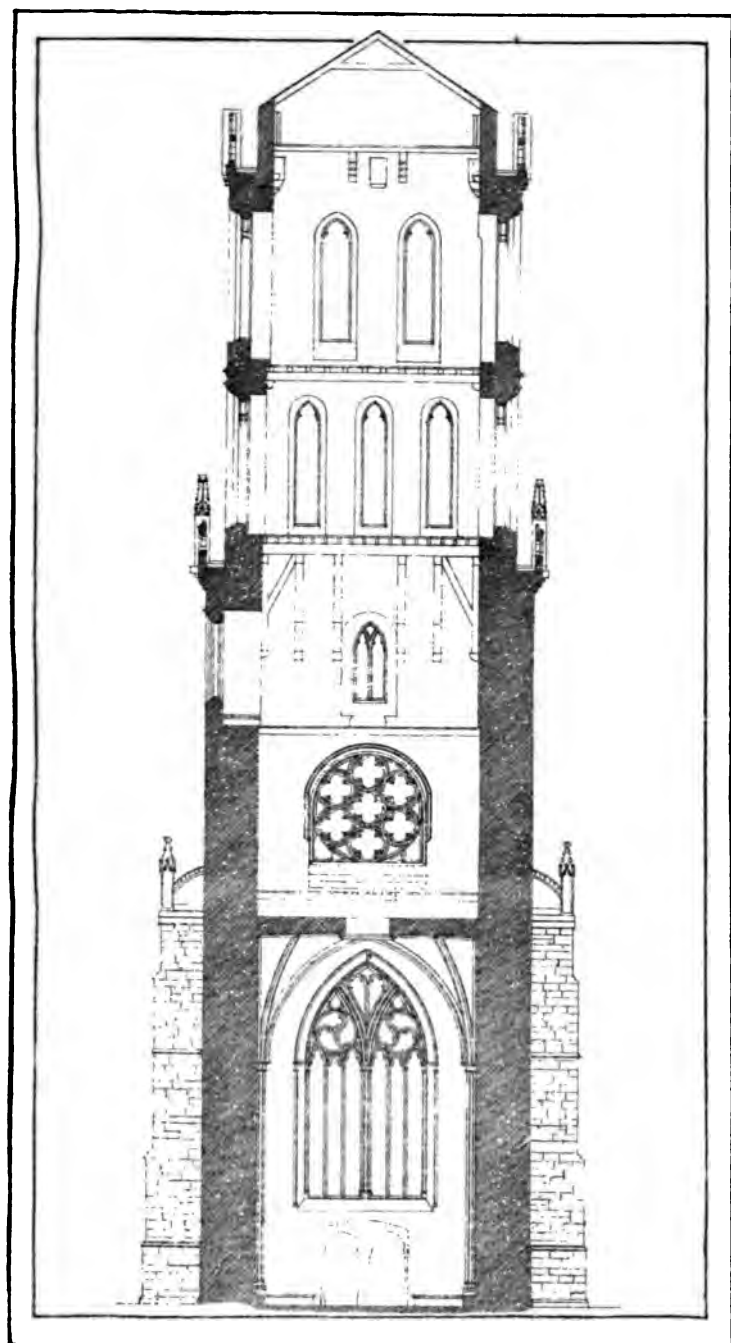
There was a large flat blue stone with an inscription, in italic characters, but so faintly cut in that only an occasional word could be distinguished. This monument would seem to be, from the character of the inscription, not much older than the Reformation in 1560.

THE TRANSEPT

Or cross part of the original building was 174 feet in length, 44 in breadth, and of uniform height with the other parts, namely, 54 feet. It had no aisles, and, in the ancient edifice, it would contain the baptistry, confessional, &c. In many contemporaneous buildings, a low tower marked the intersection of the transept with the nave and choir; but whether St Mary's ever possessed such a feature is doubtful. When separate places of worship came to be formed, the arches leading to the nave and choir were built up, and the transept itself was again divided to form two churches, the northern arm being distinguished as the Cross, and the other as the South Church. At the Reformation, however, it would appear that the transept was, as it now is, used as one place of worship, and called the Cross Church; for a Council minute of 1582 orders collections "for bigging the Croce Kirk." It had apparently remained till that time in the ruinous state to which it is said to have been reduced by Edward I. in 1303, but more probably by the English in 1547, when they burned the town, and gave Balmerino Abbey, and all churches and religious houses they could reach, to the flames. We next find it thus referred to in the minutes of the Head Court:—

"17th Jan., 1588. Quhilk day the bailleis and counsall being conuenit within the counsal-hous, hes, with advyses of the dekynis of craftis, concludit with commune consent that the Croce Kirk sall be buildit and repairit with all possible diligence, and that ane maister of wark

¹ This was probably the Sir Ralph of Dundee, who, at the close of the 13th century, held the lands of Benvie, Balruddery, and others, which the family retained until 1368; and if so, may be regarded as among the oldest of our monumental fragments.



- SECTION TO THE WEST -

sall be nominat & electit thairto—viz., Johne traill, quha is nominat be commune suffrage to that effect; & for the present it is condescendit to that ane taxatioun of 500 merkis sall be liftit vniversallie of all inhabitants of this burgh, bot exceptioun of persouns, in respect of the necessitie and gudeness of the wark, and lyikwayis that the hail vnlawis that sall happine to be vpliftit of ony nychtbouris of this burgh being convict in ony penalties contenit in the actis, sall be applyit to the help and reparatioun of the kirk."

This effort was successful, to the extent of rebuilding the west wall of the north transept, and restoring the roof; but the work, as may be surmised from the difficulty of raising funds, was of a mean description, the walls being built of common rubble work, and the four windows inserted of various dimensions. Two years after, we find a minister installed, and the succession has since been continued, as appears from the following list of incumbents:—

Admitted. SOUTH CHURCH or SECOND CHARGE.

- 1590...JAMES ROBERTSON, A.M.—first minister, stipend £44 8s. 4d.
- 1626...JOHN DUNCANSON, A.M.

(Church destroyed by fire 1645.)

- 1658...GEORGE MARTINE, A.M.—Principal Old College, St Andrews.
- 19th Sept. 1661...ALEX. MILNE, A.M.—ancestor of the Milnes of Mylnefield.
- 14th March, 1667...JOHN GUTHRIE, A.M.
- 14th June, 1686 { ROBERT NORRIE, A.M.—deprived 1689, and deposed for dis-
loyalty 1716.
- 1690...GEORGE ANDERSON, A.M.
- 6th August, 1691...JOHN SPALDING, A.M.
- 27th August, 1700...JOHN DALGLEISH, A.M.
- 6th Sept. 1716...JOHN WILLISON, A.M.—author of numerous works.
- 1st August, 1751...GERSHAM CARMICHAEL.
- 3d August, 1763...ALEXANDER FERRIAR, A.M.
- 20th June, 1765...WILLIAM BISSET, A.M.
- 10th Nov. 1774...JOHN SNODGRASS, A.M.
- 18th July, 1782...DAVID DAVIDSON—had D.D. 1810.
- 12th Oct. 1826...CHARLES ADIE—had D.D. 1833; translated to St Mary's 1869.
- 9th May, 1850...ANDREW TAYLOR, D.D.

The cure of the South Church was subsequently served by a senior and junior clergyman, making it a collegiate charge—the former being the vicar, as the minister of the East Church is the parson of the parish. The Junior or THIRD CHARGE was erected in 1609, and

appropriated to St Paul's Church in 1836. The following list of incumbents is here given :—

- 1611...WILLIAM WEDDERBURN, A.M.
 1620...COLIN CAMPBELL, A.M.
 1641...JOHN ROBERTSON, A.M.—taken prisoner at siege, 1651.
 1662...WILLIAM RAITT, A.M.—Principal King's College, Aberdeen.
 1682...ROBERT RAITT, A.M.—deprived for disloyalty 1689.
 1691...WILLIAM MITCHELL.
 1713...ROBERT KINLOCH, A.M.
 1729...JAMES MONRO.
 1745...JOHN GELLATLY.
 1759...JAMES BALLINGALL, D.D.
 1808...JOHN ANDERSON.
 1806...ARCHIBALD M'LACHLAN—translated to First Charge 1808.
 1808...PATRICK MACVICAR—had D.D. 1807.
 1836...DAVID ARNOT—had D.D. 1843 ; translated to High Church, Edinburgh.
 1845...JOHN TULLOCH, D.D.—afterwards Principal of St Mary's, St Andrews.

One of the principal contributors to the re-edification of the South Church, in 1588, was Captain Henry Lyell of Blackness, on whose monument, in the east wall, an inscription bore that he had the merit of the whole. It is said that the whole transept was roofed with timbers removed from the Abbey Church of Balmerino, and that these oaken rafters did duty a third time in covering the old Parish Church of Monifieth.¹

A very large extent of the accommodation here, as in the East Church, was corporation and private property—the pews of the incorporations, with the exception of those belonging to the Guildry, being pointed out by their armorial ensigns and dates. Under the north gallery, and along the east wall, there was a long series of pews the property of the Corporation of the Shoemakers, marked on one of the seats in low relieved characters—"HIE SITS THE CORDNARS." These seats were fitted up before 1650 by the members of the Corporation, 58 in number, who voluntarily assessed themselves in sums varying from £1 10s. to £11 Scots, the whole amount being £222 4s. Scots. The fleshers and bakers also sat in this church, the former having painted upon the front of their loft the appropriate text—"MAN SHALL NOT LIVE BY BREAD ALONE ;" while their neighbours, the bakers, asserted their importance by an equally apt quotation—"BREAD IS THE STAFF OF

¹ Mr Campbell, in his *Balmerino and its Abbey*, p. 147, rather supports this statement, which nevertheless is open to doubt.

LIFE. On the south side of the pulpit, and stretching along the east wall to the south end of the church, there was a series of nineteen or twenty pews belonging to the Fraternity of Seamen, marked with a large and beautifully carved figure of a ship under sail, well manned and armed, all in very bold relief, such as is represented in sea paintings of sea pieces of the old school. This was the first property in the churches acquired by the Fraternity, and the expense of fitting up the space with seats, which occurred soon after the burning of the churches in 1645, was defrayed by a tax of 6d. per pound on the wages of seamen belonging to the port, and 8d. per pound on the wages of stranger seamen resorting to the same. On the southern pillar of the arches in the western wall there was inscribed—"MASTER JOHN WEDERBURN OF BLACKNESS, 1667," accompanied with his arms; and on the northern pillar—"..... PROVEST, BAILLIES, AND COUNSEL, 1653." On the south side of the pillar, the ensigns of the Corporation of Fleshers were placed, which covered the beginning of the inscription, and which most likely had been the word "FOR." The pillar thus marked appears to have been erected for, and used by the Magistrates and Council, during the time Charles II. resided in the town, and also during the partial establishment of Episcopacy; for, though the date 1621 was on the front of the gallery of the East Church appropriated to them, it is probably they had not uniformly used it till the final establishment of Presbyterianism, after the Revolution in 1688, at which time the altar and other Episcopal appointments were removed.

This church, like the Cross Church, both before and after being roofed in 1598, was used for interments; this appearing to have been applied chiefly as a place of sepulture for the ministers, and the more respectable and wealthy class of citizens. The following are the inscriptions which possessed any general interest:—

I.—*Captain Henry Lyell of Blackness.*

"*Rez. ad opus. templi. Salomoni misit. Hiramva.
Ligna. Tyro. triticum. pactva. multum. rogata.
Qui. sub. rege. merces. dux. ferrum. gratis. & vlti.
Transmittis. templo. instaurabo. Henrici. Lyelle.
Qvina. qvater. Tyrio. Salomo. dedit. oppida. regi.
Qvam. qvinia. qvaterine. fvlt. tr. plvria. es. vnus.*"

[To Sol'mon's Temple King Hiram sent from Tyre
Fine Cedar-wood, but upon great desire;
This Church, thou HENRY LYTELL, to repair

Did freely give all that was necessar ;
 Tho' the Tyrian King gave Sol'mon towns twice ten,—
 Thou greater than these both ! and best of men.]¹

The armorial bearings that adjoined this inscription were, a cross cantoned with four crosses pateé ; the crest of a unicorn's head coupéd, with the device, AT. AL. TIMES. GOD. ME. DEFEND. On a label between the helmet and shield there was inscribed—O. HENDRI LYEL.

II.—*Provost James Hallyburton.*

The place where this gentleman was interred was unknown till the time the church was repaired in 1827, when his grave, with a chest-formed monument, richly ornamented with coats of arms and other devices, was discovered on the 17th October in that year, under the floor of the *lateran*, immediately before the window on the north side of the pulpit. Before the new floor was laid down, the monument was placed close to the wall under the window, but the whole was destroyed by the fire of 1841. The following inscription was on the cover:—

"Hic. sitva. est. Iacobva. Halybvrtonva. patrvis. nobilis. viri Georgii. Halybvrton. de. Petevr. Militis. qvi. Præfectvram. Deidoni. vrbauvm. favciter. annos. 33. gessit. obiit. anno. Dom. 1588. ætatis. svæ. 70.

"Alecti. Præfect. Patrias. Vindex. Pvpili. Tvtor. Ecclesias. Iesv. Alvmva. fvit."

[Here lies James Hallyburton, uncle of a noble man, George Hallyburton of Pitcur, Knt., who for thirty-three years happily administered the office of Provost within the town of Dundee. He died in the year of the Lord 1588, and of his age 70.

Provost of Dundee, Defender of his Country, Protector of the Orphan, and a Son of the Church of Jesus.]

III.—*Andrew Fletcher.*

This gentleman's monument, a flat slab, lay in the area of the church, and was inscribed thus:—

"Memoriae. Andreae. Fletcheri. mercatoris. & civis. primario. vrbis. Deidona. in. testimonivm. svæ pietatis Robertva. Magister. David. & Magister.

¹ "Theater of Mortality"—a curious collection of epitaphs from the principal burying-grounds in Scotland, by Mr Robert Monteath, Edinburgh, 2 vols., 1704 and 1713 ; republished in 1 vol., Glasgow, 1834.

Ionnes. filii. hoc. monvment. caedendvm. cvrabant. obiit. nonis. Ivnii. anno. aerae. Christianae. 1637. etatis. suae. 71.

"Hic. ossa. &. cineres. iacent. marmora. quasqve.

exvivas. mortis. vir. trvclenta. rapit.

Fama. decva. virtus. non. depopvlando. sepulchris.

Haec. reliqva. in. terris. sunt. monvmenta. tvi."

[To the memory of Andrew Fletcher, merchant and worthy citizen of the city of Dundee, in testimony of their affection, Robert, Mr David, and Mr John, his sons, caused this monument to be erected. He died 9th June, in the year of the Christian era 1637, and of his age 71.

Thy bones and ashes lie beneath this stone,
And all the spoils death could triumph upon;
Thy fame and praise, thy virtue cannot die,
These upon earth stand monuments of thee.]

IV.—*Rev. Thomas Davidson.*

The following inscription was on an elegant tablet of white marble, surrounded with a broad border of veined black marble, with a neat globular urn surmounting the circular head of the tablet. The whole was inserted in the wall, high above the middle of the line of pews belonging to the Seamen Fraternity, on the south side of the pulpit; and all shared the common fate in 1841.

"Near this place is deposited the mortal part of Mr Thomas Davidson, a faithful minister of Jesus Christ, first at Stirling Castle, then at Whitekirk in East Lothian, and afterwards nearly thirty years in this city. His manners were easy and gentle, his temper serene and benevolent, his piety fervent and sincere, his labours in the service of his Great Master unwearied. He exchanged this mortal life for immortality November xxviith, M.D.CCLX., aged LXXXII. His eldest son, William Davidson of Rotterdam, to perpetuate his memory, caused this monument to be erected.

In clearing out the ruins, preparatory to commencing the building of the new church in autumn 1845, a large flat stone was found in the area, immediately in front of the monument in the wall. This stone was wholly covered with the following obituary notices:—

"Here lieth the Revd. Samuel Johnston, late minister of the Gospel in Dundee, who died the 24th of February, 1731, in the 77th year of his age.

"Here also interred is the Revd. Mr John Willison, minister of the Gospel in Dundee, who died on the 3d day of May, 1750, in the 70th year of his age, having been 13 years minister in Brechin, and 34 in Dundee.

"In the same place lieth the Revd. Mr Thomas Davidson, who, having been 19 years minister of the Gospel at Whitekirk, and 28 at Dundee, died there on the 17th of November, 1760, aged 84 years.

"*Likewise* under this stone are deposited the remains of the Revd. Mr Alex.

ander Ferrier, who was born at Largo November 19th, 1728, ordained minister of the Gospel in the Dissenting Congregation at Alnwick, Novr. 5th, 1755, translated to Oxnam Septr. 21st, 1758, and from thence to Dundee August 4th, 1763, and who died October 29th, 1764, aged 35 years."

V.—*Rev. James Robertson.*

After the rubbish caused by the burning was partially cleared away, a few fragments of flat monuments were found. On one the arms of Robertson, three boars' heads erased, and those of Scrymgeour, a lion rampant, holding a scymeter in his dexter paw, were represented on two separate shields. The dexter shield was accompanied with the initials, M. R., being those of Mr James Robertson, the first minister of the South Church, and who died about 1623. The left shield bore the arms of his wife. All that remained of the inscription was—

* * *
 tv intestm
 no sacrum
 LII anno Dom. 16., ætatis sue 68.
 * * *

VI.—*Rev. Colin Campbell.*

On another fragment there were also two shields, the dexter one containing the gyron, lymphad, and chequé escutcheons of the armorial bearings of Campbell, with the initials M. C. C., and the same interlaced in cypher, being those of Mr Colin Campbell, the second incumbent of the Third Charge. The other shield bore the three escutcheons of Hay, the name of Mrs Campbell, the shield being flanked with an ox-yoke on each side. All that remained of the inscription was—

* * *
 vi. et. annos. 3
 lo Pastori. vic
 * * *

VII.—*A third fragment, of Balguy stone, bore.*

* * *
 Alex Watson
 et
 Jacobi Watson ejud
 Caetera vict
 Disce ex vicina lu
 * * *

The extremely shattered condition of this stone prevented the knowledge who Alexander Watson was ; but, from the fact of it being within the church, we consider him to have been the Provost after the middle of the 17th century, who purchased the lands of Wallace Craigie in 1672.

CROSS CHURCH, or FOURTH CHARGE, now ST. JOHN'S.

Of this division of the old church there is little to record. In 1645, it was destroyed by fire, and, while in a ruinous state, was occupied in 1651 as a stable by the cavalry under General Monk, and again, in 1745, by those of the Pretender. It was repaired and fitted up for divine service in 1759, and erected into a Fourth Charge by the Court of Teinds 23d July, 1788. In 1830, its internal arrangements were altered, and the capacity of the church enlarged by the erection of an aisle on the west side. Like the East Church, this one had a secondary gallery in the south end until 1823—a lofty, dark, and unfrequented region, accessible only by the same steep and gloomy staircase that communicated with its neighbour “cock-loft” in the East Church. The ministers of this charge have been the following :—

1759...ROBERT SMALL—translated to East Church 1761.

1761...JAMES THOMSON—resigned 1785.¹

1789—WILLIAM REID.

1795...PATRICK MACVICAR—translated to East Church 1808.

1809...ALEXANDER PETERS, D.D.

1834...JOHN ROXBURGH, D.D.—joined F.C. 1843.

1844...JOHN ANDERSON—translated to Perth.

1846...ANDREW JOHNSTON—translated to Paisley.

1847...JAMES CAESAR—translated to Panbride.

1851...PETER GRANT, D.D.

¹ On his resignation, Mr Thomson emigrated to America, whence, after the lapse of a few years, he returned, and was again, as is said, installed for a short time in his former cure of this church. This gentleman was rather eccentric, if not unsound in mind ; and latterly, he published a book of a very extraordinary nature, under the title of “Charles and Alectum,” purporting to be an account of his life, trials, and experiences. In this book, among other things, he inveighs bitterly against the Magistrates, and particularly against Provost John Pitcairn, for their unchristian usage of him, severely reproaching the Provost for sending a whole company of soldiers to annoy him, by exercising them in his dining-room, in the old hospital, at the foot of South Tay Street, where he lived. It is said the last time this gentleman preached in this church, which was the last time he ever preached, a black cat walked several times before him round the pulpit. This, of course, as a man of his temperament would judge, he considered to be the devil come to put an end to his usefulness, as it certainly put an unceremonious end to his sermon.

THE STEEPLE OF ST. CLEMENT'S CHURCH—FIFTH CHARGE.

This occupies what formed the nave or western division of the ancient structure, and measured 120 feet in length, 68 in width, of which the centre was 40, and two side angles each 14 feet—and 54 feet in height from the floor to apex of roof. The present edifice—a comparatively modern, and by no means attractive building—was erected in 1789, the charge having been erected into a stipendiary of the Establishment by the Court of Teinds, 23d July, 1788. Its ministers have been—

1789....JOHN ANDERSON.

1805....ARCHIBALD MACLACHLAN—translated to East Church 1808.

1806....JAMES THOMSON, A.M.

1858....JAMES DODDS—translated to St Stephen's, Glasgow.

1861....ROBERT SMITH.

1864....JAMES MACKAY, Assistant ; and Successor, 10th June, 1868.

DESTRUCTION OF THE CHURCHES BY FIRE.

The descriptions which we have given apply to the four churches as they existed until 1841. In the early morning of Sunday the 3d January in that year, the inhabitants were roused by the bells pealing the alarm of fire, and, when they hurried by hundreds to the spot, it became too apparent that the time-honoured structures, which had become dear to our citizens as the temples in which their forefathers had for centuries observed the ordinances of religion, were inevitably doomed to destruction. By six o'clock of that winter morning, the conflagration, which originated in the South Church, was at its height, the three churches, from base to pinnacle, being one huge mass of fire. The lurid glare of the flames, as they enveloped the roofs, and shot up at times with fiery peaks into the sky, rendered the sight one of weird grandeur, such as can never be forgotten by those who witnessed, in sad and fearful expectancy, the awful fury of the devouring element. As the masses of roof fell crashing into the body of the building, the raging violence of the flames increased tenfold, and seemed to mock the impotence of human effort to arrest the work of devastation. From the back of the edifice, the volume of fire, gathering still fiercer energy, moved towards the front, shrouded in dense clouds of smoke, through which the livid flames shone in gloomy but portentous splendour. After a moment of suspense, the flames burst with irresistible

fury through the beautiful Gothic window facing the street, in an immense mass of inconceivable brilliancy, carrying with it every portion of mason work, the glass having been previously destroyed. At this moment the scene was truly sublime. The assembled populace were driven back from the fire by the intensity of the heat, and looked on with mingled feelings of awe and apprehension. At this fearful crisis every hope of saving any portion of the edifice seemed, by common consent, to be abandoned. For an instant, every exertion of the firemen was paralysed, and the groups, huddled together in the streets, looked on in silence, subdued by the grandeur of the scene. Their sympathies were then painfully excited by observing fitful gleams shoot through the body of the East Church, the fatal precursors of its destruction. The Cross Church was already enveloped in flames when this venerable relic of antiquity caught fire. The crashing of the galleries, as they yielded successively to the flames—the fall of ponderous roofs, which shot volumes of fire into the air, accompanied by dense clouds of embers—the sharp reports from the stones, as they burst from the walls and pillars, resembling the discharge of artillery—and the frequent explosions which proceeded from the base of the buildings, combined to create impressions of the most powerful and extraordinary character.

While all this was progressing below, the ancient Tower, attached to the Steeple Church—the only one not in flames—rose phoenix-like above the sea of fire, the peal of bells in its interior imparting a mournful grandeur to the spectacle. The utmost efforts were made by the firemen to prevent the fire spreading to the Steeple Church, and happily this was effected, and both the Church and Tower were fortunately preserved. The South and Cross Churches were entirely gutted, nothing but the bare exterior walls being left standing, and the Old or East Church was a perfect wreck. The only articles saved were the silver communion service, and the records of the Presbytery of Dundee, which were got out of the room above the Session-house.¹ Much regret was felt at the destruction of the library, composed of ancient works in Greek, Latin, &c., the writings of the Fathers of the Church. The

¹ One of the baptismal silver basins was melted, and only a small part of the fused metal was recovered. Among the very few articles that were saved entire there was one of the old-fashioned, broad, shallow pewter plates, in which the collection was made at the church door. This plate has an inscription round the brim in two lines, with a large space between the words—" *This basin belongeth to the Church of Dundee, which was given be John Pitcairn, merchant, anno 1658.*"

sum of £1000 was insured on each of the churches ; but the damage sustained could not have been less than £15,000, while otherwise the loss was irreparable. The origin of the fire was attributed to the overheating of a stove, situated in a passage between the South and Steeple Churches.

The East or Parish Church was first rebuilt, the foundation-stone having been laid on Her Majesty's birth-day, the 19th May, 1842 ; the new Church opened for worship on Sunday, 10th March, 1844, by the Rev. Dr M'Lachlan. The building, as it now stands, is 88 feet in length, and 66 feet wide, externally ; and consists of a nave of 27 feet, and side aisles of 12 feet clear width. The length is divided into five bays by clustered piers and arches internally, which carry the clere-story and corresponding buttresses on the external walls of the aisles. The roof is open-timbered, and galleries run along the aisles, and across the west end, reached by side-doors and staircases, the main entrance being at the east end, behind the pulpit, an inconvenient arrangement, and one quite at variance with ancient models. The large east window has three divisions filled with stained glass. The north light contains the arms of the Fraternity of Master Seamen (a ship full rigged), and the "GVILDE TAODVNENSIS SIGILLVM." The centre contains the armorial bearings and other emblems of the town of Dundee ; and the south division the arms of the Maltmen, and of the 'Three Trades, with the motto—"TRIA JVNOTA IN VNA." The re-erection of the transept churches was delayed, by diversity of opinion, as to whether one or two should be undertaken. It was finally arranged that only one place of worship, now called the South Church, should be located there. It was commenced in 1846, and opened in the following year. This church measures 109 feet externally, from north to south (being much shorter than the old transept), 40 feet in width at the extremities, and 72 feet in the centre, where it extends westward in line with the Steeple Church, the recess thus formed containing a gallery.

The South and East Churches were designed by the late Mr Burn of Edinburgh. The style is Decorated Gothic, and though the design may not, either in composition or detail, satisfy the exacting criticism now applied to modern Gothic, it must be regarded as a dignified and church-like structure. Now that the western Tower has been restored, the ugly and inappropriate Steeple Church only remains to be assimilated to its style, in order to produce a group which might worthily recal the effect of ancient St Mary's in its pristine grandeur.

THE TOWER.

Having already adverted, in the body of the work, to the incidents associated with the Tower, and discussed its age and general features, we shall now submit such other details regarding it as appear to be worthy recording. It would be interesting to know who designed it, but that question, though often asked, is not so easily answered, being involved in the dubiety which exists as to the precise date of its erection. In the course of a somewhat extensive investigation on this point, however, we have fallen upon what appears to us a probable solution of the question; but it may be as well first to clear the ground of the hypothesis set up by tradition. According to that accommodating, but unreliable authority, the architect or builder was Alan the Dorward, *Hostiarius* or door-keeper to the king, and an ancestor of whom held the lands of Lundie. The story goes that, on the completion of the fabric in 1198, King William was so pleased with it that he presented Dorward with a gold ring; and that, being afterwards engaged in boar-hunting on the Sparrow-muir, now the Hawkhill of Dundee, he there lost the ring, and offered, without success, a handsome reward for its recovery. "That a gold antique ring was found, about the year 1790, while digging the foundations of Heathfield House, on the Hawkhill, is matter of certainty. It is of pure gold, weighs eight pennyweights and seven grains, and is now in the possession of Mr Neish of Laws, who obtained it from Mr Webster of Heathfield. It is ornamented by a beautifully engraved head, representing that of an old man with a crown; and on the breast is a mullet or star of five points. It is impossible to say at what time, or by whom, the ring was worn or dropt; but, in addition to the story of its having belonged to an architect of William the Lion's reign, another version says it was that of the master-mason of David II., and that he received it from that prince, and lost it in the manner related."¹

We have already given the chronological refutation of the story, so far as it associates William the Lion's reign with the erection of St Mary's; but the other suggestion, of David the Second's reign, is more plausible. The latter part of his reign coincides with the style of the Church and Tower; and, on looking into the records of that period, we light upon a master-mason who had then acquired a considerable fame in church-building. This was Sir

¹ Jervise's Memorials, p. 179.

William Dischington, a surname familiarly contracted into Distin, and well known in the east of Fife.¹ We know that Dischington was architect or master-mason of the beautiful church at St Monans,² which agrees completely in style with our Tower, and with the church and steeple at Brechin. Again, it is found that Dischington received, in 1366, from David II., a grant of the mill of Aberlemno, and the adjoining lands of Tillywhandland and Balglassie, together with an annuity from those of Flemington, all lying a few miles westward of Brechin.³ Is it straining probabilities to conclude, that the services for which the king bestowed these substantial rewards were of the architectural kind in which the Fifeshire knight was known to be proficient?

The Tower, as will be seen from the illustrations we give of it, is square throughout, and is in two great stages, each finished by an open quatrefoil parapet, with pinnacles at the angles, and at intervals on each side; the upper parapet having a bold cusped cresting over the coping. The lower stage is 96 feet in height from the floor level to the top of its parapet; from which, to the top of upper cresting, the height is 50 feet. The base measures 40 feet on the side externally; the internal dimension being $26\frac{1}{2}$ feet, diminishing to 25 feet square in the upper or belfry stage. The walls, for some reason or other, differ in thickness, the west being eight feet, while the east is but 6 feet. The lower stage has buttresses at the corners, terminating in diminutive pinnacles, which rise to the height of 57 feet. The buttresses have small canopied niches in the lower stage, which doubtless contained figures; but, being easily reached by the iconoclastic hands of the Reformers, these niches have long been empty. The centre pinnacle of the first parapet contained a figure of the virgin and child, which, being more difficult to reach, has come down to our day, though much decayed by the corroding tooth of time, and has been duly replaced in the recent restoration. Another figure, that of St David, has been placed in a recess on the south front; but why that saint should be pitched upon does not appear, as the probabilities are altogether against

¹ The family held the estate of Ardross, near Elie, in the 15th and 16th centuries. In 1517, Thomas Dischington was captain of the Palace of St Andrews. A couplet from an old ballad relative to Crail runs thus:

“Was you e’re in Crail town?
Saw ye there Clerk Dischington?”

—Anderson’s Scott. Nation, II., page 38.

² Chamberlain Rolls, I. 496, 524. ³ Register Mag. Sig., p. p 44, 121

his association with the edifice, and in favour of St Andrew, the patron Saint of Scotland. On the east side, a few feet above the ridge of the nave, another recess has been filled with an effigy of the Saviour, with still less justification, as the mouldering original, so far as it could be made out, appeared to be rather a coat-of-arms, perhaps the triple-flowered lily of the Virgin, which is known to have been the seal of the Chantry, and eventually became, in the shape of "the pot and lily," the ensign armorial of the town of Dundee.

The grand entrance to the Tower was by the double doorway in the west front, each opening having a round arch, and both embraced in an elliptic arch, enclosed by a square hood—a peculiarly provincial feature. Over the doorway is a noble six-light window, the head of which is filled with simple but effective tracery. This lights the fine entrance hall, which is ceiled by a lofty groined vault, 46 feet above the floor, having a circular opening five feet diameter in the centre, while a corresponding arch on the east side, now built up, formed the entrance to the nave of the Church. Over the large west window there is a rose or wheel window, 13 feet in diameter, filled with quatrefoil tracery hexagonally disposed; and over this again a simple two-light window, remarkable for its dissimilarity from the others as regards mouldings, it having indeed no mouldings on the jambs but simple splay.

The upper stage of Tower is subdivided by a string moulding into two stories, the lower one having grouped windows, three on each side, except the north, where the stair-turret leaves space only for a pair; and similarly, the upper story has a pair of the same style of windows on each of three sides, and one on the northern side. A circular stair, polygonal externally, is placed at the north-east angle of the Tower, entered by a doorway in the corner of the large hall, and to which also access is got from the outside by a door which was broken out at the time the prisoners were transferred from the Town House to the Steeple, before the new Gaol Buildings were erected.

The cape-house, which occupies the summit, has been the object of considerable discussion, and its preservation has even been advocated, as a genuine and appropriate finish to the Tower. That it has no claim to be considered of the same age as the Tower, or part of the original design, is obvious on the most cursory examination. The masonry is of a much later kind, and portions of moulded work are to be seen built into it which were evidently prepared for quite a different purpose, and for which also preparations have been made, near the top of

the Tower walls, by building over the angles, as will be seen on the section here given. This strengthening of the angles, technically called a *squinch*, was provided for carrying a flying buttress on each corner, or some form of lantern or spire, and would never be thought of for a cape-house. Such a house was, without doubt, an after thought, hurriedly put up, as the disposition of the loopholes indicates, for a place of observation; and to be regarded therefore as an excrescence which must be removed, if justice is to be done to the Tower.

The primary purpose of the Tower had doubtless been to serve as a belfry, and accordingly we find early and continuous reference to the bells contained in it. The oldest are the two commonly called the great and the little bell. In the time of the rebellion, in 1745, a large part was broken out of the edge of the former, and a considerable rent made, by a violent ringing to celebrate the arrival of some succours sent from France. It remained in this state till 1819, when it was taken down, sent to London, and re-cast, but of a considerably less size. The names of the Magistrates at the time are round the crown, in Roman capitals, thus :—

“DUNDEE, 1819. PATRICK ANDERSON, PROVOST; DAVID BROWN, DAVID HAZEEL, JAMES GRAY, ARCHIBALD OGILVIE, BAILIES; DAVID-BLAIR, JUNE., DEAN OF GUILD; T. MEARS OF LONDON, FECIT.”

The little bell was also inscribed thus :—

“VERBUM DOMINI MANET IN ETERNUM. ME FECIT J. OVDERBOGGE, ROTTERDAMI, 1693.”

It is probable that the same founders had also originally cast the large bell at the same time.

In 1872, a movement was set on foot to provide, as a sequel to the restoration of the Tower then in progress, a peal of bells worthy of the noble belfry; and, under the energetic superintendence of Mr John Leng, six new bells were provided, through the liberality of individual donors, while a general subscription furnished the means for mounting these in a suitable style. The “old bell,” mentioned above, forms the tenor or eighth of the series, its weight being 20 cwt., diameter 49 inches, note E; but the “little bell,” having been found unsuitable, was re-cast to form the seventh. It now weighs 14 cwt. 1 qr., is 43 inches diameter, and gives the note F sharp. It cost £121 1s. 6d., and bears this inscription :—

DUNDEE, 1872. JAMES YEAMAN, PROVOST; W. BROWNLEE, ALEX. MAXWELL, A. R. MONCUR, G. T. GRAHAM, W. CHALMERS, D. PETRIE, BAILIES; R. MACNAUGHTAN, DEAN OF GUILD; D. MACDONALD, CONV. OF PROPERTY COMMITTEE.

6th.—Weight, 11 cwt. 1 qr. ; 40 ins. diameter ; note G sharp. The gift of John Leng, Esq.—cost £105.

Inscription.—*DRUM LABIS EXULTATIONIS LAUDABIT OS MEUM. DEDICATUM A JOHANNES ET EMILIA LENG, MDCCCLXXII.*

5th.—Weight, 9 cwt. 3 qrs. ; 38 inches diameter ; note A. The gift of Thomas Thornton, Esq.—cost £90.

Inscription.—*HOC DONATUM EST A THOMA THORNTON ET HELENA HEAN EJUS UXORE MORTUA: A.D. MDCCCLXXII.*

4th.—Weight, 8 cwt. ; 34 inches diameter ; note B. The gift of J. W. Thomson, Esq.—cost £75.

Inscription.—*1872: DEDICATED BY J. W. THOMSON TO THE MEMORY OF HIS BELOVED FATHER, THE REV. JAMES THOMSON, MINISTER OF THE STEEPLE CHURCH FOR LIL YEARS. QUIS DESIDERIO SIT PUDOR AUT MODUS TAM CARI CAPITIS!*

3d.—Weight, 7 cwt. ; 32 inches diameter ; note C sharp. The gift of Frank Henderson, Esq.—cost £65.

Inscription.—*IN MEMORIAM HENRICI HENDERSON, IN PACE MDCCCLXXI. EX DONO FRANK HENDERSON, MDCCCLXXII.*

2d.—Weight, 6 cwt. 1 qr. ; 30 inches diameter ; note D sharp. The gift of James Cox, Esq.—cost £60.

Inscription.—*PRESENTED BY JAMES COX OF CLEMENT PARK, FIRST BAILIE OF DUNDEE, AND SENIOR PARTNER OF THE FIRM OF COX BROTHERS, CAMPERDOWN LINEN WORKS, 1871.*

1st.—Weight, 6 cwt. ; 29 inches diameter ; note E. The gift of William Harris, Esq.—cost £56.

Inscription.—*GULIELMUS HARRIS, EX-MERCATORIBUS TAODUNENSIBUS UNUS ET UNUS QUONDAM EX MAGISTRATIBUS HUIC OPPIDO QUO AMICUS HOCCE DONUM DEDIT, MDCCCLXXII.*

The bells were cast by Messrs Mears & Stainbank of Whitechapel, London, and are considered worthy of their reputation. They have been rendered more complete and serviceable by the hand chimes, the cost of which was defrayed by Messrs W. Myles and P. Anderson, which now give the citizens frequent gratification, and form an effective feature when their harmonies are pealed forth on public occasions. The bells were inaugurated and formally handed over to the municipal authorities on the Queen's birth-day, 21st May, 1872 ; on which occasion there was also placed, under the base of the centre shaft of the doorway, a memorial stone, in the cavity of which, besides the usual coins and official lists, the following document was deposited :—

“ On Wednesday, the twenty-first day of May, 1873, in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, being the day fixed by the Magistrates of Dundee for the celebration of the fifty-fourth anniversary of Her Majesty's birth, in presence of the Magistrates and Town Council and others assembled, the contents of this glass bottle were deposited under the middle base

of the doorway of the Tower of St Mary, known as the Old Steeple of Dundee, by James Cox, Esquire, senior partner of the firm of Cox Brothers, manufacturers, Camperdown Linen Works, Lochee and Dundee, and Provost and Chief Magistrate of the Royal Burgh of Dundee.

"A peal of bells, given by subscriptions of individual inhabitants, were this day handed over to the Town Council on behalf of the community.

"According to Boethius, lib. xiii. 275, 276, this Tower was founded by David, Earl of Huntingdon, brother to William First of Scotland, in commemoration of his being saved from shipwreck in sight of Dundee, when returning from the Holy Land, where he had been in the Third Crusade with Richard First of England in 1189.

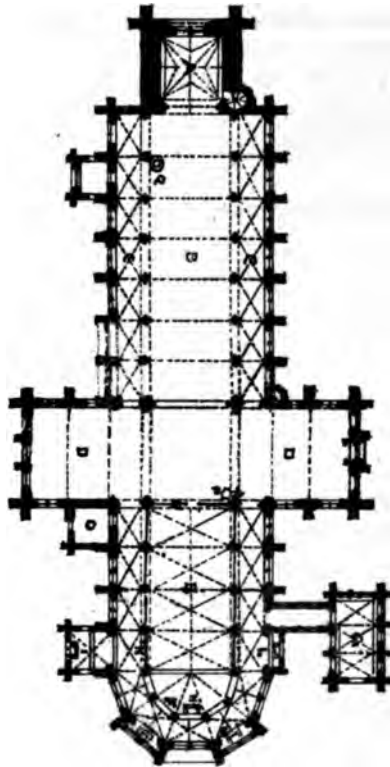
"Having fallen into disrepair, its restoration was undertaken, in 1870, under the superintendence of Sir George Gilbert Scott, architect; and the expense, estimated to be about £8000, was defrayed, partly by subscriptions from the inhabitants, and partly from the funds of the Common Good of the burgh."

CHURCH OF ST. MARY.

References to Plan of original structure, as supposed to have existed in 15th century.

<i>A,</i>	Western Tower (the only portion now entire).
<i>B,</i>	Nave.
<i>C, C,</i>	Aisles.
<i>D,</i>	Transept.
<i>E,</i>	Choir.
<i>F,</i>	Chevet, or Apse.
<i>G,</i>	Chapter House.
<i>H,</i>	High Altar.
<i>I,</i>	St Andrew's Aisle, or Chapel, and Altar.
<i>K,</i>	George Spalding's Tomb.
<i>L,</i>	Altar of All-Saints.
<i>M,</i>	" of the Rood or Holy Cross.
<i>N,</i>	" of the Holy Blood.
<i>O,</i>	Sacristy (†), afterwards the Library.
<i>P,</i>	Pulpit.
	<i>Q,</i> Font. <i>R.</i> Roodscreen.

S. MARY'S CHURCH.



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100

Section III

ANCIENT CHURCHES—ST PAUL—ST CLEMENT—ST JOHN—ST MICHAEL—OUR LADY—ST SALVADOR—ST THOMAS—ST NICHOLAS, ETC. MONASTERIES—GRAY, BLACK, AND RED PRIARS.

BESIDES the altarges and chaplainries which have been already described as founded within the great church of St Mary, there were many others, and a number of chapels throughout the town, which were endowed for secular cle:gy, either by fixed annual rents or the proceeds of lands leased or feued. One of these altars, dedicated to St Margaret, the Queen of Malcolm Canmore, appears to have been of some note ; but it is impossible to say whether it was located within the parish church or in a separate chapel in the town. The advowson of this altar belonged to the Scrymgeours of Dudhope. After the Reformation, the revenues of it were applied to the education of poor and meritorious youths aspiring to the ministry of the Reformed Church—a laudable purpose, to which other revenues of the Romish foundations were frequently applied down to the time of the Revolution. We find a curious notice of one presentation made by Scrymgeour [1562-89] to Erskine of Dun, as “bisshop and superintendent” of the district, in favour of Robert Gray, son of Patrick Gray of Baledgarno, in which the youth is quaintly described as a “scolar of gud injine, liable to encreass in literature and sciences, cuivile and diuine.” The deed then enumerates the houses and gardens situated in Dundee, with their extent and value, the revenues of which Gray was to receive during his lifetime, “to support his burding and expenss at grammar scolis, and scolis of vniversities in his minority, and to by his buiks to help his stude ; to the fine, that he may cum to perfectioun of knowlege, and be plantit in the kirk of God, to maintenn the religioun, and set forth the gospel of Jesus Christ.”¹

Of the other chapels and religious houses scattered throughout the town, it is difficult to give any precise account ; the sites of most of them are matter of conjecture, based upon the names of lanes and streets which exist to the present day, and probably indicate the locality of ancient chapels dedicated to those saints. The following particulars embrace all that is known concerning these minor ecclesiastical antiquities.

¹ “Crawford’s Officers of State,” p. 450-2.

Church of St Paul.

The first church known in Dundee is believed to be that of St Paul, which was situated between the Murraygate and Seagate, nearly opposite the Dog Well, where a small court, opening from the former street, still bears the name of the Apostle. At what time it was erected, in what manner it was endowed, and by whom, are all alike unknown. The place where it stood, and also its burying-ground, have been for many ages occupied with other buildings, in the walls of the oldest of some of which are to be seen niches, fragments of sculptured stones, and pieces of moulding,¹ relics, no doubt, of the desecrated church. This district of the town is the cure of the vicar, or senior minister of the South Church, and hence takes the name of the parish or district of St Paul.

Church of St Clement.

This church, which contained one super-foundation, the altar or chapelry of St Mary, of which nothing is known, stood on the site of the present Town-house. At what time and by whom it was erected are unknown, as are also the erector and date of erection of the included chapelry.² The burying-ground connected with the church,

¹ Within a large timber yard, on the south side of the Seagate, now in part occupied by Gellatly Street, opposite the site of St Paul, there was a large stone which formed the lintel of a lime-shed. Besides other sculptures this stone was inscribed thus, in Roman characters in low relief.

1. Thov. sal. haif. no. vther. Goddis. bot. me. 2. Thov. sal. vorschip. no. gravine. image. 3. Thov. sal. not. sweir. 4. Remember. to. keip. holy. the. Sabothe. day.
15 5. Honvr. thy. father. and. mother. Thov. sal. not. slays. 7. Thov. sal. not. comit. adultere. 8. Thov. sal. not. steal. 9. Thov. sal. bear. no. fals. vitnes. 10. Thov. sal. cowit. no. thing. yt. is. yai. nichbovris.

This cannot be taken as a relic of the demolished church, but rather as an indoor fireside monitor to some staid citizen of the latter end of the sixteenth century.

² The demolition, in 1872, of the buildings behind the Town-house revealed many fragments which might have proved of interest, but no pains were taken to preserve them. We are indebted to Mr Charles S. Lawson for notes of several interesting remains disinterred on this occasion. A capital of a pillar, bearing among the carving two shields, one charged with the Royal Arms of Scotland,

which extended downwards by St Clement's Lane to the sea-shore, and thence westward to Crichton Street, was the common place of interment before the Greyfriars property was granted for that purpose. In 1827, while excavations for buildings on the east side of Crichton Street were being made, several graves were found, and quantities of bones brought to view. In one of Slezers' views of the town, published in 1696, the church is seen towering above the surrounding buildings, and appears to have been at that time a huge oblong structure, with a high steep roof, and a small circular turret, capped with a cone at each of the four corners. When the old Tol-booth or Town-house, in the Seagate, was disused, the Council meetings were held in the vestry of St Clement's Church.

Of the endowments of this church there is no record extant, beyond what is contained in the oldest existing rent-roll of the town's property, which contains only an amount of £21 11s., of which sum £15 and sixteen bolls of victual, partly wheat and partly meal, were drawn from the middle third part of the lands of Craigie, the remainder of the money being small annuals drawn from seven owners of house property in different parts of the town. Besides these sums there was one of five merks, or £3 6s. 8d., which had fallen into arrear, which, added to the above sum, makes the whole money revenue amount to £24 17s. 8d.

The Church of St John the Evangelist, of the Slate Henghis.

This church was situated upon a rock a short distance east of Carolina Port, at about a mile and a quarter nearly from the High Street. Immediately on the north side of its site there is a quarry which seems to have furnished a kind of course flag-slates from a remote period; and hence the designation of the church, "Saint John of the Sklethewchis," or slate quarries, to distinguish it from churches dedicated to the honour and memory of the Evangelist at other places. The time of its erection and the name of its founder are both unknown, neither is there anything certainly known, in so far as we are aware, of its

and the other with those of Joan Beaufort, queen of James I., is of importance as indicating the date of erection to have been in the reign of that monarch (1424-1437). The basis of the main pillars of the church were likewise laid bare, showing circular clustered shafts to have surrounded the centre pier, indicating a style of architecture which bears out the era of its erection suggested by the royal shield. **Ed.**

fixed endowments, beyond what is contained in the ancient rent-rolls of the town's property. These endowments, amounting to the trifling sum of £8 3s. 11d., were derived from seven owners of house property in various parts of the town; but, as the church was a parish church, and as the parish had most likely comprehended the estates of Craigie and Wallace Craigie, the prædial and other ecclesiastical burdens affecting the land would, of course, contribute to make the living at least respectable.

In the course of last century, and perhaps earlier, the churchyard, open and neglected, was used as a place of interment for seafaring people not belonging to the town, for strangers, and for those whom accident or violence brought to a premature end. It was also the family burial place of the Kyds, formerly designed of Craigie, who acquired that estate about or before 1660; and as a place of interment it is still used, particularly by the present family of Craigie (who erected a vault in 1829, at nearly the centre of the ground), and by several other families possessing a right of sepulchre within its precincts, either as feuars of parcels of the lands of Craigie, or by purchase. The area is limited, a large part of the south side having been quarried away many years ago; but what remains is substantially enclosed, and tastefully planted with ornamental trees and shrubs. The church would seem to have stood a few feet to the north-east of Craigie's vault. In digging two graves, in May and June 1844, at that spot, several courses of strong mason-work were dug up, and in no other quarter of the ground was any obstruction of the kind ever met with.

Chapel of Our Lady in the Cowgate.

This chapel is understood to have been situated at the top of Our Lady's Wynd, afterwards called Fintry's Wynd, and now the Sugar-house Wynd, on the south side of the Cowgate. From having been on part of the sites of the building erected many years ago by Mr William Kirkaldy, the chapel would seem to have been on the eastward of the inner wall erected by the French when they fortified the town, the wall being understood to have been carried along the west side of the wynd, as the wynd itself is supposed to have been the bed of the ditch. All that is further known concerning this chapel is a little relative to its revenues, the recorded amount of which is only £9

3s. 4d., accruing from fifteen separate tenements in different parts of the town, the largest payment being "fourtie twa ss.," and the smallest "twelff d." This paltry sum shows that, if the ordinary attenders at the chapel had been deficient in Christian feeling and generosity, it is very clear this amount of endowment would not have kept the chaplain long from starving.

Chapel of St Michael the Archangel.

This chapel was situated within the town residence of the old Earls of Crawford, called the "Earl's Lodging," and consequently was a private family oratory. As the house continued the property of that family from the time of its erection till the forfeiture of Earl Ludowick in 1555, and of Lord Lindsay of the Byres from that date till 1608, when it reverted to the then Lord Crawford, it is therefore manifest that it could not be included in Queen Mary's grant of the religious properties to the town. Though nothing is known of the emoluments of this chapel, nor of the provision for the maintenance of the chaplain, there can be little doubt but that the situation would be desirable, as, before the Reformation, the officiating clergyman may be supposed to have been the Earl's, if not the family-confessor. The "Earl's Lodging" was demolished to make way for Union Street.

Chapel of Our Lady.

Of this chapel there is nothing known further than that it stood at the foot of the Hilltown, near the Lady Well; and being dedicated to the honour of the Virgin Mother, the name had been extended to the fountain, as well as to an adjacent yard, within which the chapel had probably been erected. There is some reason to suppose that a small nunnery existed here, which was dedicated to Our Lady, from which the Lady Well was derived, as, from their detestation of the ancient Church and every thing connected with it, the early reformers were not very particular in their designation of things.

Chapel of St Roque.

This chapel stood without the Cowgate Port, beside the Bitterburn,

between the Den Bridge and the East Port, where a steep lane connecting King Street, the Cowgate, and Seagate, has from it the name of St Roque's Lane, vulgarised into *Semirookie*. It is understood to have been on the east side of the burn, and consequently on the lands of Wallace Craigie, which, at and before the Reformation, were the property of Bruce of Earl's Hall, in the parish of Leuchars; and thus, from being private property, had escaped being conveyed to the town, as its name does not occur in the ancient rent-roll.

There was a burying-ground in the vicinity of the site; but as the place was not far distant (at the Foundry and Whale Lanes, where the town held two acres of ground in connection with a salmon-fishing), from where the booths were erected for the accommodation of those who were infected with the plague in the sixteenth century, it is probable that many, if not all, of such as died of that distemper were buried here. It is also probable that these interments were the cause of a cemetery being here, from the circumstance of the neighbourhood being, in some degree, esteemed consecrated ground by the erection of the chapel; and it is very likely that these were the only interments that had taken place at this spot.¹ The site of the burying-ground is now occupied by Wishart Church and other buildings.

Chapel of St Salvador.

This chapel is mentioned as existing in the reign of Robert II. (who died in 1390), but how long before that age is unknown, nor by whom erected. It was situated on the rocky eminence on the

¹ St Rochus or Roque, to whom the chapel was dedicated, is, according to Hagiology, not very ancient, and, according to the Breviary of Aberdeen, he was a native of Narbonne, and flourished in the fourteenth century. His festival was celebrated on the 2d of August. St Roque was held in great veneration while in life, as well as after his death, for the influence he was supposed to exercise over the ravages of the plague, having completely annihilated that dreadful scourge in many places, as well after his death as when alive. Probably it was from some lingering ideas of this influence being efficacious that the pest-struck inhabitants of Dundee were accommodated near his chapel in 1544, and, at their deaths, interred beside it, or within its precincts. The Breviary of Aberdeen notices that, at his birth, his breast was marked with a cross, and that while an infant he refused to suck his mother's milk while she was observing the fasts of the Church—this infantile discrimination, of course, betokening the austere and religious life he was afterwards to lead.

north side of the High Street and Overgate, where a close or court leading to where it stood bears his name, though the site has been quarried away since 1830. From its proximity to the situation of the palace, which was in the neighbouring court of St Margaret, now the Mint Close, it is not impossible but that it had been an appendage of the *regium donum*; or it may have been erected by some one of the barons of Dundee after the barony came to be divided among different families.

In the reign of Robert II., his nephew, Patrick de Inverpeffer, acquired the lands of the middle third part, or Milltown of Craigie, on the resignation of Alexander Scrymseoure, third constable of Dundee, who immediately conveyed them to this chapel, the grant being confirmed by his cousin, Robert III., in 1309. The grant also contained a gift of the third part (four acres) of the lands of Westfield.

The money revenues, so far as they can be ascertained, amounted to £23 19s. 8d., which were derived from various tenements in the town, but chiefly from nine or ten houses situated on both sides of St Salvador's Close, which are now occupied by the extensive printing, lithographing, and bookbinding establishment of Messrs John Durham & Son. This sum, added to the rents of the land-endowments and donations from pious individuals, would make a living far from despicable in those days, though at the present time the same nominal income would be a very trifle. In ancient times, if some provision was not made by the founder of a chapel, or some other pious individuals, for procuring necessaries, such as lights, wine, &c., for the purposes of the chapel, the incumbent for the time had to defray the expense of procuring them himself, which, in the case of poor livings, which were numerous, would seriously affect their incomes; and although the income of the chaplain of St Salvador appears respectable, it is not unlikely that it has been little more than sufficient for his support.

Chapel of St Thomas the Apostle.

All that is known regarding this chapel is very little, and that little, along with what is known concerning the four immediately following, is contained in the MSS. of Mr David Wedderburn, who flourished in the reign of James VI., and at one time was a member of Town Council. These chapels, as they were the property of the constable,

Sir James Scrymgeour of Dudhope, may have been founded by some of his ancestors, though they are very few, if any, instances recorded of their liberality to the Church ; and such being the case of the propriety of them, these chapels escaped being conveyed to the town at the general spoliation of ecclesiastical property.

This chapel stood to the east of St Salvador's, on the summit of that part of the rock which was quarried to make way for Reform Street.

The revenues of this chapel, according to Mr Wedderburn's book, which is extant, amounted to £39 10s. 6d., arising out of various tenements at different places in the town.

Chapel of St Serf, or Serbanus.

The site of this chapel is unknown. Its recorded revenue amounted to only £4 15s., out of a tenement at the east end of the Tolbooth, in the Seagate.

Chapel of St James the Less.

The situation of this chapel is also unknown, but the record of its income shows an amount of £13 13s. 6d., exclusive of two pounds of wax, all derived from a number of houses in various parts of the town.

Chapel of St Nicolas.

This chapel was situated on the large rock at the Ferry Harbour, which, from the saint, had the name of St Nicolas' Craig, and which was, until some forty years ago, the site of the public Slaughter-house. [This little rocky island has had a changeful ownership : in 1490, it was conveyed to Alexander, master of Crawford, son of the fourth Earl, who held it till the forfeiture of the family, in the middle of the sixteenth century, when it went to Lord Lindsay of the Byres. In 1608, it again reverted to the Crawford family, but soon after passed to Lord Dudhope. At the death of his son, the first and only Earl of Dundee, it was acquired by Maitland of Hatton ; then passed to

Graham of Claverhouse, on whose forfeiture in 1689 it reverted to the king, who bestowed it on the Douglas family.] All that is recorded concerning the revenues of the chapel is an entry in Mr Wedderburn's MSS., dated 31st January, 1594, to the effect that he had summoned William Allardice to the Burgh Court on that day, for payment due to him of twenty shillings, as chaplain of "*St Nic's Chaplenry*," of which Wedderburn held a lease for seven years.

Chapel of St Stephen.

The situation of this chapel is unknown, and all that remains on record concerning its revenues is a memorandum in Mr Wedderburn's MSS., dated 11th November, 1630, that he was to prosecute William Hill, maltman, in the Commissary Court at Brechin, for a debt of £84, besides an annual rent of £4 6s. 8d., due to Mr Wedderburn, as chaplain of St Stephen's Chaplainry, out of his house in the Kirk Wynd, which had not been paid for twenty years, amounting to £86 13s. 4d.

Chapel of St Phyllan.

The situation and date of erection of this chapel are both unknown. That it stood somewhere in the town, and possessed some lands at Seafield, between the Perth Road and the Magdalen Green, is all that can be said relating to it.

Chapel of St James the Greater.

If this had not been a foundation within the Church of the Blessed Virgin (as there is only one recorded to have been within St Clement's Church), its site is unknown; but its founder, whoever he was, endowed it with four acres of land on the south of the orchard of Dudhope, adjoining the Scouringburn.

Chapel of St Glaise.

This chapel stood on the west side of the Thorter Row, at the south part of the Insurance Buildings, and not, as has been erroneously sup-

posed, at the corner of the Overgate and Tally Street. The erector and erection are both unknown, neither is there any record of its endowments extant beyond the mention of two trifling sums, which do not amount to twenty shillings.

Chapel of St Mary.

This was situated about the middle, and on the east side of Couttie's Wynd. About a century ago, a portion of a wall was visible, containing pointed arches in a tolerable state of preservation; but all the memorials of it are now lost.¹

MONASTERIES.

Grey Friars.

Of this, as well as of the other religious fraternities that existed here before and at the epoch of the Reformation, little, beyond the situations which they occupied, remains. The Houff, or Old Burying-ground, was the site of a convent of Grey Franciscan Friars, of that division of the Order called Friars Conventual, or Friars Minor, and of the orchard and garden belonging to it. This house, one of the earliest of such foundations, was erected in or about the year 1260, by the Lady Devorgilla, daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, and granddaughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon, who erected the parish church. She was also mother of John Baliol, who successfully competed for the crown with the elder Bruce.

¹ Besides all these churches and chapels, it may be presumed, from the name of a considerable suburb of the town, at the west end of the Scouringburn, that there had been a chapel there, dedicated to our Lady of Placentia. *Pleasants* or *Pleasantie*, the name of the place, is only a corruption of Placentia, or rather the French reading of the name *Plaisance*. Placentia is a town of considerable note in Italy, in the Duchy of Parma, or *Parma*, as the French call it.

The chief, perhaps the only historical event for which this convent is renowned, is the grand national ecclesiastical Council which was held in the Friary-church in the year 1309, at which a Declaration of the national attachment to Bruce was adopted.¹

Towards the end of the 15th century, a grievous famine afflicted the kingdom; which pressed heavily on all classes, and reduced every one, especially the poorer of the religious orders, to great straits. The brethren of this convent suffered so much, and were reduced to so deplorable a condition, that their situation attracted the attention and aroused the sympathy of Lady Beatrice Douglas, Countess-Dowager of Errol, at that time residing in the town. Her Ladyship generously presented £100 to the Friars in aid of their common funds, and for the necessary repairs of the convent, as, on account of the general poverty caused by the severity of the famine, the brethren were scarcely able to maintain themselves, though they sold and pledged their most valuable effects, even their books and church utensils. The convent buildings had fallen into decay, and had become greatly dilapidated. For this handsome and timely donation from Lady Errol, the Friars bound themselves and their successors "till says or synges a dayly mass perpetually and for evir" for the welfare of the souls of the Countess, her husband, and son. It was also provided that, if the Countess should, as she designed, erect an altar to the "Three Kings of Colan"² within the Friary Church, the said mass should be daily celebrated at that altar, as the indenture between her Ladyship and James Lindsay, Warden or Superior of the convent and General of the Order in Scotland, bears. The capitular deed, signed by all the brethren, fourteen in number, was dated at Dundee, 25th November, 1482, and was confirmed in a general council of the whole Order of the Grey Friars in the kingdom, held in the Franciscan Convent at Lanark, on the 11th July, 1490.

"It is uncertain," says Mr Jervise, "whether this altar was ever raised by the Countess of Errol; but, from the grateful record of the

¹ Given in Appendix, Note B.

² Those are the three Wise Men who visited the infant Saviour at Bethlehem, and who, by the early traditions of the ancient Church, which has fitted them with good European instead of Asiatic names, are accounted kings, and are called *Gaspar*, *Melchior*, and *Balthasar*. In many places altars were dedicated to their honour, particularly at Cullen, whence they were styled the "three kings of Cullen;" but, instead of *Cullen* in Scotland, read *Cologne* in Germany, of which cathedral they were patrons, and where their tombs are shown.

poor Friars, the more generally interesting facts are disclosed, that the Countess made this gift in 1481, which is significantly characterised as a "deir yeir," and that the convent then consisted of at least fourteen Friars and a Warden, the names of whom are also given. To the dearth and famine is perhaps to be attributed the cause of the destitution which prevailed in the convent, for it appears that then provisions were uncommonly high-priced—it being shown by the deed already quoted that "meill gives 24s. ; mawt, 30s. ; beir, 11 merks ; qwhyete, 32s. ; a lytill haddok, 7d. ; a kellin (large codfish), 30d. ; a gallon of hayll, 32d."¹

These are the only historical events relating to the monastery, so far as we are aware, that are taken notice of, except the grand one of its total destruction in 1560. That the destruction was complete need excite no surprise, as in Dundee the *reform* was out and out *radical*, and so perfect that it has thrown insuperable difficulties in the way of knowing much concerning the state of this house, and how it was supported. The amount of its revenues must remain unknown, as well as the whole of the points from whence they were derived,—a number of annuals, none of them large, and some parcels of land, being all that are known at the present time as having belonged to it of endowments. At the Reformation, as appears by the only record extant, the Friary had a gross revenue accruing to it, from lands and tenements, of £82 12s. 7d., exclusive of the Meadows and some lesser patches of ground. Of this sum £29 10s. were drawn from lands in the country, including £1 13s. 4d., paid by the proprietor out of the rents of the lands of Drumcairn and Finnock, or Fymock, in Glenesk, the gift of the first Earl of Crawford, whose family burying-place was within the Friary Church. It may have been that the example of this noble family would be imitated by wealthy families in the town ; it is possible that many would select the Friary Church-yard as a place of interment, and thus the income of the brethren would from time to time receive occasional augmentations, irregular, indeed, but not to be despised.

Black Friars.

Of this convent, which was perhaps one of the latest foundations of the kind in Dundee, nothing remains but the name. It stood on the

¹ From the *Pannure M S.*, iv., p. 135.

west side of the Franciscan Monastery, from which it was separated by the street or "gaitt" *Fratrum Venalium*, Friars' Vennel, afterwards the Burial Wynd, and now Barrack Street. Its site has been long occupied with other buildings, and at present Willison Church occupies part of the ground which its precinct enclosed. It need scarcely be stated that the brethren of the Order of St Dominic were called Black Friars, from the colour of their habit, and also *Fratres Predicatores*, Preaching Friars, from their custom of preaching sermons. The erection of the convent is attributed to Andrew Abercromby,¹ a native citizen, and progenitor of the Abercrombys of Pitalpin, but without any allusion to time, though the date of the foundation is supposed to have fallen between the alpha and omega of the fourteenth century. Of the endowments and properties which the Friars possessed very little is known; yet, it may be supposed, that the field immediately on the north side of the site, called the "Laigh Ward," or "Low Hospital Ward," and perhaps the ground beyond that, or part of it, which is chiefly occupied with the New Cemetery, had belonged to it. Of the money part of its revenues nothing is known beyond the payment of a few trifling annuals, aggregating £8 15s., as noted in the Hospitalmaster's charge in the town's ancient rent roll. The convent, with its precincts, including garden and orchard grounds, extended downwards along the west side of the vennel to the town wall, which separated it from Argyllgait, or the Overgate, and thence westwards in the direction of the western Tentshill, or Windmill Hill, which was quarried away to make room for Lindsay Street. Some old sasines yet extant, which we have seen, mention the convent as a boundary to several properties situated in both the vennel and Argyllgait. The conventual gardens were let in 1565 at the yearly rent of £7, and an acre of land lying between South Tay Street and Park Place, was let in the same year at £3 13s. 4d.; but these sums were paid to the factor of the hospital for its behoof, as part of its revenue.

The number of brethren belonging to this Friary is unknown, though they have been guessed to be seven—none of the records connected with it being in existence.

There was a gate in the town-wall betwixt this convent and that of the Grey Friars, which was called the Friars' Port or Gate.

¹ Probably the burgess to whose widow Abbot Beaton, of Arbroath, leased the teinds of the kirk of Monifieth, and the fishings of the Craig, for a period of eleven years.—*Reg. Nig. de Aberb.*, p. 450.—*Ed.*

Red Friars.

A Convent of Mathurine, Robertine, Red, or Trinity Friars, founded about the year 1390, by Sir James Lindsay, Knt., a cadet of the ancestral house of the noble family of Crawford, stood upon or near to the site of the Town's Hospital, at the foot of South Tay Street, where the Catholic Chapel stands—if, indeed, the hospital was not in reality the monastery itself. From some old papers which were obligingly communicated to us many years ago, we are inclined to consider this establishment as having been at its erection a dependent of the Ministry of the Holy Trinity and Captivity at Berwick-upon-Tweed, the minister or superior of which was General of the whole Order within Scotland,—at least the minister at Berwick, in 1296, was General; for in that year he swore fealty as General of the Order to Edward I. of England, as Lord Paramount of Scotland, for the possessions of his own convent in particular, and, generally, for those of the whole brethren in the kingdom. It is probable that, like as in other Orders, the office and dignity of General was not unalterably annexed to one convent; however, this is certain, that whatever individual held the office of General, all the houses of the Order, wheresoever they were situated within his province, were dependent on and subject to his authority, during the time of his generalship.

The first donation to this house was a tenement within the town, which was granted by the founder in the foundation charter, but the position is not specified. Robert III., who is the only other benefactor whose name has escaped the ravages of time, by his charter under the Great Seal, dated about 1391, confirming the foundation, dissolved the Parish Church of Kettins from the Mathurine Convent at Berwick-upon-Tweed, and annexed it to this house. The clause in the charter containing the grant is, "*Et nos in honore dei omnipotent. et sancte trinitatis in augmentacon amplioris elemosine p. salute aie* — *Anabelli sponse nri Regine scocie damus et p. pntes concedim deo hospitali et domui dei ecliam de Ketnes antiquitas annexam domui dei de Berwyk,*" which may be read, "And we, for the honour of God omnipotent and the Holy Trinity, in augmenting and enlarging the alms for the health of the soul of Annabella, Queen of Scotland, our wife, give, and by these presents grant to the said Hospital and the House of God the church of Kettins, of old annexed to the Maisondieu of Berwick." Of the money revenues of the convent nothing is known,

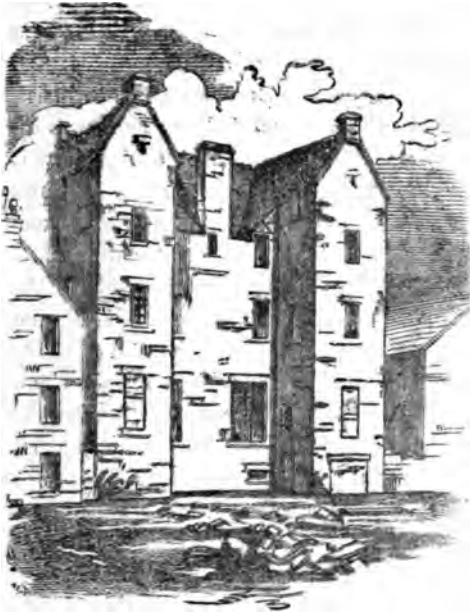
unless the various annuals in the town's ancient rent-roll, marked as payable to the Hospital, be considered as having, previous to the Reformation, belonged to the Friars. These annuals amount to £91 8s. 5d., and show, in connection with other sources of revenue, that, whatever was the number of the brethren, their total income was considerable, but, perhaps, not more than what would be necessary for the purposes of the institution of the Order; for at least one-fourth part of the revenues of every house of the Order over all the Church, was laid aside for the laudable purpose of redeeming Christians from Mahometan slavery, and this independent of donations and collections, which were wholly applied to the same noble and generous purpose.

Of the landed property that belonged to the ministry, only a part is known to us, and that part consists chiefly of some of the fields called Wards or Meadows, which indeed is the name of a large extent of ground at the north side of the ancient royalty, extending from Meadowside on the east to nearly the Horse Water Wynd on the west, which were conveyed, along with other possessions of the Church, to the Hospital, and placed under the management of the Town Council for the common good,—the payments of the stipends of the clergy, and the maintenance of the poor, for which latter purpose payments were being made in 1855 to the extent of £1164 per annum to decayed burgesses and the relatives of such, though the charters mention "the poor" only without qualification. The ground on the south side of the Nethergate, extending from the Catholic Chapel eastward to the Sea Wynd and partly occupied by Miln's Buildings, is said to have belonged to the Friars; but this, to a certain extent, is erroneous, for, at the eastern end of this ground, at the Sea Wynd, the town house and gardens of the Abbot of Scone were placed. This tract of ground lay low, and it is probable its ancient name of Monks-holm was derived from the monks of Scone, and not from the brethren of the Trinity Friars. The friars also possessed a large field called Greenfield, afterwards Strachan's Park, on the south side of the Hawk-hill, bounded on the east side by the ancient Mill Vennel, now Small's Wynd, which field was held in feu at one time by the late George Dempster, Esq. of Dunnichen. [The ground about Park Place, westward to midway between the twentieth and twenty-first milestone from Perth, and from the river northward to the old orchard of Dudhope, also belonged at one time to this monastery. Lord Gray was amongst the first feuars of these lands, and held a large portion about

the Scouringburn, which afterwards came to be subdivided.] The southern division of "Greenfield" was purchased in 1810 by the Magistrates, and a quarry was opened in it for the purpose of constructing a new harbour; but the design was afterwards abandoned, having proved that the Town Council were no engineers. In derision of the design, the quarry was called the "Howkerie," a name by which it was long known.

Of any donations by private persons to this convent or hospital since the Reformation, we have met with only one, which was granted by William Duncan of Templeton of Auchterhouse, out of the rents of a tenement belonging to him, which was situated in the Fleukergaitt, or Nethergate, opposite the Church of the Blessed Virgin. This donation was an amount of twenty-eight shillings *visitate moneta regni Scotie* (usual money of the kingdom of Scotland), payable to the Master of the Eleemosinarie, or Hospitalmaster, by equal portions at Pentecost and Martinmas. The deed of gift is dated at Dundee, 2d May, 1587, and is respectably witnessed, David Ouchterlony *dom. de Kelly*, being ranked first. Mr Duncan was a member of that family from which the noble house of Camperdown is descended; and it may be remarked as an instance of the scholastic attainments of the laird that he attested his donation thus,—“Villiam Duncan, with my hand twitching ye pen, led be ye notar, because I can nocht vryte myself.” [Long prior to the date of this grant, the regular religious Orders in Scotland were suppressed, and their buildings destroyed or converted to other uses, the revenues, where not seized by the feudal magnates, being devoted to the relief of the poor. As we have already seen, Queen Mary made a special grant of certain of these revenues¹ to the Magistrates of Dundee, for this charitable object.]

¹ See p. 67.

Franciscan Nunnery.

This congregation of Grey-sisters, otherwise Clareesses, Nuns of St Clare, or Franciscan Monachae, occupied a large building at the top of Methodist Close, which was pulled down in 1869, on the opening of Bank Street, to make way for the new buildings then erected by Mr Buchan. The old building was lofty, and formed three sides of a square, enclosing a very small court, the eastern side being only two flats in height. The ground-floor of the west and north sides was vaulted,

the east side occupied with three arches, in the nature of a cloister or covered walk, in which the sisters had taken the exercise of walking during inclement weather. Above the vaults on the north side there was a large hall, which, before the Reformation, might have been the chapel of the nunnery. Towards the end of last century, it was used by the Society of Methodists as a place of worship (from which circumstance the name of the Close is derived); afterwards as a coach-builder's workshop, and a schoolroom. Latterly, it was acquired by the Hammerman Incorporation, and occasionally used by the unbeneficed preacher, the itinerant salesman, the philosophical lecturer, and not unfrequently it has been the scene of the stage-struck follies of would-be Edmund Keans and Fanny Kembles. Another apartment above this was long used as a place of devotional meeting by a small society of Christians who called themselves Bereans, or were so called by others; and formerly, when the hall below was a school-room, it was

used by a small body, chiefly people well advanced in years, as a place of religious exercise, and who, from wearing broad blue bonnets, were familiarly called the "Bonnet Meeting."

Some Latin and Greek Scriptural quotations were to be seen on a large stone in the north wall of the chapel; and within a recess in the south wall, ornamented with columns, the Holy Water Laver was placed, with a gutter through the wall for draining off the water after its purpose was answered. Above the circular top of the recess, and within an elliptical wreath of flowers and foliage, there was inscribed in Roman capitals, of good formation, the following devout ejaculation, *LORD WASH OVR SOVLS IN THE BLOOD OF CHRIST*. Besides the apartments on the same floor with the chapel, there were a number of others on the upper floors, supposed to be the dormitories, refectory, &c., of the establishment; but of how many individuals the sisterhood consisted is unknown; neither can it be stated at what time or by whom it was erected, nor how endowed, beyond a single acre of land at the West Port, and a small bit beside it, called the "Grey-sisters' Acre."¹ In the year 1573, this acre was let by the Hospitalmaster for the rent of twenty-eight shillings Scots, and at present it produces about £100 sterling of feu duties annually to the trustees of Guthrie's Mortification, who are the superior proprietors for the benefit of the Mortification—Mr Guthrie having assigned it for educational purposes so long ago as 1671. On the *putt* stones of the back gables of the house the date 1621 occurred; but this merely shows that it had been repaired in that year by a secular proprietor, and probably by one of the Forresters of Millhill, it having long been the town-house of that ancient and now extinct family, and from them denominated "Millhill's Lodging." On several of the attic windows there were considerable remains of sculpture, including some traces of heraldic figures. As there are no records existing of the revenues of this house, we think we are justified in concluding that, at the Reformation, it passed to a descendant of the founder, or had been given to some other private person before the general grant in favour

¹ The Grey Sisters' Acre, with the other bit, lie between the foot of the Hawkhill and the Scouringburn. It has long been all built upon, and part of it was familiarly as well as infamously known as the "Blue Mountains."—Mr Innes (Report Stipend Case) gives the locality of this "acre" as extending between West Port and Lyon's Close, and bounded on north and south by the Scouringburn and Hawkhill respectively, but that area contains between two and three Scots acres.—E.S.

of the town. The entry to the nunnery, from the Overgate by the Methodist Close, at the top of which there was a small gateway, very simple and wholly unadorned, surmounted with a platform of stone.

Besides this, Aberdour in Fife, and, according to some, the city of Aberdeen, contained the only other establishment of Claresses in Scotland.

Magdalenes.

A cloister of Magdalenes stood near the river at the south-west side of the town, where a large irregular field in the vicinity of its site, which cannot now be accurately pointed out, has from them the name of Magdalene Yard or Green, and this affords some ground to suppose that it had belonged in property to the nuns. Many years ago, when the foundations were excavating for the house erected by Bailie Andrew Peddie, on the north verge of the Green, at the foot of the lane called the Step Row, the labourers dug up several fragments of statues, among which there was a finely executed head, almost the size of life. This head was long in our possession; and, from the fact of these relics being found at that place, we are tempted to conclude that the site of the nunnery was on the spot where this house stands. The use and superiority of the Magdalene Green is vested in the Town Council for the common use, and in the University of St Andrews, which is said to derive an annual of £5—whether Scots or English is not stated, but most probably the former—for the grazing it affords. A row of march-stones, but now greatly curtailed in number from what formerly existed, runs along the side of the road that bounds the northern side of the Green, on which the armorial *saltier* of St Andrews, and the date 1619, were rudely scratched. There is one which bears the lilies of Dundee, and the date 1749, in a tolerable style of sculpture, as also another with the same bearing, and the former date, but very little better than those of St Andrews. Nothing more is known concerning this establishment.

Section XV.

THE ORIGIN AND CONSTITUTION OF THE BURGH—MERCHANT GUILD—NINE INCORPORATED TRADES—THREE UNITED TRADES—PENDICLE TRADES, ETC.

MUNICIPAL CONSTITUTION.

As the earliest of our municipal records now extant dates no farther back than 1550, any account of the governing bodies existing before that date must be drawn indirectly from other sources, and is necessarily vague and indefinite. Glancing at the state of society, say in the twelfth century, we find, under the prevailing feudalism, the bulk of the people in a state of vassalage to the lords and barons. When, by royal favour, a gift of territory was made—such as was largely done by David I. to the Norman knights, whom Henry II. banished out of England—the *nativi* or serfs upon the land went with it, merely transferring their services to the new lord. If a bondman lived peaceably for seven years on any man's land, he could not be reclaimed; and, if he contrived to live for a year and a day in a free burgh, he became a freeman. We thus see with what favour the infant burghs came to be regarded by the common people as well as by the sovereign. To the former they were attractive, as conferring exemption from feudal services and exactions—the burgesses being in fact the counterpart of the *civis* or citizen of the Roman municipality, and as such independent of feudal jurisdiction. The kings, on the other hand, found in these trading, peaceable, yet sturdy burghers, a check to the overbearing power of the nobles; and, at the same time, in their comparative opulence, a source of pecuniary aid when the Royal Exchequer needed replenishing. Hence we find the earliest notices regarding our municipalities, in the form of privileges and immunities granted for trading purposes, so that the Trades and Merchant Guilds, are found organised institutions before any notice appears of Municipal organisations. The earliest burghs known in Scotland are traced to the reign of Alexander I. (1107—1124) when the Court of the Four Burghs—Edinburgh, Berwick, Stirling, and Roxburgh—appears in history. The meetings were held at Roxburgh, and assumed the functions of a Board of Trade, much in the style of the Hanse Towns on the Con-

tenant, where, from very early times, the presiding member took the title of "Provost of the Merchants." In the reign of Malcolm the Maiden (1153-1165), we find the first authentic allusion to Dundee, from which we may infer that it was then a place of some importance, that prince having made a grant from its revenues to the Priory of Restennet. What these revenues were, or how collected, cannot be ascertained; but, in all probability, the small rents paid by craftsmen and other freemen for leave to build their booths and habitations near the Castle walls, or by the sea-shore, or for exclusive privileges in the exercise of their callings, formed the beginning alike of the population, trade, and revenues of the town. About the year 1200, we find the town and barony ceasing for the time to be a royal appanage, and passing, by gift of King William, to his brother, the Earl of Huntingdon. It has been usually stated that the town was on this occasion created a royal burgh, but this is erroneous. The Register of Arbroath Abbey mentions a gift from the Earl of a toft of land situated in *meo burgi de Dundee*, an expression which could hardly be used with reference to a king's or royal burgh. According to Lord Kames, by "a Royal Borough is, in Scotland, understood an incorporation that hold their lands of the Crown, and are governed by magistrates of their own naming, to whom the administration of the annual revenues, termed the *common good*, is entrusted." That certain privileges had been enjoyed by Dundee, or its merchants and craftsmen, before King William's time, is more than probable, since reference is made to such in subsequent charters, as privileges that had been somewhat eclipsed by the alienation of the territory from the Crown. It is next to certain, indeed, that it was a Free burgh, though not a Royal one.

After the death of the Earl of Huntingdon, without legitimate male issue, the barony was divided among his daughters; but subsequently, in the reign of Alexander III. (1249-1285), a portion, if not the whole, appears to have reverted to the Crown.¹ References in the later charters to privileges obtained in this reign seem to point to some municipal arrangements,—probably the appointment of office-bearers entrusted with some form of magisterial authority. The importance of the burgh communities was now becoming apparent, and a few

¹ Alexander III. frequently resided at Forfar, enjoying the pleasures of the chase. While there in 1264, he had sixteen pipes of wine conveyed to him from Dundee, at a cost for carriage of £4 8s. (Chamberlain Rolls, I., p. 15.) This circumstance shows that Dundee had then a port or harbour, and some trade with the Continent.

years later they were even consulted in the first Parliament, properly so called, which was summoned by John Balliol.¹ It was reserved for King Robert Bruce, however, in the Parliament of 1326, to give the burghs a recognised standing as the Third Estate; and to the same enlightened monarch we owe the first express charter of the liberties of the town, dated in the following year.² In this charter the burgesses are recognised, but no mention occurs of civic rulers. We know that, in the case of the Four Burghs above referred to, their chief magistrate was called Alderman. In the 13th and 14th centuries, the style and constitution of the magistracy in England and Scotland were more similar than in later times, when the two countries may be said to have exchanged their civic titles. In the Parliament of 1357, under David II., seventeen royal burghs were represented, Dundee sending two deputies. In 1358, David II. granted another charter, enlarging and confirming the privileges of the town, and erecting it into a kind of Sherifdom, independent of that of Angus, and amenable only to the Lord Chamberlain of the kingdom. The title of Provost now first came into use, he being Sheriff-Principal, and the Aldermen or Bailies his deputies. The title of "Provost" was derived from the French, and was equivalent to the Latin *præpositi*. The term was long synonymous with Bailies or *balivis*, as Glasgow at one time had three co-ordinate "provosts." The growing intelligence of the civilian class, as compared with the indifference to learning of the feudal magnates, may be inferred from the fact that, from the accession of Alexander III. in 1249, to the death of David II. in 1370, no instance is known of a Scottish baron who could sign his own name.

From the reign of David II., the burghs and their citizens had acquired a degree of importance, as an instrument capable of being employed to check the power of the imperious barons. Some Acts, passed in or about the time of James II., who died in 1460, enabled the burghs greatly to influence the proceedings of the Legislature, and also confirmed to them the free and uncontrolled appointment of their own magistrates. This state of things continued till the year 1469,

¹ It is one of the surprises of history that we owe the admission of the Commons to Parliament to our bitter enemy, Edward I., who had the sagacity to perceive the rising influence of the trading class, and sought to secure them, while invading Scotland, by making every royal burgh take the oath of allegiance. (Tytler, II., p. 227.)

² A translation will be found in the Appendix, Note C.

when innovations crept in during the reign of James III., in the very teeth of a confirmation of these rights, and an express prohibition that no castellan or constable of any of the King's Castles, or other officer of the Crown, should in any manner or way interfere with the matter of the election of burgh magistrates, under certain penalties, but that the burgesses should be left to the free and uncontrolled exercise of their rights and privileges. Instead of this, a regulation came into use, by which the constitution of the burghs was completely changed: the retiring councillors appointed their successors, and both appointed the office-bearers or magistrates, castellans, military officers,—in short, every one who could forward the views or designs of the Court, which interfered in elections at pleasure, and thus was formed the "Close System," which flourished through so many hundred years, but which was exploded in 1834, to make way for another system, not very much superior perhaps, but controlled by a greater number of electors.

From a period dating to 1550, when the records still preserved commence, and probably from an earlier date, down to 1705, a governing body, called the "Head Court," existed in Dundee, distinct in some degree from the Magistrates and Council. Its precise functions cannot be defined, but the whole Deacons of Trades were constituent members of it. These deputies from the craftsmen had a voice in electing the Provost, Bailies, Dean of Guild, Town Clerk, and Treasurer; and they had to be consulted in all questions of property, in granting charters and tacks, and borrowing or paying off money. To the Common Council, again, the Trades collectively elected two members.

At various periods, the unconstitutional interference of the Crown, either directly or indirectly, in elections, was productive of serious disadvantages to the peace of the town. Some instances have been alluded to, such as the mission of the Archbishop of St Andrews in 1598, the order from James VI., to elect Sir James Scrymgeour Provost in 1604, and that of Grahame of Claverhouse in 1688. The oldest *sett* of the burgh extant is that which is recorded in the books of the Convention of Royal Burghs, which was forwarded to Edinburgh, in consequence of an order of the Convention, dated 15th July, 1705. This *sett* shows that the government of the town, instead of being representative, was purely an oligarchy, arising from the change of the constitution under James III. This recorded document is in substance as follows:—

"The Town Council is composed of twenty persons,¹ including the magistrates, consisting of a provost and four bailies. The annual election of these magistrates, and also of the Dean of Guild and Treasurer, is on the Thursday immediately previous to Michaelmas. But the Council for the ensuing year is chiefly chosen on the preceding Tuesday, and all the measures fixed, which are generally decisive in the election of the officers now mentioned. The whole twenty counsellors assemble on that Tuesday, and choose eight new counsellors; of whom five must be taken from the Guildry, or body of free merchants, and three from any separate three of the incorporated trades. No more new counsellors than eight are necessary, because the four Bailies must be members of the new Council *ex-officio*. With the addition of these eight new members, they proceed to make up *leets* for the offices of Provost, Bailies, Dean of Guild, and Treasurer. The *leet* for the Provost is limited to people who at any time formerly have been Bailies, the *leet* for Bailies to former counsellors, that for the Dean of Guild to present Bailies, and the *leet* for the Treasurer is alone unlimited. When two persons have thus been *lected* for every one of these seven offices, the powers of two particular old counsellors, as to any farther share in the election, expire, and the numbers of old and new counsellors is reduced to twenty-six. The *leets*, or lists, are then transmitted to the Convener of the Nine Incorporated Trades, to be by him laid before his Deacons and their constituents. On the Thursdays, these nine Deacons assemble in the Town-hall, along with the twenty-six old and new counsellors, and proceed to elect from the *leets*, by a majority of votes, the five magistrates, the Dean of Guild, and the Treasurer. Thus, including the three remaining Bailies who continue in the Council without election, a body of eighteen new counsellors is formed for the ensuing year, and all the former offices expire; and on the Tuesday following, these eighteen choose the remaining two."

The Deacons of the Nine Incorporated Trades, as we have seen, possessed a vote in the election of the Magistrates, Dean of Guild, and Treasurer, and were entitled to be consulted, and to vote in questions connected with the disposal of the public property. Of this privilege they were deprived by Act of Parliament, which was again restored by James VI. It will be seen that the above sett makes no provision for the form of electing the Councillor to the Guild and Shoremaster, nor is there any applicable to the case of the old Bailies. The two former offices were filled up by the Magistrates appointing individuals to them, on the Tuesday following their own election; and the three Bailies of the previous year remained in Council during another year in the character of Counsellors.

This sett continued to be the rule of government till the year 1816,

¹ One of these, the Counsellor to the Guild, was first appointed by the authority of the Magistrates and Council in 1642, from which time this officer continued a member of the Town Council till the abolition of the close system by the Burgh Reform Act.

when Montrose procured an alteration in its sett, which roused the people of Dundee to make application to the Convention of Royal Burghs for an alteration in the terms of theirs. In 1817, a petition was presented to the Convention, signed by a large proportion of the burgesses, sanctioned by the Town Council, and approved of by the other public bodies, praying for an amelioration of the sett, which was granted—the principal alterations being the recognition of the Convener of the Nine Trades as a constituent member of Council in place of one of the three members previously elected by the Trades, and the re-admission of the nine Deacons to vote in the election of the Provost, four Bailies, and Treasurer.

These modifications, however, led to little or no improvement in the municipal constitution, and the public discontent showed itself in a petition, got up in 1819, to the House of Commons. The following extracts from this vigorous document furnish a picture of the local government of that period :—

“The Council are in theory the representatives of the burgesses or freemen of the town ; and as such, they are vested with very considerable powers. They can contract debts without consulting the inhabitants, whose property is liable for payment of the debt so contracted ; and they also vote in name of the burgesses in the election of a representative for the burgh in Parliament. . . . The same men continue to exercise the same influence in the Council—only, for the sake of appearances, nominally changing places. Thus, the Bailies of the former year are generally made *old* Bailies and Counsellors of the succeeding year ; the Treasurer becomes a Bailie ; the Shoremaster, Treasurer ; and so forth. And this is the reason why the present system of election in Scotland is properly styled *self-election*. . . . The system of self-election has long been complained of by the burgesses of Scotland ; who have been compelled to witness, without hope of redress, their revenues squandered away by mismanagement and speculation, till the ample property of most of them has been reduced to a fraction of what it formerly was. . . . Dundee, at one period of its history, possessed, as its ‘common gude,’ the principal land estates which surround the town ; but these have gradually been alienated ; and the value of the disposable property is now less by one half than the amount of debts contracted by the irresponsible Town Council. The government of the town for the last century has passed from the hands of one absolute dictator to those of another ; and at this moment the uncontrolled power is vested in the person of a Leader [Provost Riddoch], who has held the situation for a period of nearly forty years—generally excluding from the Council the more wealthy, independent, and intelligent burgesses of the town, and selecting such men only as he could influence in support of his political ascendancy. His counsellors have been so judiciously selected and trained, that they never ventured to give their opinions on any public measures ; and they were assembled merely to render legal, by their votes, what had been previously done or

contemplated by their Chief. His Councils have always been unanimous ; or when, by an unsuccessful experiment, a new member has been admitted who dared to disturb that unanimity by an assertion of his independence, he was uniformly dismissed at next election. Holding the uncontrolled power for so long a period, and not being responsible for his acts, it was not probable that the revenues of the town should have been so advantageously administered by the Leader, as if he had been under the control of an independent Council. Accordingly, the petitioners have to complain of public money wasted on foolish and unprofitable speculations ; of public property let, in a clandestine manner, to the Leader himself, and other members of the Town Council, at a moiety of its value ; of Acts of Parliament obtained to levy taxes on the inhabitants for special purposes, and the revenue thence arising misapplied ; of seminaries of education left to languish for want of the necessary support ; of streets ill-paved and worse lighted ; and of the total absence of every thing in the shape of a police establishment for the protection of the peace."¹ And so on.

A Committee of the House of Commons having been appointed to consider these and similar representations from other Scotch burghs, Provost Riddoch was cited to appear before it. Three other public-spirited citizens—William Small, Town-Clerk ; Robert Jobson, and James Ivory, also tendered evidence, and lodged a curious document entitled "Dissection of the Town Council of Dundee from 1800 to 1819," showing the systematic interchange of offices by the ruling party during that period, with a running commentary upon the members, from which we may give a quotation :—

"Alexander Riddoch, nineteen years, still in office [six others in same position.] Samuel Matters, eighteen years, waits his turn. . . . Patrick Anderson, fifteen years, now *locum tenens* in the civic chair. Andrew Peddie, eighteen years, lately resigned in deference to public opinion, being disgusted with the system. Thomas Webster, do., do. William Small, now Town-Clerk, thirteen years, resigned for the same reason. Archibald Crichton, one year, suspected of independence. Alexander Kay, two years, refused to serve, because though treasurer, he was not allowed to see the accounts. George Miln, one year, suspected of independence. George Hill, left out for speaking in Council. Isaac Watt, one year, not recalled in consequence of a misunderstanding with the Leader's friend. Colin Symers, thirteen years, resigned in deference to public opinion. John

¹ In the long list of signatures to this document we find many names subsequently prominent in the public measures and prosperity of the town—such as John Baxter of Idvies, Edward Baxter, David Baxter, David Cobb, Archibald Crichton, George Duncan, Alexander Edward, James Gilroy, William Hackney, John Jobson of Rosemount, Alexander Lawson, John Luke, Alexander Low, David Martin, Robert Mudie, teacher (probably the writer of the petition) ; William Moyes, David Miln, Thos. Neish, Patrick Nimmo, George Stephen, John Watt of Denmill, Isaac Watt of Logic, &c., &c.

Allison, two years ; he was nominated a bailie contrary to his inclination, and refused to accept, being ashamed of the office. Thomas Bell, four years, removed for opposing the Leader. Alexander Balfour, four years, removed for same reason. Patrick Ritchie, twelve years, died ; had been in office for forty years previous to 1800. . . . John Symers and John Thain, two young lads advanced to office in Michaelmas last ; they vote with the leader, and may remain so long as their services are of any consequence to him," &c. &c.

The Parliamentary Committee, in reporting to the House, animadverted in strong terms on the abuses which prevailed in the municipal affairs of the town, remarking that, "of all the persons admitted into Council under the present influence, only four have been natives of Dundee. . . . That one member of Council [the Provost] had seventeen different transactions with the Town Council in the purchase and sale of property ; and most of these transactions were for property in the line of new streets, planned under the direction of the Council, of which he was a member and the leader. On one of these occasions, when the Council had not provided beforehand for making the street of sufficient breadth, the same individual received £200 for the surrender of a few feet of ground for this purpose, though it is stated that this additional breadth was calculated to improve his own property as much as to accommodate the public."

No immediate result followed this enquiry ; but a few years before the passing of the Burgh Reform Act, a Parliamentary alteration of the sett took place, along with an extension of the royalty, co-extensive, we believe, with the bounds of Police. The Act of 1834 did away with all the former antiquated, though modified forms, and vested the election in persons qualified by the possession of £10 of clear annual rent, or paying the same sum annually to a landlord—since extended to £5 householders. The members were elected to serve for three years, and the Council, consisting of twenty-one persons, appointed the Magistrates and other office-bearers from among themselves. By the local Act of 1871, the Council, as already mentioned, was enlarged to thirty members.

THE PROVOSTS OF DUNDEE.

The following list of the Chief Magistrates has been compiled from a great variety of sources, ranging from incidental references in deeds to the tombstones of the "Howff." There are necessarily many blanks in the list ; but it is hoped the attempt may suggest contributions

from those who have other means of information, so that a consecutive record may hereafter be obtained.

1364-69 William de Harden.	1676 George Brown of Westhorne.
1460 William de Strathauchtyne (Stra'chan).	1682-84 Alex. Duncan.
1470 John Hay—brother of Sir James Hay of Naughton. ¹	1688-99 James Fletcher.
1497 James Scrymgeour.	1711-13 George Yeaman, also M.P.
1509 Alexander Ogilvie.	1715 ——— Guthrie.
1514 David, Earl of Crawford.	1716-20 John Scrymgeour—installed by order of Duke of Argyll.
1516 Alexander Ogilvie.	1723-29 James Fairweather.
1525 James Scrymgeour.	1730-31 Alexander Robertson.
1551 James Halyburton—killed at the siege of Leith.	1732-33 James Fairweather.
1554-88 James Halyburton—son of the above, and provost for 33 years (see p. 112).	1734-36 Patrick Maxwell.
1591-92 James Forrester, was a bailie under Halyburton in 1557.	1738 Andrew Wardroper.
1593 James Auchinleck.	1740 ——— Donaldson.
1598 ——— Wedderburn.	1742-43 Patrick Yeaman.
1602-06 Sir James Scrymgeour of Dud- hope, 10th constable of Dun- dee, and several times provost.	1744-46 Alexander Duncan of Lundie, an- cestor of Camperdown family.
1610 Andrew Fletcher.	1750 Andrew Wardroper.
1619 William Auchinleck of Woodhill.	1761 Alexander Duncan.
1645-46 James Pierson.	1778 Henry Geekie.
1647 Wm. Kinnear.	1780 Alexander Thoma.
1651 Sir Thomas Mudie—laird of Gil- horn, ancestor of the Mudies of Pitmuies.	1782 John Pitcairn.
1653 Sir Thomas Mudie.	1786-87 John Pitcairn.
1654 James Fletcher.	1788-89 Alexander Riddoch.
1655-56 Sir Thomas Mudie.	1791-92 James Pitcairn.
1657 John Scrymgeour.	1793-94 Alexander Riddoch.
1662-65 Alex. Wedderburn.	1705-96 Alexander Thoma.
1668 George Brown of Westhorn.	1797-98 Alexander Riddoch.
1670 Alex. Wedderburn.	1800-01 Alexander Riddoch.
1671-72 Alexander Watson—bought Wal- lace Craigie from Bruce of Earlshall.	1802-03 John Guild.
	1804-05 Alexander Riddoch.
	1806-07 John Guild.
	1808-09 Alexander Riddoch.
	1810-11 John Guild.
	1812-13 Alexander Riddoch.
	1814-15 John Guild.
	1816-17 Alexander Riddoch.
	1818-19 Patrick Anderson.
	1820-21 David Brown.
	1822-23 Patrick Anderson.

¹ The evidence here is somewhat slender, being derived from Martin of Clermont's Genealogical collections in the Advocates' Library. The story of a run-away marriage is given, in which a Bethune carried off Janet, daughter of the Provost of Dundee—"John Hay, a brother of the Laird of Naughton, a rich man, who kept a change." See "Wood's East Neuk of Fife," p. 47.

1824-25 David Brown.	1844-46 James Brown.
1826-27 Alexander Balfour.	1847-52 Patrick Hunter Thoma.
1828-29 Thomas Bell.	1853-55 George Rough.
1830 Alexander Balfour.	1856-57 John Ewan.
1831 Robert Jobson.	1858 David Rollo.
1831-32 William Lindsay.	1858-60 David Jobson.
1833-38 Alexander Kay.	1861-66 Charles Parker.
1839-40 William Hackney.	1867-68 William Hay.
1841 William Johnston.	1869-71 James Yeaman.
1841-48 Alexander Lawson.	1872-73 James Cox.

The armorial bearings of the town were put into heraldic form on application to the Lyon Herald in the reign of Charles II. According to Sir George Mackenzie, the crest adopted was that of the pot and lily, the emblem of the Virgin, which formed the device on the seal of the Church dedicated to her name. In the terms of heraldry, the arms of the town are thus described: *azure*; a pot of growing lilies, *argent*; for the crest, lilies of the same; supporters, two dragons, *vert*, with their tails rolled below. Mottoes: *Dei donum*, above the crest; *Prudentia et Candore*, below, referring to the supporters and the white lily. The vulgar interpretation of "Prudence and Candour" is of course inapplicable—Wisdom and Purity being the ideas sought to be expressed. In a quaint book on heraldry the supporters are thus alluded to: "The poets doe feigne that *Dragons* doe keepe, or (according to our English phrase) sit abroad upon *Riches* and *Treasures*, which are therefore committed to their charge, because of their admirable sharpenesse of sight, and for that they are supposed (of all other living things) to be the most valiant."¹

THE GUILDRY INCORPORATION.

THE uncertainty which exists as to the origin of our municipal institutions extends also to the *Gilds* or Guildries, which, according to some writers, date back to the times of the Anglo-Saxons. In the twelfth century, however, such associations of merchants were well established throughout Europe, and there is good reason to believe, were in many cases coeval with the rise of free burghs. In Flanders, such confederations became so numerous and influential that the city of Ghent possessed at one time fifty-two guilds of merchants, and thirty-two fraternities of weavers, each body electing its own presiding dean or deacon. The motives for encouraging such associations

¹ A Display of Heraldry, by John Guillim, p. 263. London, 1633.

on the part of the Sovereign has already been noticed, and the exclusive privileges and immunities which they enjoyed, amounting to monopoly of the strictest kind, formed a bond of union among themselves, based upon self-interest, which gave unity and influence to the corporation. Deriving their privileges sometimes from the municipal rulers, and at others directly from the Crown, the Guildries were able to enforce their rules, not only on their own members, but on those outside the body. In all mercantile questions, they were supreme; while in the general affairs of the burghs where they flourished, they were so well represented, and held such a position as burgesses, as practically to direct the town's affairs.

It is not until after the War of Independence that we find a distinct charter, that of Robert I., recognising and confirming certain rights of the burgesses.¹ This charter proceeded upon the narrative that the burgesses of Dundee had formerly enjoyed the liberty of buying and selling, by land or water, *with a merchant gild*; but the right of erecting a Guildry does not appear to have been exercised until 1515, when that corporation was regularly formed. A deed was then obtained, entitled the "Merchandis Letter," which took the form of a contract between the whole merchants of Dundee and the Magistrates and Council, by which the former body became bound, by a tax on merchandise, to raise money for the support of the "halie bluid altar, situate in the south ile of the paroche Kirk;" the latter consenting that the merchants or Guildry should be formed into a corporation—that the Dean should be elected by the majority of the merchants—that he should be collector of the "halie bluid siluer," and should exercise the powers and privileges pertaining to a Dean of Guild, according to the Guildry Statutes and Burgh Laws. This, then, was the proper origin of the Guildry in Dundee.

In the infancy of the institution, the whole body of the Guildry was called together to assist the Dean, whenever a general law was to be enacted, a private civil question between two merchants of the

¹ The qualification of a burgess in early times is uncertain, but probably consisted in the holding of a *toft* of land within the burgh. It may also be noted that the bishoprics and abbeyes held such "tofts" in almost every burgh: Glasgow, for instance, had one in Forfar and Montrose; and Arbroath held one in Dundee, as a gift from the Earl of Huntingdon, in "my burgh of Dundee." These enabled the Church magnates to accompany the Sovereign to his frequent residences in the towns, and gave them also a voice in burghal affairs.—See Innes' Sketches, p. 35.

Guildry to be decided, or the privileges of the Incorporation were to be protected from the encroachments of strangers. The inconvenience of assembling such a numerous body on all occasions soon called for a remedy ; and the Guildry delegated its powers, for ordinary purposes, to a certain number of its members, as "assessors" to the Dean. A collector of the dues, and an officer to put the decrees of the court in execution, made the machine of Guildry government complete. The Dean, Assessors, Collector, and Officer, were elected by the universal suffrages of the brethren. Such was the original constitution of the Guildry Incorporation of Dundee, the powers and privileges of which were recapitulated and confirmed by Royal Charter, from James V., in the year 1526.¹

"For some time prior to the erection of the Guildry into a confederation or Guild, the Bakers, Shoemakers, and other trades had been constituted corporate bodies. The exercise of the new powers conferred on the Guildry, jarred with what the Trades had been accustomed to consider their rights and privileges, and a dispute arose between the Guildry and the Trades on the vexed questions." After much discussion and ill-feeling between them, a settlement was effected by arbitrators mutually chosen.²

The powers and privileges of the Guildry were very extensive. By ancient usage the Incorporation possessed a faculty, subordinate only to the King and Parliament, of making laws to regulate the commerce of the burgh, foreign as well as domestic, and of rescinding or amending these laws at will. It decided in all mercantile disputes among its members. It had a right to regulate the weights and measures of the town. At one period, no merchant was permitted to freight a ship without the approbation and presence of the Dean, under certain penalties ; and no stranger could import a cargo of goods without making the first offer of it to the Guildry. When the price was such as to afford a hope of gain, the offer was generally accepted, and the profit paid into the Corporation funds ; but when the price demanded was so high as to preclude this hope, the stranger, on paying a percentage to the Collector, obtained permission to sell his goods to any three or four members of the Guildry, but not at a price lower than

¹ This charter and the "Merchandis Letter," will be found in the Appendix.—Note G.

² For details of these transactions, and copious excerpts from the records of the Guildry and Trades, see Mr Warden's interesting work, "Burgh Laws," p. 97, *et seq.*

what he had sought from the Incorporation. When the representative of the town proceeded to attend his duty in Parliament, the Guildry was assembled to give him instructions.¹ When the Commissioners from the Town Council attended the annual Convention of the Royal Burghs, the Guildry was requested to give instructions and state grievances.² When *Seals of Cause* were granted to "pendicle trades," the permission of the Guildry was solicited; and when taxes were to be imposed, the Magistrates consulted the Guildry, and followed its advice. In fine, it would be difficult to name a transaction of any importance on which the Incorporation did not exercise an influence—and this was natural; for, as we have already observed, the Guildry included in its body a large share of the talent and wealth which commonly confer authority and power. A commercial town from a remote period, a large share of the capital stock of Dundee must always have been vested in the merchants; and, consequently, they must have had a deeper interest in the welfare of the burgh than any other public body. Impressed with this conviction, each successive Magistracy continued to consult the Guildry, till the last relic of its former greatness and importance disappeared, and the Incorporation was reduced to a mere name within a not very distant period.

The subversion of the constitution of the Guildry may be traced as far back as within seventy-five years after its positive institution as a public body. Previous to the year 1590, the major part of the assessors were members of Town Council, appointed by that body; and at Michaelmas in that year, the Magistrates in order to avoid, as they phrased it, the *confusion* that might occur in the election of the Dean by the suffrages of the whole body, enacted, with consent of the merchants, that the Dean should be selected from a *leet* of three members of Town Council, "most wyse, and of greatest gravitie; and sic as hes beine and borne office of ane Baillie;" and in consequence Baillie William Duncan was elected. From this period the dignity and importance of the Incorporation declined, the election of the office-bearers was seized by the Magistrates, the manage-

¹ The first instance of this which we have met with, though, perhaps, not the earliest, occurred on the 22d June, 1702. The Provost at the time was the Parliamentary Commissioner, as the Representative was then called.

² An instance of this occurs under date — June, 1711, and this at a time when many of the powers of the Incorporation were usurped, or rendered inoperative by the Magistrates. The Provost in this case also was Commissioner or Delegate.

ment of the Corporation funds came into their hands ; and in the year 1606, they quietly assumed the power of appointing the Dean, without consulting the Guildry at all. This continued to be the rule until the year 1818, when the power so unjustly usurped by their predecessors, was, after a sharp conflict, wrested from the Magistrates of that period.

The repeated farce of the election of the Dean, Assessors, &c., by the Magistrates, was varied by the addition of a new Act in 1642—a kind of interlude at first, but afterwards engrafted on the piece as a permanent addition. This was the addition of a *new* member by the Magistrates and Council, under the name of Councillor for the Guild ; but for what purpose he was created does not appear, nor was there ever cause assigned, but probably it was to answer some political purpose of the time. The minutes of the Guildry, after the period at which its subversion was effected, cannot be supposed to have been kept with the most scrupulous attention, which in reality was the case ; but on the 11th February, 1815, the records bear a minute of a full meeting of the members for electing their Commissioners for the Harbour Bill. The keen discussions which this Bill originated aroused the Guildry to a sense of the degraded position in which the duplicity and want of principle in former times had placed them ; but, once aroused, the spirit that animated them could not be again put down ; and, after an arduous struggle, which continued several years, they had the satisfaction, in 1818, of recovering their rights and ancient independence, and of electing their own President.

One of the first acts of the resuscitated body was to declare that no member of the Council should be eligible as an assessor, clerk, or collector to the Guildry. After the unanimous election of Robert Jobson as Dean in 1818, nothing occurred to interrupt the independent progress of the Corporation until 1827, when two parties, Alexander Kay and William Lindsay, claimed to have been elected. The Town Council held that the former was disqualified, in respect that he was no burgess, and admitted Mr Lindsay to the seat occupied by the Dean of Guild at the Council Board. An appeal to the Court of Session resulted in Mr Kay being declared duly elected, as having the majority of votes. The Court farther found that the whole proceedings of the Council, from the time Mr Kay was refused his seat, were illegal, and in consequence the burgh was disfranchised. In response to a petition addressed to the King in Council, a poll-warrant

was issued requiring the burgesses and heritors to meet on 10th May, 1831, and elect twenty-one fit and proper persons to be magistrates and councillors. Under this new Sett of the burgh, the Dean fell to be chosen from among the Councillors; and this unsatisfactory arrangement was acquiesced in until the proper status of the Dean was restored, under the Reform Act of 1832, since which period he has been directly elected by the suffrages of the Guild-brethren, expressed by ballot and then takes his seat as an *ex-officio* member of the Town Council.

The exclusive trading privileges of all guilds, crafts, and incorporations, which, in the altered circumstances of society, had become in a great measure obsolete or inimical to free trade, were, in 1846, wholly abolished by Act of Parliament. It was still permitted to such bodies, however, to retain their corporate character, titles, and property, and, under certain limitations, to frame their own bye-laws with respect to membership, &c. Though thus shorn of its ancient powers and privileges, and deprived of much of its income, the Guildry Incorporation survives in the possession of considerable funds, and capable of useful service to the community. The position of Dean is one which any citizen may aspire to occupy, and in which a man of capacity and public spirit may find honour and influence second only to that of Provost. Apart from the Court, in which he presides, for regulating the boundaries of property within the ancient royalty, he finds, by virtue of his office, a seat at the six public boards of the town, besides being a director or trustee of more than a dozen charitable and educational institutions. In such a sphere of usefulness, he is supported by a constituency representing the intelligent burghers or middle class of the community, which he can at any time convene for the discussion of matters of public interest. There is no reason therefore why the modern Dean of Guild might not surpass the public services of the ablest of his predecessors, by holding aloof from the party feeling which occasionally shows itself at our public boards, and by the impartial discharge of his other duties, under a sense of the honour and responsibility which attaches to his office.

THE NINE TRADES.

THE observations regarding the origin and early history of our municipal and guildry corporations apply equally to that of individual trades or crafts. The latter being associations of artificers employed

in the preparation of food, clothing, implements, and habitations for the people, doubtless preceded in point of time the guilds or whole-sale merchants, whose sphere of business lay in the more artificial requirements which arose after necessary wants were supplied. As communities grew, the craftsmen multiplied, and associated together for mutual protection and support. Such fraternities then obtained recognition from the Magistrates of their burgh, had powers vested in them to regulate the affairs of their particular trade, and to bestow exclusive privileges upon the members. The importance of these trade societies early attracted the notice of the State; and accordingly we find James I., in 1424, enjoining the Crafts to choose each a wise man of their number as Deacon, with consent of the Alderman or Provost of the town. The object then aimed at was to secure skilful work, and the Deacon's duty was defined to be the oversight of the craftsmen for this end. By an easy process this led to protection from external competition, and the creation of a close monopoly in favour of each trade society. These exclusive privileges were usually granted by "Charters," "Letters," or "Seals of Cause," detailing the immunities conferred, and the considerations for which they were bestowed. The most common condition was the support of religious service, in the form of a chaplainry, to be maintained by the Trade, before the altar of its patron saint, in the principal church; or an annual payment towards some public work, or the "common gude" of the town. Each Craft, prior to the Reformation, had a patron saint and altar, with a priestly celebrant, who quartered himself upon the craftsmen alternately, when a separate subsistence was not voted to him. The following is a list of these ancient Trades and their patron saints:—

CRAFTS.	PATRON SAINTS OR ALTARS.
Guildry,.....	St Andrew—the Holy Blood Altar.
Barbers and Surgeons,.....	St Mungo.
Baxters or Bakers,.....	St Cuthbert.
Bonnetmakers,.....	St Mark.
Coopers,.....	St John.
Cordiners or Shoemakers,.....	St Crispin.
Fleashers,.....	St Peter.
Fullers or Waulkers,.....	St Mark, Philip, and Jacob.
Litsters or Dyers,.....	St Mark.
Skinners or Glovers,.....	St Christopher and Martin.
Tailors,.....	St Ann.
Websters, Brabeners, or Weavers,....	St Severanus.
Wrights and Masons,.....	St John and John the Baptist.

As they grew in number and importance, the influence of the craftsmen made itself felt beyond the strictly technical affairs of their respective trades, so that the jealousy of the Government was occasionally excited. In 1555, the Queen-Regent brought the subject before Parliament, and got an Act passed pronouncing their associations dangerous, forbidding the appointment of deacons, and directing the burgh magistrates to take cognisance of the craftsmen, by placing inspectors over them. It also prohibited all convenings and gatherings of the crafts under pain of imprisonment, loss of freedom, and forfeiture of goods. This stringent enactment did not meet with acquiescence, and, in fact, does not seem to have been enforced, since minutes of the Bakers are extant recording their election of deacons. The simultaneous introduction among the trades about this time of a "Lockit Buik," in which their transactions were entered, had probably some reference to the Government interference with their affairs. That interference, however, did not long exist even in name; for, in 1581, James VI. granted a charter rescinding the former enactment, and reinstating the crafts in all their privileges and immunities, relieving them of the Council jurisdiction, confirming their right to vote in the election of magistrates, and to frame regulations for their own internal administration.

Each Trade was originally a distinct body, complete in itself, and this separate organisation has been retained to the present day. The necessity of some federal union, however, for defence of their common interests became apparent at an early period, and combined action was taken, in 1526-7, against the Guildry merchants, as already mentioned in the account of that body. It was not till the year 1575, however, that a formal union was effected of the "nine in one," having for its objects the adjustment of differences arising among the individual Trades, and the appointment of a Collector for the common fund, out of which provision was afterwards made for charitable aid to poor brethren, "when it pleases God to visit them with poverty and inability of person." Thus organised as individual trades, and collectively, they pursued their several ways in peace for more than a century, when heartburnings arose respecting the precedency of particular Trades, to allay which recourse was had to the Head Court of the burgh. The decision thus obtained was confirmed by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1695, which fixed the order or rank of the Crafts as follows:—1, Bakers; 2, Shoemakers; 3, Skinners or Glovers; 4, Tailors;

5. Bonnetmakers; 6, Fleashers; 7, Hammermen; 8, Weavers; 9, Waulkers or Dyers.

The Nine Trades do not possess any special charter as a united body, but have been frequently recognised as such by the Courts and by Parliament itself, and in that capacity still return representatives to the Harbour and other local boards and institutions. Since the abolition of the exclusive privileges of Trades Incorporations by the Act of 1846, their power and influence has been materially restricted, and some of the Crafts, by ceasing to admit new members, appear on the very verge of extinction, as will be seen from the following statistics, showing the numerical strength of the individual Trades. Since 1869, accessions have been made to several, so that the total membership may now be stated at about 300.

	1783.	1830.	1860.	1890.
Bakers,	27	89	59	98
Shoemakers,.....	63	29	9	12
Glovers,	10	6	4	3
Tailors,	43	27	13	7
Bonnetmakers,.....	4	43	39	96
Fleashers,	16	16	19	10
Hammermen,	29	60	34	24
Weavers,	100	41	18	15
Dyers,.....	8	3	3	4
Total,.....	300	319	198	269

The funds of the united body are managed by the "General Fund Court," consisting of twenty delegates from the various Trades. In 1872, their assets were valued at about £8,000, besides nine twenty-fourth shares of St Andrew's Church. The annual income was about £400, of which about £300 was disbursed to the poor. The records of the Nine Incorporated Trades contain numerous allusions to current events of local interest; but the most noticeable transaction in which the body engaged was the erection of St Andrew's Church. The Town Council having declined to become parties to this undertaking, the Trades, in conjunction with the Kirk-Session, set about the work. Of the twenty-four shares into which the concern was divided, the Trades took twelve, whereof nine fell to the Incorporated body, and three to the Three Trades, the Kirk-Session assuming the other twelve shares. In 1774, the church was completed, and a minister appointed at a stipend of £50 per annum, which was afterwards increased to £100.

Two of the Trades having sold their shares to the Kirk-Session, bickerings arose as to the choosing of ministers, which ultimately resulted in the nomination being exercised by the Session and Trades alternately. Latterly, steps have been taken to cancel the interest of the Trades, and endow the church on an independent footing, which will doubtless be successful and beneficial to all parties.

From the earliest times, the meetings of the Trades were held in the Houff or burial-place of the town; and it was not until 1776 that steps were taken to provide a more suitable rendezvous. In that year, the Old Flesh Market, at the east end of the High Street, was purchased from the town for £391, and a building erected upon the site, containing a common Hall, and rooms for the individual Trades, the latter being allocated by the primitive process of tickets drawn from a bonnet. On Thursday, 24th Sept., 1778, the Trades mustered for the last time among the tombs, and marched in procession to their new hall, where they nominated the Provost and Magistrates for the year, and finished with a supper. The building thus auspiciously opened continued the property of the Trades until 1864, when it was sold to the Clydesdale Banking Co. for £2,875, and a ground annual of £250, which, after payment of £100 to each Trade, left a respectable fund in the hands of the Incorporated body.

THE THREE UNITED TRADES.

In addition to the Nine Incorporated Trades there were other corporate Crafts, possessing a certain status and code of rules, derived from the Guildry in concurrence with the Magistrates. These were known as "pendicles" of the Guildry, and were in some degree subject to the supervision of that body, but at the same time elected their own deacons, and regulated their affairs after the manner of the more independent fraternities. The most important were the Masons, Wrights, and Slaters, which formed the "Three Trades;" and the Maltmen. The former were incorporated in 1741, being moved thereto by the facilities which union gave them for purchasing oatmeal in quantity, during times of scarcity, for distribution in retail among the members. The Masons enlarged the range of their society by engrafting Free Masonry upon their more technical qualifications, and thus brought county gentlemen and gentry into their fraternity; but latterly the

regular Lodges absorbed such accessions, and left the Trade more analagous in its membership to other Trades. The Wrights formed the most numerous section of the Three Trades; and having naturally looked after the undertaking business, and acquired a sort of monopoly in mortcloths, their revenues flourished thereby, until modern usages superseded that source of income. The Slaters never appear to have taken so *high* a position as might be expected from their occupation. The Maltmen, though an old calling, and one which is still partially represented in the Brewing Trade of the town, is now all but extinct as a corporation; and unless some elements of vitality, in accordance with the spirit of the age, can be infused into them, it is not unlikely that dissolution will ere long overtake more than one of these ancient fraternities.¹

The records of the Guildry and Trades have been preserved with more or less completeness and care for a long period; the oldest official deed extant being apparently one of the Weavers', dated in 1512. In these records much curious information is to be found; but

¹ One Trade, the Bonnetmakers, has long been extinct, and presents the anomaly of a corporation which has not had a single operative craftsman since before the commencement of the present century. Ever since hats came into use, about the year 1756, the manufacture of bonnets began to decline, until it became extinct. The *ultimus Scotorum*, who plied the knitting wires here, a very old man, verging on the patriarchal age of a hundred years, was gathered to his fathers in the Houff in 1843. The Hilltown burgh of barony, from being originally occupied by members of the corporation, acquired the name of the "Bonnet Hill." Before, and for long after the middle of last century, it was thinly inhabited, and, in 1756 could boast of only *one* house which was roofed with slates, besides the barony council-house, that stood at the bottom of the hill, adjoining the Lady Wall. The scattered cottages stood fronting to the south, with their gables to the public road. They were humble and miserable enough, consisting of one low storey, with an earthen or clay-trodden floor, and a straw-thatch or *divot* roof. The gardens and kail-yards were ample in extent, and grew what pot-barley and esculents the contented occupants required, who might be seen sitting on stone or sod seats at the ends or sunny sides of their cottages, in favourable weather, knitting their wares. A few specimens of these miserable hovels are still to be seen, in which the people of another, and not very distant age, contrived to live, and even to amass as much money as enabled them to become lairds. In these times the bonnets, especially for the better class of citizens, were black; and a Guildry minute, dated 29th September, 1588, expressly enjoins them to abstain "frae wearing of plaidis and any bonnatis except black bonnatis, bearing of barrows, or ony ye like labour," under a penalty. So famous were the craftsmen in Dundee for the excellence of their manufacture, that the Earl of Seaforth sent the son of his chaplain, along with another young man, to be initiated here in the mysteries of the craft, for the purpose of introducing it into Ross-shire. Kilmar-nock is now as famous for the art as Dundee was in former times.

HISTORY OF DUNDEE.

being now rendered accessible through Mr Warden's work, "The Burgh Laws," it is unnecessary to reproduce extracts here. Of the more strictly municipal records we had proposed to give quotations at some length; but, finding from a perusal of them that these had already been largely drawn upon (the more important charters will be found in the Appendix), we deem it sufficient to offer merely a brief description, followed by a few of the earlier and more characteristic minutes of the Head Court. Before leaving the Trades, however, we may notice one other point connected with the ancient craftsmen.

The subject of trades-marks is not without interest to the curious; but our space will not permit us to give more than passing mention to those current in old Dundee, of which the tombstones in the "Howff" are particularly rich. With the introduction of printing, these marks and monograms were largely introduced in books, while tradesmen used them as signs over their shops, before doors were numbered or streets were named, and they were also stamped on goods, and impressed as private seals. These devices bear a close resemblance to the Freemasons' marks, and are known to have originated in remote antiquity. The following may suffice to illustrate the monograms adopted by some of the craftsmen of Dundee:¹—No. 1 is the mark of John Garden, burges, dated 1581; No. 2, that of Robert Peblis, 1582; Thomas Bower, skinner and burges (1603) is represented by No. 3; and Robert Fairvedder, litster, or dyer (1609), by No. 4. The odd looking No. 5, stands for the initials D. Z., of David Zemane or Yeaman (1610), whose descendants were influential burghers, one of them representing Dundee in the last Scottish, and first two British Parliaments, as does a namesake, if not a descendant, in the present Parliament. From the former the "Yeaman Shore" took its name. In No. 6 we have the rather pretty monogram and mark of William Davidson, a merchant who died in 1617; while 7 and 8 are those of John and James Goldman (1607–32), who were opulent men in their day, and one a poet of some merit. No. 9 is the monogram of Robert Kandow, burges. No. 10 is from a stone raised by William Chaplane, in memory of his wife (1603), which further reminds posterity that *VILIAME CHEPLANE VOS YE DORIR OF YIS*. No. 11 is a monogram of the Blair family; No. 12, of John Zoung, or Young, probably a relative of Sir Peter Young, a tutor of James ~~Macdonald~~ Mureson (1637); No. 14, John Pierson, "

¹ Jervie

EXTRACTS FROM THE BURGH RECORDS.

In the vicissitudes of fortune which Dundee has experienced, it could scarcely be expected that the earlier archives of the burgh should escape. To the other misdeeds of Edward I. has been added that of carrying off all public records in existence at the time of his invasions, towards the end of the 13th century; but, although he certainly ordered all charters and writs of a national character to be transmitted to England previous to his adjudication on the rival claims of Balliol and Bruce, there is evidence that he returned at least a portion of these, and no evidence that, of set purpose, he destroyed the records of Scotch burghs. It is more probable that these early burghal records were neither compiled in regular and permanent form, nor preserved with adequate care by those who had the custody of them; for it must be remembered that, prior to the Reformation, writing was confined almost wholly to the religious orders, whose registers, it is to be remarked, have come down to our time in comparative safety. But, from whatever cause, and however much we may regret it, the fact remains, that the official records of our town, prior to 1550, are a blank. Subsequent to that date they have been preserved with some degree of continuity, but under circumstances of neglect and indifference, which makes the loss of earlier writings less to be wondered at. "The ancient records lay long in utter confusion and culpable neglect, covered with the dust of ages, unheeded, uncared for, and all but unknown, even to the members of the Town Council, in whose custody they were. The late Town Clerk, Mr Christopher Kerr, in the course of his professional duties, had often occasion to refer to the old documents and records in possession of the Council, in order to trace the progress of titles, and for other purposes. No inventories of the volumes or of the mass of parchments and other

documents existed, and no table of contents of any of the books or packages had ever been made out. Ignorant of what was actually there, and uncertain in what part of the record-room any documents known, or supposed to exist, had been thrown, the search requisite for the information wanted was often laborious, and sometimes in the end fruitless. To obviate such difficulties in the future, Mr Kerr, with a public spirit worthy of the highest praise, resolved to have the contents of the charter-room classified and systematically arranged."¹ The death of Mr Kerr interrupted the work for a time; but the Council, recognising its importance, continued the employment of the gentleman engaged by Mr Kerr to collate and transcribe the MSS.; and, under Mr Hay, the present Town Clerk, the task has been satisfactorily accomplished.²

The earliest entry in these transcripts is one of the Head Court—composed of the Council, Dean of Guild, and nine Deacons of Trades—under date 2d Oct., 1553, the Provost at that time being the elder Haliburton, who fell in command of the Dundee contingent at the siege of Leith, six years afterwards. The minutes of the Head Court are of the most varied scope and application, and throw much light upon the powers wielded by the Magistrates in regulating the industry, morals, religious observances, and general habits of the people. One of the earliest, enacted in 1550, has reference to the shipping, which then, as now, was an important interest in Dundee, and runs thus:—
 “Item, it is statut & ordanit yat all strang shippes resortand to ye port and peir of this burgh, with ony sorts of goods or merchandise, yat gif ony schippis arreawes efter noone, to put yaire entres on ye next morne before ye prouest and baillies, in open Court, and what shippis arrywes befor an awcht hours before noone, to put ye entres yat day, in oppen Court, before ye prouest or baillies, without difference or ony further delay, and yat na person within yis burgh attempt to mak bargaine privatlie with any strange man befor his entres be written in ye town's buikis, nor zet efter ye entres, until license be giwen be ye prouest and baillies and counsell, under ye paine of xx lib. to ye common wark, to be vptaken of ye transgressor unfor-giwen.”

¹ Warden's Burgh Laws, p. 6.

² Mr John Davidson, who commenced the work under Mr Kerr, compiled a summary and extracts of several volumes, and, on his death, Mr J. M. Beatts continued the transcription.

On 14th Oct., 1560, the Magistrates met, and "a flesch house" was "agreed to be erectit in the causeway, wast side of castel burn, where the myddings are [on site of present Clydesdale Bank]; and flescheurs agreed to have windows and doors to the foirgatt on every side."

From the minute of 5th Oct., 1562, it may be inferred that the tenure of office, by members of the Court, had previously been somewhat irregular, and uniformity was felt to be necessary. It was therefore "statut and ordanit that all common officers of yis burgh, sic as Provost, Bailles, Counsell, Dean of Gild, Threserour, Kirkmaster, piermasters, Hospitall masters, visie masters, deacon of the workmen, and sergeands of this burgh, be vakand ilk zeir at the fest of Michelmas, and of new electit and chosin thairintill."

In these days, the religious element was not considered beyond the scope of the Town Council. The Reformation had just been consummated, and the minds of the leaders of the people were exercised for its safety. That some resistance was shown to the new order of things appears from such edicts as the following being found necessary:—Under date 5th Oct., 1562, after ratifying former acts anent disobedience to ecclesiastical superiors, and the discipline imposed in the order of religion, it was farther enacted, "That, if any person be warnit to compeir before the assembly, under discipline for the first time, and disobey, he shall be convict in the panes maid by said acts; and if he disobey a second time, the bailies and officers shall apprehend, and put him in the Steple for xxiiii. hours, and not to be let out till he find caution to compeir before the Assembly the next Wedensday, under the pane of x. lib., quhilk sal be taken of the surety, without favor, and applyt to reparation of the kirk and kirk-yard."

In the early years of Queen Mary's reign, public security had been so shaken that the citizens were reminded of the duty of keeping watch and ward with greater vigilance, it being "Ordanit that ilk person, inhabitant within this burgh, that be warnit to the watch, and compeirs not, and watches not all night, that the officers poend him of 2s. of vnlaw, to be dispons to the persons repairand to the watch"—[who, no doubt, would spend the fines jovially on cakes and ale.]

The next entry shows the civic dignitaries engaged in adjusting a petty dispute about a sign-board:—"Ultimo Aprilis, 1563. The provost, baillies, and counsell convenit vpon the ground of the land

callit the auld tolbuith, pertening to Elizabeth Durham, relict of um-quhill Alex. Paterson, and decerns and ordains Robert Pyker to tak down and hold down, in tym cuming, ane skelf or burdis put up be him abone the dor of her new buth next ajound to his awn buth window, and the travess of tymber quhilk held the same; and this, becaus thai consider that, by virtue of his titles, he had na power to do so."

The social evil appears to have been a difficulty in these times as well as now, and numerous edicts occur framed with a view to repress or punish unchastity—the frequency of re-enactment proving too well the unsuccessful results. In 1564, after narrating the inefficiency of former measures, and their weak enforcement, the authorities make another assault upon the vice by enacting that "The woman, of what estait that evir she be, salbe brocht to the markit croce oppinlie, and her hair be cuttit of, and the same to be naillit uppon the cutis-stuill, and also to mak her public repentance in the kirk, and this for the first falt. For the second falt, she salbe had to the merkat croce, her hair cuttit of, naillit up as said is, herself caryit in ane cart thro all the ports of the town, and twa shillings tane of her fee to pay the carter for his labors; and she banisht the burgh for year and day, and forfault under the pane contenit in the auld acts."

The male delinquent was not overlooked, in which many social reformers may think our forefathers showed more regard for strict justice than modern legislation. It was provided that "he sall remaine forty-eight hours in the stepill, *on bread and water*, and that nane enter in the stepill to bear him company except the officer, under the pane of 40s., to be taken of ilk ane of them, and distribut to the poor."

Under same date, it was "ordanit that all baxters [bakers] of this burgh bak ther bred [of] sufficient guid and dry stuff, and abill to furneish the toun and the queen's Majesty's lieges resortand thereto; and that the 4d. laif way twenty-four unces, and the 2d. laif twal unces: and sicklyk that all browsters [brewers] of this burgh mak ther aill gud and sufficient, and sell the pynt therof na derer nor 2d., to be considerit worth that price be the consumers; and the aill quhilk they fynd not worth that price to be sauld for three half pennies." If such a regulation were now imposed, we fear our modern browsters would have so little faith in the discrimination of the consumers that very little twopenny ale would be offered.

Our next extracts show how the paving and sanitary departments were managed:—"4th Oct., 1560. Ordanit Cowgaitt be all calsyit be the persons detbound thereto, begynand at the est, and sua soudwart to our lady-wynd; and gif the said personis begins nocht the same within ten days nixt eftir the date heiroff, ther hed dykis salbe cassine down, and samekill [as much] as ther haif of the town's cassy salbe appropriated to the town in tyme coming."

"Also ordanit, that na persoun presume, eftir this day, to lay ony mydding within the west port, bot [nor] vnder the north gaitt of the same betwix that gaitt and the playfild, vnder the pane of xls., sa oft as thai failze and disposing of ther myddings to ony persoun that will tak it away. Also ordanit, that all myddings be takin and haldin away from the swineburne to the foirgaitt, and nane laid in the buriall wynd in tyme cuming, under the pane of xls."

"16 March, 1562. James Petrie comperit and confest that he tuk down the common well, callit the frier well, quhilk servit the haill toun¹ with guid and wholsom water, and he is ordanit to pay, for reparation of the said well and common warkis, the sum of ten lib.; and if he big and repair the said well as well as it wes before, his present pane be remittit."

In the conservation of the public recreation ground, the authorities proved as vigilant as in regard to the water supply, as the following bears:—"2d Oct., 1581. Ordanit, that our communitie, in the Maidlane geir [Magdalen Yard or Green], be observit and keipit in tymes cuming, to the vse of the town, as it hes bein in tymes bygane past memore of man, and that all persons arryveris out and destroye of the samyn, and in special, David brok be callit, and accusit therfor, and compellit to mak the samyn als sufficient, as it was, or thai put hand thairin. Ordanit that the cornis quhilkis ar wrangusle sawn beneth the geit at the wid, and uther guidis properlie apperteyning to this burgh, be trampit down, and the samyn kept in ley, for the weill of commoun, salmond fischingis, and for the lugeis to seik folkis in tyme of pest, as thai wer befor past memre of man."—"Ordanit, that the provost, bailzeis, counsall, and deacons of craftis, every year, upon the third day of May, pas throw this burgh, and consider all communitis of the samyn, als weill within as without the portis thairof, and to consider gif ony persone hes brokin the said communitis, or

¹ This was probably the well in the Meadows, on the site of High School, afterwards called St Francis well, being in the grounds of the Franciscan friars.

narrowit the gettis, wyndis, vennellis, passages, or ony uther preveleges of the samyn, or appropriat ony pairt thair of to thame, or layit ony myddings, without the said portis, upon the townis communitie, that the said provost, bailzeis, counsal, and deacons of craftis incontinent, tak order with the feiltis and offenceis done aganis the commoun weill, and or [before] thai depart of the grund to cast down, repair, and mak remeid therof. . . . Ordaint, that the provost and bailzeis, incontinent, serche and seik all steipis, firlottis, half-boll mettis, pekk-staneis, and utheris small wechts, elwandis, and all sic messouris, and to causs ane universall ordour to be had thair off among all the inhabitants of this burgh, without respect of ony persone."

There is something to provoke a smile in the grouping of the three classes of delinquents in the following, and the inference that the "swyne" were not to pretend ignorance of the bellman's proclamation :—"25th April, 1588. It is statute that the auld actis maid anent expelling of beggaris, vagabondis, and swyne, furth of this burgh, be instantly putt to executioun with all severitie, and that publicatioun be maid heirof be the bell, to the effect nane pretend ignorance therof."

It would appear from what follows that every thing was not done "decently and in order" within the sanctuary in those days; but it is to be noted that such irregularities were far from uncommon, it being well known that old St Paul's, in London, was long a common market-place, and public resort for the idle and vicious during the week. It is not quite clear whether the regulation anent the wives of the Councillors arose from their non-attendance, or congregating by themselves in some particular part of the church :—"9th May, 1588. Concludit that the auld actis maid anent the removing of steillis, stockis, and movable settis and staneis furth of the kirk, be putt to execution aganes the transgressouris thair of with all severitie bot respect to persoun; and that the kirkmaister presentlie and incontinent attend thairto, and that evrie persoun of the Counsall cause thair wyffis sit within the body of the kirk, in all tyme cumming, vnder the pane of 20s., to be vplifted of the persoun contravenare sa oft as thair wyffis sall be found transgressing this present."

Although James VI. took but little interest in his ill-fated mother, during her long imprisonment in England, he received the tidings of her execution with the outward signs of grief and indignation. He issued orders calling his subjects to arms; but his resentment was

short-lived, and no hostilities ensued. The following extracts show that Dundee had to bestir itself on this occasion :—"16th May, 1588. Ordanit the haill nichtbouris and fensible persouns of this burgh to be in reddyng, weill boddine with jak-speir, steill bonnet or hagbutt,¹ and other armour appoyntit be act of parliament, to attend and awaith vpon the provost and bailleis directioun, quhen thai sall be chairgit according to the kyngis maiesties chairgis directit and publishit to that effect, under the pane contenit in the actis of parliament & statutes of this burgh."

"16th May, 1588. Appoyntit and disponit to Robert Bawand and Patrik Lowrie, meassounis, ane burgeschip, in recompensas of thair bounty and skayth sustenit in the touns wark, in bigging of the Murraygaitt port, and ordanit the persones name to be presentit be thame to be inserted in the locket buik, and admitted to his fredome."

"24th May, 1588. Concludit that the bailleis sall distribute the spairis to sic persones in thair quarteris as ar habil to vse and lay the sam vpon the townis prices—viz, 10s. the pece, and ordanit the sowmes to be ressavit thairfor, quhilk will extend to 60 lib., to be deliveryt to Thomas Davidsoun, for mounting and stocking the ordinance." Then follows the imposition of 500 merks for mounting the guns and buying powder.

"7th Aug., 1588. Quhilk day the bailleis and counsall, vnderstanding the gude and thankfull service done by Patrick Ramsay, smyth, and his gude attendance on the knok and stepill in tyme of troublis, nominat and appoyntit the said Patrik to haif the owir and chairge of the ordinance being in the stepill, vnder Thomas Davidson, principal maister thairfor; and the said Patrick in all tyme cumyng sall be gunare thairfor; for the quhilk service the saids provest and bailleis hes, be this present, inlairgit the said Patric's stipend appoyutit, quhilk wes of befor 17 merkis, and now hes ordaint to be payit zeirlie of twentie lib., augmenting to the first stipend 13 merkis zeirlie, and this augmentation to indure onlie during the provest and bailleis will allenarlie."

The old enemy, the plague, having again threatened the country, precautions against its spread are thus ordered :—"30th July, 1588. It is statute that, in respect of the last infectioun of the plague or pest within the toun of Leyth, that this burgh sall be substantiouslie

¹ The *hagbutt*, *haquebut*, or *harquebusse* was a sort of musket, cocked by means of a wheel, and carrying a ball of nearly two oz. in weight.

attendit to and watchit, sa far as is possabill, for preservatioun of the sam, and first, that thair be four quarter-maisters electit for visiting daylie, in the morning betwix fyve and sex, of all personis within thair quarteris quha sall immediatlie report gif thair be ony seik or diseasit personis, to the baillie of thair quarteris."

King James soon made another demand on the burgesses—namely, to assist him with ships for his matrimonial expedition to Denmark; to which the following minute seems to refer:—"9th Oct., 1588. Nominated Johne Fyndlasoun to pass to my lord admirall, and declair the townis gudewill to his lordschip's furtherance and service, and that the toun has concludit to remember his lordships frendschip declairit to thame in all thair advis, with ane tokine of ane hundreth crownis, and ane pair of pistollettis; and this present to be ane war-rand to the said Johne for that effect."

That domestic grievance, a scolding wife, seems to have been too plentiful in those days, and was thus legislated upon:—"Gif it sall happen any mens wives, or uther women that hes mony to pay, to be hard opinly in shamefull flyting, reproching, slandering, cursing, banning, or making any horrible Imprecations, or fearfull Blasphemies of the name of God betwixt them and any uther person, that the offendar, havand money to pay, sall stand in ward whill they pay xl. ss. to the reparations of the comon warkes of this Brugh. And also sall pase to the Mercat Croce of this Brugh, or to the place wher they offended their nighbour, and upon ther knees ask them forgeviness. And the person that hes no money to pay sall be put in the cockstool be the space of three houres, in the maist patent tyme of day, and therafter satisfie the partie."

We conclude our extracts with the following, which refers to the executive then found necessary to regulate the ordinary affairs of the town:—"It is concludit by common consent, that the hail officeres and serivants of this brugh bear continually ther halberts upon ther persones, and attend daily and diligently vpon the direction of the Provost and Bailles; and that two of ther number continually wait vpon the hie street and calsay of this brugh, betwixt the flesch house and the old Tolbuith."

Section V.

THE PORT OF DUNDEE.

EARLY NOTIONS OF THE PORT—THE CRAIG HARBOUR—FIRST VESSELS—DAMAGE TO HARBOUR IN 1868—MANAGEMENT BY THE TOWN—THE FIRST HARBOUR ACT OF 1815—SUBSEQUENT EXTENSIONS—MODERN WORKS—STATISTICS.

UNTIL a comparatively recent period, the Shipping of Scotland was so limited, both in the number and capacity of the vessels, that it is needless to go far back for traces of the maritime importance of Dundee. Its natural advantages as a port would doubtless secure for it a share of trade in early times, as soon as intercourse arose with other countries, and this would necessitate some provision being made for the safety and accommodation of vessels frequenting the place. In the middle of the 12th century, we know that shipbuilding had been introduced into this country, since a powerful French baron got ships built at Inverness, out of the timber of the Spey forests, with which he sailed to join the Crusaders in Palestine. In the year 1297, we find, in a despatch from Wallace to the towns of Lubeck and Hamburg, hopes held out to the traders there that commerce with the ports of Scotland would be again restored, implying that it had previously existed, before the aggressions of England had driven our countrymen from peaceful pursuits to the sterner duties of warfare in defence of their liberties. Under Bruce, a Scottish fleet, if it might be so called, was sent out in 1334 to harass the English coast, to which Dundee probably contributed. At all events, some twenty years later, its shipping had attained sufficient importance to require officials to collect the shore-dues, and customs arising from food, the revenues so derived being very considerable.¹ Grants were made from these "great customs," as they were called, to different parties, in particular

¹ Chamberlain Rolls, L, p. 18.

one of £100 to an ancestor of the Earls of Crawford. This family possessed a harbour or pier at the Craig, in connection with the family palace and grounds, which stretched from the shore northward to the churches; and it is not improbable that this was the first, and for a long period, the only port of the town. It had an important advantage in those early times, in being protected by the fortalices which stood on St Nicolas' Craig. From this Port the "St Mary" sailed in 1390, freighted with the Earl of Crawford and his suite for the celebrated tournament on London Bridge.

In the Parliament of James II., held in 1458, a grant of duties was given upon vessels for repairing the harbour of Dundee; and, in connection with this, Hardyng, a contemporary writer, describes our town as "the principal burgh benorth the Scottish Sea," or Firth of Forth. The duties referred to were ten shillings on every ship, five on every crayer, buss, barge, and balinger, one on every fercost, and six pennies on every large boat.¹ The nature of the works on which these duties were to be expended is not mentioned; but no doubt they consisted of the rude pier or "shore," and bulwarks, which then constituted harbour engineering.

The next reference to shipping we have met with concerns another "Marie," which seems to have been owned by several persons, and figures under date '1491, in a disputed case which came before the Lords Auditors of Parliament, by whom it was decreed "That Patrik Liel sal pay to James of Drummond the soume of five Rens guldennis for the outred [settlement or clearance] of his parte of his ship callit the Maré of Dunde." What particular merchandise employed the shipping in those days does not appear; but, from numerous allusions, French and Rhenish wines had been long rather extensively imported, and being subject to a considerable duty, materially assisted the town's revenue.² In 1559, when the English were asked for aid against Mary of Guise and her French troops, it was reported that, amongst the supplies which Dundee could produce, were 200 tuns of wine, arrested in merchants' hands, which were to be delivered for £34 Scots the tun, or £8 10s. sterling.³

¹ Skene—*de. verb. sign. vo. Fercosta.*

² The "Black Book of Taymouth" contains entries of claret and white wine, sent from Dundee to the Breadalbane cellars, and one kind, called "vlet wine," is supposed to mean that brought home in flasks, with oil at the top instead of corks.—Innes' Sketches, p. 376.

³ Tytler, vol. VI., 391.

After a long period, during which either the shipping was not recorded, or the record was lost in the general disasters, it appears that, in 1567, in the regency of the Earl of Murray, the Magistrates of Dundee sent three vessels to join the fleet appointed to pursue Bothwell, who was supposed to have turned pirate in the North Sea, after being obliged to leave Scotland on the surrender of Queen Mary at Carberry Hill. The vessels sent from Dundee, named the "James," "Primrose," and "Robert," are said to have formed the principal part of this fleet.

In Tucker's Report to the Government of the Lord Protector Cromwell, in 1654, he speaks of Dundee, its commerce, and shipping, thus:—"The towne of Dundee was sometime a towne of riches and trade; but the many rencontres it hath met with in the time of domestick comotions, and her *obstinacy and pride* of late years rendering her a prey to the soldier, have much shaken and abated her grandeur; and notwithstanding all, she remaynes still, though not glorious, yett not contemptible." At that time the shipping ranged from 25 to 120 tons burden—ten ships aggregating 615 tons, less than one half of the registered measurement of individual vessels which presently belong to the port. Again, in the year 1691, as reported to the Convention of Royal Burghs, the shipping had increased to twenty-one vessels, the largest measuring 200, and the smallest 10 tons, aggregating 1091 tons, the whole being valued at £2920. In 1717, the number of vessels had increased to between fifty and sixty, employed chiefly in the coasting trade. Dr Small states that, in 1792, there were 116 vessels belonging to the port, navigated by 698 men, and measuring 8550½ tons. Of these 34 were employed in the foreign, and 78 in the coasting trades, and 4 in the whale-fishery.

In 1798, The Dundee, Perth, & London Shipping Co. began its operations with four smacks of 80 tons, which, in 1801, were increased by other two of 60 tons, intended for the Glasgow trade; and two smaller ones for the Leith trade. In 1806, the Company purchased, from Mr Richardson of Pitfour, four vessels, which he had for some time previously employed in the London trade.

Respecting the state of the harbour in former times, it appears that the piers or moles were formed of wood, with breakwaters of stone, to form a basin or place for the shipping to lie in security. The shore-head, or the side next the town, ran along from the west side of the Castlehill, across the present Greenmarket, along the line of Butcher

Row, anciently called Old Shore-head Street, and thence downwards to the ferry landing at St Nicolas' Craig, otherwise the Chapel Craig.

In the autumn of 1668, a violent storm inflicted great damage on the harbour and shipping; and the local resources being inadequate for the restoration of the former, application was made to Parliament, which recommended a collection for the purpose throughout the kingdom. This was made at all the parish churches in the following year, and apparently with some success. Ten years afterwards, Mr Edward of Murroes says that, "the harbour, by great labour and expense, has been rendered a very safe and agreeable station for vessels;" while, some time after, Ochterlony describes it as "a good shore, well built with hewn stone, with a key on both sydes, whereof they load and unload their ships, with a great house on the shore, called the Pack-house, where they lay up their merchant goods." The revenues of the harbour being taken as part of the general income of the town, and that subject to all the vicissitudes of the times, no special funds were available for its maintenance and improvement, and we accordingly find constant appeals in all directions to prevent it from becoming ruinous. In 1700, another appeal was made to Parliament, craving aid for repairing the harbour, and paying the public debts, which appears to have been fruitless, for, five years later, the burgh succumbed into temporary bankruptcy. Preparatory to this, the Magistrates sought to save the harbour revenues, by enacting that they should henceforth be kept specially by the Shoremaster, "for the use of the shore allenarly." This equivocal proceeding became long afterwards the source of contention, inasmuch as it gave colour to the views of one party, that all the harbour revenue ought to be expended on harbour works—a doctrine which the dominant party in the Council energetically repudiated, and, by claiming vested rights, deferred for a long period the establishment of a harbour corporation.

On emerging from their financial difficulties, the Magistrates and Council raised money on "the common good," and expended considerable sums on the harbour, under the direction of the celebrated Smeaton; trade revived, and, in 1764, the harbour was yielding a surplus. From that year down to 1814, when the management was transferred, the town had collected in harbour-dues £38,696, of which there was expended, on the piers, &c., £9,468; showing a balance of £29,228, which had been applied to the general uses of the burgh. In 1815, the first Harbour Act came into operation, under which the

Council relinquished, for twenty-one years, its rights to the shore-dues, &c., in favour of Harbour Commissioners. Under this management, plans by Mr Stevenson and Mr Telford were obtained, and those of Mr Telford being preferred, were, with certain modifications, carried into execution. In 1819, another Act was passed, upon the petition of the Magistrates and Council, for supplying certain defects in the first, under which the works progressed until 1830. The Commissioners then finding their time running down, and having regard to the limited nature of the accommodation provided—there being then but one Wet Dock—sought a continuance of their Trust, on an independent footing ; which the Town Council at first strenuously resisted ; but matters were ultimately arranged, and the Harbour Board was established on a permanent and popular basis. In wading through the controversial literature to which the proposal of placing Harbour affairs on an independent basis gave rise, one cannot help a smile at the prophecies of ruin to the town with which its authorities then regarded such proposals, and which events so speedily demonstrated to be groundless. For instance, in an elaborate report, in 1829, we read :—“There is a connection so close between the Harbour and the Burgh, that it is altogether vain to expect a beneficial result from any attempt to separate the one from the other. Under the present system there is no difficulty. There is one common end, and one common interest, without preference or jealousy—the general benefit of the community—and so the Council are enabled to undertake improvements without hesitation, except what arises from want of revenue. . . . No good can be expected, either as regards the Harbour viewed by itself, or the welfare of the Burgh generally, if this measure be carried into effect. The time is not yet come when Docks so extensive are necessary. When the trade shall actually have increased so much as to call for the magnificent Docks which Mr Jardine has proposed, *then* let them be executed ; and *then* the expense, being spread over a greatly increased trade, will not be felt.”

The party of progress prevailed, and the 9th August, 1832, is yet remembered by elderly townsmen for a public demonstration on a larger scale than has ever perhaps occurred in Dundee. It was called the Reform Jubilee. The vast concourse assembled on the Magdalen Green, formed in procession, and proceeded to the site of the Seminaries, where the foundation stone was laid ; and thence to the harbour, where a similar duty was performed at the New Wet Dock.

Few people may be aware that, in the south-west corner of Earl Grey's Dock, a silver plate reposes in its stony bed, bearing an inscription couched in such enthusiastic and comprehensive terms as the following :—

On the Day,
Set apart by the People
of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland,
for a
GRAND NATIONAL JUBILEE,
In celebration of the Disfranchisement of the Rotten Boroughs—the Unfranchisement of Large and Flourishing Towns—and the general Extension of the Suffrages of the People, in the Election of their Representatives in the House of Commons :—
His Most Gracious Majesty, KING WILLIAM THE FOURTH, King ;
The Right Hon. EARL GREY, Prime Minister ;
This Wet Dock, named
EARL GREY'S DOCK,
In honour of the honest, zealous, eloquent, long-tried, and consistent Advocate,
and now triumphant Leader of Reform—
One of the Works,
Authorised by a Statute of the British Parliament, passed in the eleventh year of the reign of George the Fourth, vesting for ever the Harbour of Dundee and its revenues in Trustees popularly elected—
Was Founded, in presence of the Harbour Trustees, the Magistrates and Council, the Guildry, the Nine Incorporated Trades, the Fraternity of Masters and Seamen, the Three United Trades, the Commissioners of Police, and the other Public Bodies and Societies of the Town ;
And also in presence and with the assistance of
The ancient and honourable Craft of Free and Accepted Masons,
By the Right Honourable GEORGE LORD KINNAIRD,
Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Scotland :
The odious system of self-election of the Magistrates and Council of this Burgh having been abolished, by Parliament, in 1831, and WILLIAM LINDSAY, Esq., elected by the suffrages of the Burghesses, and holding the office of Chief Magistrate of the Burgh.
THOMAS TELFORD, JAMES JARDINE, and JOHN GIBB, Engineers ;
And JAMES LESLIE, Esq., Superintending Engineer of the Harbour.
9th August, 1832.

For many years the Dock accommodation consisted of a Tidal or entrance Dock of the extent of $4\frac{3}{4}$ acres ; Earl Grey Dock, $5\frac{1}{2}$ acres ; King William IV. Dock, $6\frac{1}{2}$ acres ; and, with the Graving Dock and Patent Slip for repairing purposes, these formed adequate facilities.

ties for the number and class of vessels frequenting the port, which were chiefly those engaged in the coasting trade. As the introduction of railways, and the extended use of steamers, gradually displaced the coasters, while vessels of greater size and larger draught took up the trade with Calcutta and other foreign ports, it became necessary to meet the altered conditions of the trade, and accordingly an unfinished tide harbour, at the east end of the works, was converted, in 1865, into the Camperdown Dock (area $8\frac{1}{2}$ acres); and, in 1869, further powers were obtained, upon a Report by Mr Harrison, to complete the Victoria Dock, of $10\frac{3}{4}$ acres, and construct another graving dock in connection with it,—these works being now actively proceeding. The Trustees having also acquired the fore-shore and land, between the railway and river eastward to Stannergate point, have thus secured the means of largely extending the harbour works in future. The total area of the Docks will now be $35\frac{1}{2}$ acres—the extent of river frontage being about two miles. From the commencement of the Harbour Works, in 1815 to 1833, the sum expended was £248,742 2s. 8½d.; when the works now in hand are finished the total outlay will probably reach £740,000.

The following statistics exhibit the rise and fluctuation of the SHIPPING belonging to the Port:—

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Vessels.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Men and Boys.</i>
1654.....	10	...	...
1690.....	21	1,091	...
1731.....	70	2,309	...
1792.....	116	8,550	...
1843.....	335	50,670	2,966
1848.....	351	54,919	3,143
1853.....	328	58,407	3,189
1858.....	275	51,200	2,764
1863.....	222	47,573	2,527
1868.....	192	43,980	2,654
1872.....	179	53,591	2,518

The decrease in the number of vessels and seamen is due to the more extensive employment of steamers, which have gradually displaced the small coasters. This is brought out by the following figures:—

1843.			1872.		
<i>No.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Men.</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Tonnage.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Sailing Vessels, ... 326	48,859	} 2966	Sailing Vessels, ... 146	40,303	} 2518
Steamers, 9	1,811		Steamers, 33	13,278	

The following table exhibits the progressive increase of the HARBOUR REVENUE from 1815 to the present time :—

		<i>Average Annual Revenue.</i>
1797 to 1800.....	£ 4,650 0 0	£ 1,550 0 0
1815 to 1825.....	64,461 11 4	6,446 3 2
1826 to 1830	52,114 4 5	13,028 11 1
1831 to 1840.....	136,679 3 11	15,186 11 6
1841 to 1850.....	225,793 18 9½	25,088 4 8
1851 to 1860.....	231,528 18 1	25,725 8 8
1861 to 1870.....	310,877 15 7½	34,541 19 6
1871 to 1873.....	125,870 18 3	62,935 9 1

The large and steadily increasing income of the Harbour Trust is of course primarily applied to the maintenance and improvement of the works, and for providing suitable appliances for the trade of the port. Of the latter, a thirty ton crane, erected a good many years ago, was regarded at the time as a great achievement ; but the progress of mechanical science suggested more powerful and expeditious appliances for loading, and accordingly a hydraulic crane was recently erected at the Camperdown Dock, while at the present time a seventy ton steam crane is in preparation, to meet the requirements of the engineering trade. Buildings of an ornamental character are not to be expected about harbour works ; but besides contributing to the Royal Arch, elsewhere alluded to, the Harbour Trustees also took part in erecting the Custom-house Buildings, in Dock Street, partly occupied by Harbour offices. This structure is a dignified and effective specimen of Classic architecture, 143 feet in length, and three storeys in height. It is built wholly of local stone, and was the joint design of Mr Leslie, formerly harbour engineer, and the late Mr Taylor of Glasgow. The central portion of the facade consists of a bold tetrastyle portico of the Ionic order, elevated on an arched rusticated basement, surmounted by a pediment charged with the royal arms, the cornice of the order, as also the rustication of the lower storey, being continued along the rest of the front.

Section VI.

ROYAL INFIRMARY—ROYAL ASYLUM FOR LUNATICS—ROYAL ORPHAN INSTITUTION—HIGH SCHOOL—MORGAN'S HOSPITAL—EDUCATIONAL AND CHARITABLE INSTITUTIONS.

ROYAL INFIRMARY.

TOWARDS the end of the last century, when the town began to recover from the effects of the rebellion, and to share in the benefits resulting from the Union, trade and manufactures improved, the population increased, and with it came a corresponding increase in the number of necessitous and indigent poor. For these there was no institution for furnishing medical or surgical assistance. To remedy this inconvenience, several benevolent individuals, headed by the Rev. Dr Small, commenced a subscription for the establishment of a Dispensary, in the year 1782. The town was divided into convenient districts, of which the medical gentlemen of the place took charge gratuitously, and not only prescribed to those who called on them, but visited the poor at their own houses. The beneficial effects of the infant Dispensary became very soon apparent, and were sensibly felt by the poor. It was, however, limited in means—its greatest annual income only reaching £110 5s. ; and, above all, the want of a house for the reception of patients, where they could be more properly treated than at their own homes, in a great measure diminished its usefulness. An attempt was therefore made to obtain a more liberal subscription—not restricted to the town, but extending into the neighbouring parishes—to provide the means for building an Infirmary, which might be a benefit and a blessing to the town and the country around it. This happily succeeded ; a piece of ground was purchased on the north side of King Street, having an elevated situation, and at the time sufficiently detached from other buildings to secure quietness and salubrious air to the patients. The foundation-stone was laid on the 17th June, 1793 ; the building of the centre part was finished in 1796, and opened for the reception of patients in the spring of 1798. The sum expended for the site was £160 ; the erection of the house, and laying out of the grounds, cost £1273 ; and, with furnishing and other outlays, the whole cost of the establishment, previous to its opening,

was £1900 6s. 4½d. The building at first was capable of accommodating about fifty-six patients, but beds for only twenty were provided. By fitting up additional beds from time to time, sufficient accommodation was afforded till the year 1825, when it was found necessary to erect and furnish two wings, the expense of which was about £800; making the total cost of the Infirmary, as it stood in 1826, about £2700, and its accommodation equal to one hundred and four beds.

For more than half a century this building served to accommodate the sick poor; but the increase of population, combined with its inadequacy on occasions when epidemics prevailed, and the increase of dwellings around its site, rendered a change imperative. A timely bequest of £8000, for a new hospital, by Miss Soutar, furnished the nucleus of a building fund, and, accordingly, through the energy of Sir John Ogilvy and other philanthropic citizens, steps were taken for the erection of a building which should be thoroughly adapted to its purpose, and worthy of the town. A site was obtained in an elevated position adjoining the Barrack Park; on the 22d July, 1852, the foundation stone was laid with great ceremony by the Duke of Athole; and, on the 7th Feb. 1855, the present building was opened for the reception of patients. The structure was designed by Messrs Coe & Goodwin of London, and is in the Tudor style, the internal arrangement being on the corridor system, which was then believed to be the most advantageous. The building is 333 feet in length, having a wing at either end, extending backwards 168 feet, and three storeys in height. In the centre of the front the administrative offices are placed, with the kitchen, &c., immediately behind, while communication is had to the male and female wards to the right and left by a continuous corridor of 340 feet in length, lighted from behind. The wards occupy the fronts both of main building and wings, the main wards being 100 feet long, 22 feet wide, and 17 feet high. Accommodation is provided for 300 patients, with an allowance of 1720 cubic space to each. The entire cost of the building was about £14,500.

The Infirmary has from its commencement been supported wholly by voluntary contributions, which the universal recognition of its advantages and excellent management have elicited from all classes in the town and district. It was incorporated by Royal Charter in 1819, by which the qualification of life-governors is declared to be a payment of ten guineas; and of governors a guinea yearly, or five annuities.

in one sum, and half-a-guinea yearly. The governors have certain privileges in the nomination of patients; but practically the benefits of the institution are available to all sick and hurt poor, either as out or in-door patients. For a long period, a prejudice existed in the public mind, which deterred persons from leaving their own dwellings for treatment in the hospital, and, though not yet extinct, the greater success attending the best advice and attentive treatment derived within its walls is gradually overcoming this feeling. The affairs of the Infirmary are administered by a Court of Directors, which meets quarterly, and consists of a President, five Vice-Presidents, a Weekly Committee of eighteen members, six house-visitors, three honorary consulting physicians, and three honorary surgeons, all of whom act gratuitously. The staff consists of a medical-superintendent as the chief, a medical-assistant, matron, &c. Separate accommodation for the nurses and working staff has recently been provided, mainly through the liberality of Mr Armitstead, who gave £1000 towards that object.

The funds required for the efficient maintenance of the Infirmary, on a scale equal to the necessities of the place, are considerable, and have not hitherto been provided so liberally as could be desired, which led the governors, last year, to institute simultaneous collections in all the churches on a "Hospital Sunday." The success of this effort, and a more general recognition by the public at large of the paramount claims of the institution, will, it is hoped, place this noble charity on a sounder financial position than it has hitherto attained. Last year, the ordinary income from all sources was £4794 13s. 9d.; the expenditure was £5663 6s. 10d.; and the debt stood at £1643 8s. 10d. The following table shows the cases treated during the last seven years:—

	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.
Medical,	931	471	601	682	593	568	651
Surgical,	974	731	576	644	665	612	609
Fever,	600	415	582	560	358	1138	215
Total,...	2505	1617	1759	1886	1616	2318	1475
Death rate,						7.6	8.93

For the treatment of out-patients, the town, including the suburb of

Lochee, is divided into four districts, with a surgeon to each, who attended to 5861 cases during the year 1872-3.¹

ROYAL ASYLUM FOR LUNATICS.

For a considerable time after the establishment of the Infirmary, no separate accommodation existed for the insane. Down to a comparatively recent period, confinement, and not cure, seemed to be the object in view, in dealing with the unhappy beings afflicted with mental disorder. The restraint and neglect practised by our fathers would of itself have driven some men crazy, tending as it did to aggravate the sufferer's distemper, inflaming melancholy into madness, and extinguishing utterly the flickering spark of reason. Happily Bedlam and its horrors now belong to the past, the very name growing obsolete. Instead of the miserable cell, the iron cage, the chains, and the other concomitants of the mistaken harshness of the former system, the more enlightened spirit of our age has planted the land with well-ordered asylums, in which humanity and science combine to make confinement subservient to recovery, where that is practicable, and in any case to alleviate the wretchedness of mental disease. While thus doing all that skill and kindness can accomplish for the lunatics, a safeguard is at the same time provided for the public from their unconscious violence, or the fatal consequences of their delusions.

In 1805, a Committee of the Infirmary Directors was appointed to procure subscriptions for an asylum ; and a site having been obtained

¹ The following is a list of the legacies and donations, of £100 and upwards, made to the Infirmary since 1860 :—

[illegible]

in what was then a retired and salubrious outskirt of the town, the foundation stone of the present edifice was laid, on the 3d September, 1812, by Viscount Duncan, assisted by the Hon. William Maule.¹ It was opened for the reception of patients on 1st April, 1820, on a limited scale; but extensions were required in 1830, 1839, and subsequent years, with the view of completing a comprehensive plan by Mr Burn of Edinburgh. The latest addition was a commodious chapel

! It is fitting to record the names of the most active founders of this beneficent institution. David Blair of Cookston took the most active part, and worthily filled the office of Chairman from its erection till his death in 1836, when Patrick Scott, who had exerted himself from the first, succeeded to the chair. Dr Alex. Ramsay was the first Physician, and Ebenezer Anderson acted as Treasurer. The following list of individual subscribers, above £50, (exclusive of legacies,) may also be interesting :—

Honourable W. Maule of Panmure,	...	...	£200	0	0
J. Erskine of Linlathen, and family,	...	...	160	5	0
David Blair of Cookston,	...	...	115	15	0
Earl of Strathmore,	...	...	105	0	0
James Fyfe of Smithfield,	...	...	105	0	0
Mungo Dick of Pitkerro,	...	...	105	0	0
George Paterson of Castle Huntly,	...	...	102	10	0
James Morison of Naughton,	...	...	89	5	0
Sermon by Dr Chalmers,	...	...	86	7	0
Alexander Pitcairn of Pratis,	...	...	84	0	0
John Baxter of Idvies,	...	...	68	18	0
William Wilson of Balbeuchly,	...	...	60	10	0
Alexander Riddoch of Blacklunans,	...	...	57	10	0
David Lyon, London,	...	...	55	5	0
Sermon by Dr Andrew Thomson,	...	...	54	2	0
Lord Kinnaird,	...	...	52	10	0
William Jobson of Lochore,	...	...	52	10	0
John Guthrie of Guthrie,	...	...	52	10	0
James Graham of Meathie,	...	...	52	10	0
D. & P. Arklay,	...	...	52	10	0
Archibald Campbell of Blythswood,	...	...	52	10	0
John Maberly, M.P., London,	...	...	50	4	2
Sir D. Wedderburn,	...	...	50	0	0

The Public Bodies subscribed as follows:—

Balance of Subscriptions for Army Substitutes,	...	...	£528	1	8
The Trades' Incorporations,	...	...	278	14	0
Six Natives of Forfar at Madras,	...	...	168	0	0
Magistrates and Council of Dundee,	...	...	105	0	0
Parish of Kettins,	...	...	100	0	0
Parish of Mains,	...	...	94	8	0
Seamen Fraternity,	...	...	68	0	0
Burgh of Forfar,	...	...	52	10	0

for the inmates. The original grounds extended to 12 acres ; but other 4 acres have since been acquired. The sum of £36,626 has been expended since 1820 upon the buildings, which are extensive, the main block being in the form of the letter H, and measuring 320 feet in extreme length, by 180 feet over the wings. The accommodation for patients, besides being inadequate, is rather behind the day, so that the great advances of modern science desiderate better arrangements and a change of site. These considerations, urged by the Board of Lunacy, have become so pressing, owing to the proximity of public works and other buildings, that the Directors are at present taking the preliminary steps for removing the establishment to some country site, where greater extent and retirement can be secured. The greatly enhanced value of the present site will, it is expected, render this a less costly undertaking than it would otherwise have been, and the probability therefore is that it will be effected at no distant date.

The Asylum is incorporated by Royal Charter, which vests the management in a body of thirty-nine Directors, of whom twenty-nine are called Ordinary, and are popularly chosen from the different public bodies of the town and county. At the annual meeting, a weekly committee of six, and three house-visitors, are appointed as an executive, to co-operate with the permanent staff, which consists of a resident medical superintendent, matron, &c. The non-resident officials include a consulting-physician, treasurer, secretary, and chaplain.

The Asylum is self-supporting, the lowest rate charged for patients being 9s. 6d. per week ; but this is confined to those sent from twenty-six parishes, which had contributed £20 or more to the funds of the institution. For all other pauper inmates the charge is 10s. 6d. per week ; whilst for other classes it ranges from 15s. to 63s., besides a physician's fee on admission, and repeated annually so long as the patient remains in the house. The income for 1873 amounted to £5405 2s. 11d., and the expenditure £5976 4s. 6d. The total number of patients under treatment during the year was 264—the daily average of inmates being 191. During the whole period of its existence the Asylum has been considered one of the best managed and most successful in the kingdom. It is the only Asylum in Scotland in which systematic school teaching of the patients is conducted as part of their treatment. The total admissions from 1820 to 1873 have been 2485, of which 1113 were discharged cured, giving a percentage of 44.78.

ROYAL ORPHAN INSTITUTION.

This charity originated in 1815, when, at a meeting held in a Committee-Room of the Trades' Hall, it was resolved to solicit subscriptions for establishing an educational institution for destitute orphan children. In a very short time, about £700 was collected, with which a beginning was made, and, as additional funds flowed in, the scope of the charity was enlarged, by providing maintenance and clothing for the more necessitous children; but these advantages were for a time limited to twelve of each sex. On acquiring the Orphan House in Small's Wynd, education was procured for day scholars paying one shilling a quarter, the number of whom was never less, and frequently much more, than a hundred and fifty. In this way, long before the idea of Ragged or Industrial Schools was broached, many destitute children were rescued from want and wretchedness, while a far greater number were redeemed from hopeless ignorance. To give stability to the institution, a Crown Charter was applied for, and obtained in 1830, which provided for the due regulation of its affairs and the application of its funds. These are under the control of a President, five Vice-Presidents, seven Directors *ex-officio*, and twelve ordinary Directors. The funds having been increased by various benefactions, and husbanded by careful management, led the Directors to consider the propriety of extending the usefulness of the charity beyond the limited range possible within the premises in Small's Wynd. A subscription was opened, and so liberally responded to that a sum of £5889 11s. 0d. was obtained for a building fund. A site was obtained at Craigie, on very favourable terms, from the late Mr J. A. Guthrie, who gave in addition a donation of £300, and a commodious building erected, at a cost, including furniture, &c., of about £6000, which was opened in 1870. It provides suitable accommodation for 70 children, the number at present being 53. Though nearly all the children are the offspring of parents of delicate constitution, their health in the Orphanage has been in the highest degree satisfactory, and their moral and intellectual training no less so, under the kind and judicious system of management. All the children who have left to engage in the duties of life, for the last thirteen years, have done well; and it is gratifying to find old pupils embracing every opportunity of revisiting the Institution which was the home of their earlier

years. When it is remembered that the children are comfortably lodged and clothed, and substantially, though plainly, fed, the carefulness of the management may be inferred from the fact, that the cost amounts only to £9 5s. per annum, or, including education and all expenses, £17 per head—a sum which contrasts strikingly with the cost in many similar establishments. The total revenue last year was £923 19s. 7d., which might surely, with the growing wealth of the town, be increased so as to enable the Directors to extend the benefits of this deserving Institution to the full limit of its accommodation.

THE HIGH SCHOOL.

THE schools of Dundee are of old date, and have long enjoyed a deserved celebrity for elementary education. The popular belief, that Sir William Wallace received his education here, rests only on the doubtful authority of Rind Harry's ballad, and even if accepted could only refer to such training as would then be found in some of the monastic or religious houses, which it is well known were then, and for long after, the only repositories of learned or educated men. The earliest authentic notice of a school occurs in 1433: when one Laurence Lowrie was master. He managed to build a school and school-house: but having failed to procure the sanction of the Bishop of Brechin, to which See the ecclesiastics of Dundee were amenable, the teacher incurred the displeasure of that dignitary, and was visited with the sentence of the Church. It was not, however, till the era of the Reformation, and under the energetic direction of Knox, that public schools were regularly instituted. Ruffed as the great Reformer was in securing a third of the revenues of the Roman Church for education, it is easy to see that the scanty endowments, which were snatched from the rapacious hands of the nobles, were quite inadequate to realise his wise and noble scheme. Even in 1555 some kind of systematic teaching appears to have been established in Dundee, for, in that year we find it enacted in the Head Court that "masters of sciences, doctors of the same, and parents of houses being yea:" should attend to the behaviour of the youngsters in the church. Frequent enactments as to the breaking of "the glass windows" of the church, under sanction the tradition that the first school was located within

¹ Reg. Ep. Brechin, i., p. 86.

the sacred edifice—a supposition which may also receive confirmation from the ascertained fact, that certain of the early Reformed ministers were at the same time rectors of the Grammar School. One of these was the celebrated Mr David Lindsay, a descendant of the House of Edzell, who, in 1601, resigned the mastership of the Grammar School of Montrose for that of Dundee, shortly after undertaking the ministerial duties of St Mary's. It is interesting to find that, at this early period, the ordinary rudiments of education were supplemented by the softening element of music. In 1603, Lindsay had as coadjutor one John Williamson, who is described as “master of the sang schole,” within the burgh, for which the Magistrates gave him a salary of sixteen merks yearly. Lindsay's salary, as schoolmaster, was 250 merks, and as minister he latterly had 350 merks in addition; but, in 1606, he resigned the former office, in respect that “he was not habile to dischaige, with ane guid conscience, bayth the sayd offices.” In 1613, the Magistrates presented him with a sum of 500 merks, in consideration of his services, “als weill in the educatioun and informatione of the youth in letteris and gude maneris, as in the dischaige of his office and calling of the ministrie,” and of the burden upon him, “in the sustentatione of his wyiff, bairnis, and familie.” Lindsay remained in Dundee until 1619, when, having evinced a leaning to Episcopacy, he was promoted first to the bishopric of Brechin, and afterwards to that of Edinburgh. It was at his head that Jenny Geddes flung her stool when he began to read the Book of Common Prayer, in the High Church, in July 1637.

It appears that, after the establishment of the Hospital at the foot of South Tay Street, which was supported from the “Hospital Fund,” or old ecclesiastical revenues assigned by Queen Mary's Charter, the Grammar School was located in the same building, and partly supported from the same source, as grants to the master appear continuously in the Hospital accounts. The buildings were destroyed by fire by Montrose in 1645, but were afterwards rebuilt. In the Council records, we find this entry, under date May 2, 1653, two years after the disastrous siege under General Monck:—“Mr Jon Mairten, student of divinitie at St Andrews, admitted Mr of the Grammer School, and his yearly fee is 400 merks Scots, payed by the Ther. and Hospital Mr. The quarter payments payable by the schollars, 13sh 4d yr qrtr.” In 1674, we find the Magistrates, who held the appointment of the Masters, enacting the following curious regulations in connection with the schools,

which we quote for the information of School-boards at the present time :—

1. That prayers be made, in the English tongue, be the Master or eldest Doctor, each morning and evening in the week dayes, and after the afternoon's sermon on the Lord's day, and the motto of the sermon ar to be exacted, and one psalm sung ; and that the schollars be examined upon the Catechisme, either latine or English as the Mr. shall appoint.

2. That all the Scholars conven wt the Mr. and Doctors in the School, at 6 in the morning in summer, and 7 in winter, and also after breakfast, and at one of the clock after dinner.

3. That the play be seldom granted in noctim, and that upon play-days the Mr. or one of the Dra. go furth wt the schollars to the Magdalen gear, and, after 2 hours' play, bring them back to the school, and exact an account of ther lessons.

4. That nane of the Latin-Schollars, who have learned ther constructions, be permitted to speak english wtin or wtout the schoole to the Masters, or any of ther Condisciples, sub pœna, &c. ; and that ther be clandestine Captors for that effect, and for those that rides horses (!) especially in time of Mercat, and for those that frequent the shoar boats or ships ; and that the Rolle be called once every Monday for chastising the delinquents.

5. That, if any be found swearing, breaking the Sabbath day, rebellious to ther Masters, Trowans fm the school, fugitives fm disciplin—for the 1st fault they be publickly whipped ; for the 2d, flogged ; and for the 3d, excluded the school till they find surety for their better conduct.

6. That those in the Masters classe be accustomed to harrangue, upon some subject prescribed by the Master, once in the month at leaste.—*Burgh Laws*, pp. 61—2.

In 1793, when Tay Street was opened through the grounds, it is noted that accommodation was still provided “for the Academy and English School, as formerly.” At a later period, the Grammar School was located in an old building in St Clement's Lane, behind the Town House. Prior to 1829, however, the school had been transferred to a range of buildings, which stood in the Nethergate, at the south-west corner of the Churchyard ; and upon the demolition of these buildings, the schools were merged into the “Public Seminaries.” This building occupies a fine site, within a semicircular enclosure which forms Euclid Crescent, at the top of Reform Street, and was erected in 1832–3. It was designed by Mr John Angus of Edinburgh, and consists of a façade 227 feet in length, with a hexastyle Grecian Doric portico as the central feature, and two end wings, which have from time to time been extended backwards, to provide additional accommodation. Besides the Academy and Grammar Schools, the building now contains the School of Design ; and, whether for architectural

effect or educational organisation, must be regarded as one of the most creditable institutions within the town. Its designation was, some years ago, changed from the "Public Seminaries" to the "High School," and its administration rests with a body of Directors nominated by the various public bodies—the staff consisting of a rector, and masters of the various departments. Besides the emoluments derived from the fees, the teachers have the benefit of various bequests and endowments, some of old standing, devised by wealthy and public-spirited townsmen, in furtherance of education—an account of these being afterwards given.

THE MORGAN HOSPITAL

OF institutions of the "Hospital" class, for the education and maintenance of the young, and for which Edinburgh and other towns are famous, this is the only example possessed by Dundee. For it the community is indebted to John Morgan, the second son of Thomas Morgan, a brewer, who, in the latter half of last century, occupied premises on the east side of Tally Street, where John was born, Feb. 28, 1760. After receiving his education at the Grammar School, he entered a writer's office; but, tiring of that employment, he started, along with a younger brother, Thomas, for India, about the year 1780. After a time, John settled down in the interior as an indigo planter, in which occupation his brother joined him, after following for some time the medical profession, to which he had been bred at home. In 1812, the two brothers re-appeared in Dundee, having realised an ample fortune in the East, and took up residence in the mansion-house of Balgay, along with their mother and two surviving sisters. During their three years' residence here, they rather avoided intercourse with society, and were much occupied in realising their Indian property. Removing first to Edinburgh, and then for a brief period to the neighbourhood of Haddington, they finally settled down in the metropolis; where death successively reduced the family group to one survivor, John; and he, too, succumbed to the last enemy, on Aug. 25, 1850, being then in the 91st year of his age.

It was not surmised, during his lifetime, that John Morgan entertained any liberal designs towards his native town. His only gift was one of £100, sent in 1830, for the benefit of the poor members of the Nine Trades, which was prudently acknowledged by the Trades

electing him an honorary member of their Incorporation, a compliment with which he appeared to be much flattered. After his death, certain testamentary writings came to light, which revealed some peculiar traits in his character. It appears his ambition had been to connect his name with some old family; and failing to identify his lineage with any historical Morgans, he resolved to found one for himself. Selecting a gentleman of his acquaintance, in whom, and his descendants, his wealth might sustain the name and position they were to assume, he devised his fortune to accumulate until it reached a million, with which estates were to be purchased in Forfarshire and the Lothians. A change, however, had, fortunately for Dundee, come over his mind: this will was obliterated and annulled; and by another writing, dated October 10, 1842, he set forth his intention of establishing an hospital in Dundee, after the model of George Heriot's in Edinburgh. Certain losses which he experienced in realising his fortune led to modifications in the extent and scope of this scheme, as expressed in a subsequent writing, which restricted the Hospital to 100 instead of 180 boys. The deeds were much altered and obliterated, and on that account grave doubts arose as to their validity. The means were, however, found for trying the case in the Court of Session, where the decision was adverse to the town. It was appealed to the House of Lords, but, at the eleventh hour, it seemed to meet with a fatal obstacle: the local agent, Mr David Rollo, received a message that it came on for hearing on the following day; but could only be heard upon a guarantee being forthcoming for the expenses of the appeal. Mr Rollo, with great spirit and promptitude, gave his personal guarantee, with the verbal acquiescence of Mr Hume, convenor of the Nine Trades. The result was a judgment by the House of Lords, finding that the deeds constituted "a good and valid bequest of the fortune of John Morgan, or so much thereof as shall be sufficient for building and endowing an Hospital for the education and maintenance of 100 boys in the town of Dundee."

The matter having been remitted back to the Court of Session to frame a scheme for establishing the Hospital, the sum of £73,000 was duly set apart for that purpose. A site, extending to between 3 and 4 acres was obtained, at the junction of the Forfar and Pitkerro roads, behind the Baxter Park. The building is an elegant and commodious structure, designed in the French Gothic style by Peddie & Kinnear of Edinburgh, and, with the site, cost about £24,000. Its

principal front, facing the west, is 183 feet in length, with the main doorway in the centre, over which rises a tower, having circular turrets, with conical roofs on its four angles, between which a high-pitched roof rises, supporting a belfry. From its elevated position, the building forms a prominent object in almost any general view of the town, and from the grounds of the Baxter Park, which adjoin it on the south, it is particularly effective. Besides the class-rooms and dormitories for the boys, the building comprises, on the south flank, a large hall or chapel; and on the north, a commodious residence for the master. The funds available for its maintenance did not permit more than sixty boys being received at first; but the number has now been increased, and they receive their board, clothing, and education within its walls. The governors are elected upon a popular basis—two from each of the Town Councils of Dundee, Forfar, Arbroath, and Montrose, as well as the Presbytery, the High School, and Nine Trades, with other *ex-officio* representatives.

INSTITUTION FOR THE BLIND.

THE claims of those deprived of sight, upon the sympathy and help of the benevolent, do not require to be demonstrated; and when it is remembered that the well-doing blind people have no desire to be pauperised, or to claim exemption from the active duties of life, the work of aiding them in the peculiar channels of education and industry, suitable to the lot which Providence has assigned to them, becomes more a matter of duty to right-thinking minds. The Institution in Dallfield Walk is well fitted to give effect to such philanthropy. Through the liberality of Mr and Mrs Molison, commodious buildings have been erected, where the industrial and educational departments, which the Institution maintains, can be successfully carried out. The total number of blind persons in Dundee is about 130. Of these many are of course disqualified by age, infirmity, or other causes, from engaging in work at a public institution; while others have friends in a position to provide for their support. Notwithstanding this, there must always be many deprived of sight to whom the education and industrial training afforded at this Institution are of the greatest advantage; while its existence ought to render the public proof against the misplaced compassion which is too apt thoughtlessly to foster indolence

and vice, by bestowing alms on those who prefer to supplicate for charity on the streets rather than live by honest industry.

The industrial department provides occupation for an average of 18 blind persons, the half of whom are generally employed in basket-making, while the others prepare mattresses, mats, &c. It is not, perhaps, generally known that the Institution has a shop for the sale of these goods, in South Union Street. The wages paid in this department last year amounted to about £350. In the educational branch, about eight children are regularly instructed. For support, the Institution depends wholly on voluntary subscriptions, which, last year, amounted only to £157 2s. 0d., a sum quite inadequate to meet ordinary wants, even though the industrial department goes far to be self-supporting. The excellent equipment of the charity, in respect of accommodation, and the strong claims it presents on the consideration of the public, will surely obtain better support for it in the future.

DEAF AND DUMB INSTITUTION.

THE observations we have made in commendation of the Institution for the Blind, may be held as applying with equal force to the one now under notice, as a most deserving agency for philanthropic effort. Originally established on a humble scale in 1846, within premises in Meadow Street, it was removed two years afterwards to a house in Bucklemaker Wynd, where it continued for twenty-three years. The property having been sold, with a view to the street improvements now in progress, it became necessary to transfer the Institution to other quarters, and a suitable site having been obtained at Dudhope Bank in Logie Den, a plain, but neat and commodious building was erected there in 1870. The change has proved in the highest degree beneficial to the health of the inmates, from the salubrity of the situation, and the airy and well-ventilated rooms which are provided—the principal class-room being 30 feet by 24, and 18 feet high. There are about 30 children, of both sexes, regularly cared for and taught; but, on Sabbath days, the attendance is swelled to from 80 to 100, by the attendance of those who have left school, and assemble to receive spiritual instruction at the Institution. The re-unions of old pupils, and their friends are largely attended, and are countenanced by not a few of the benevolent residents in the town, who take an interest in the Institution.

ENDOWMENTS FOR EDUCATIONAL AND CHARITABLE PURPOSES.

Of these foundations, to the consolidation of which public attention has been recently directed, a large number exist. The earliest and most important are the Hospital Fund¹ and Johnston's charity. By the special Act of 1864, these funds, now amounting to £48,747 and £21,147 respectively, are vested in the Magistrates and Town Council. The latter originated in a gift of £1000, by Robert Johnston of London, in 1639, with a small portion of which a piece of land, called "Monorgan's Croft," was purchased, which in process of time increased in value something like a hundred fold. We now proceed to the enumeration of the other

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS, *Arranged Chronologically.*

I.—~~Dr~~ William Guild's, 1656.

By deed dated 19th Dec., 1656, William Guild, D.D., of King's College, Aberdeen, mortified a sum now equal to £363 3s. 9d., and presently in the hands of the Town Council, who are the patrons towards the maintenance and education of a bursar, for four years, at St Leonard's, now the United College, St Andrews. It appears, that besides the money, Dr Guild devised a tenement, described as his "fore and in land, lying on the west side of the Gallogate of Aberdeen," and occupied by Gordon of Crawaillie, and George Cummin, burgess of Aberdeen, with the garden, yards, and pertinents thereof, which cost him 5000 merks, to the purpose of his bursary. A correspondence was opened by the Town Clerk and the City Clerk of Aberdeen, but no information concerning this tenement could be procured, as the situation of the house could not be ascertained. The Doctor's father was a native of the town. The Town-Chamberlain, *Factor*.

II.—~~Sir~~ William Roger's, 1658.

William Roger, merchant in Dundee, was second son of Mr Charles Roger of Marywell, Coupar Grange, near Coupar Angus, where he was

¹ For the origin and history of this Foundation, see pp. 67, 151.

born about the year 1600. After being settled sometime as a merchant in Dundee, and serving as Hospitalmaster in 1641, and Treasurer in 1645, he was elected Bailie in 1646. He died in July 1658, leaving property to the amount of 19,981 pounds 19s., (Scots money of that period), the half of which (9,990 pounds 19s. 6d.), he directed, by his will, to be applied to the educating and breeding of poor children, within the town and parish of Dundee. The deed came into operation in 1666. The will states—"and, lastlie, I leave, dedicate, and mortifie my pairt of all movable goods and gear to be maid, forthcommand, for educating and breeding of poor young male children, within the town and paroch of Dundee, at scooles and crafts. My own and my said spous' friends being first preferred." The mortifier made no rules for the management of the fund; but the patrons, in May 1667, framed acts, statutes, and constitutions, some of which are not now in force:—such as, "The boys were to live together in one honse. They were to wear ane green habit or collare, and none were to be admitted to the benefit thereof but such as doe wear the same collare or liveray. They were to meet and sitt together in the church in a place and seat provided for them." Another regulation was—"Each boy to have a yeirlie allowance of 20 merks, Scots money, for furnishing clothes and payment of his scoole dewties; and, while meill is sold within the burgh of Dundee, within [blank in deed] or thereabout, have allowance of fortie pound yeirlie for his board; and when victual sal be at a higher rate, to have such allowance for boord as the patrons sal think expedient." The benefits of this foundation are restricted to children of the name of Roger, if they can be found.

The annual income, as the fund is invested, varies with the fluctuations in the rate of interest, upon a capital of £1400; besides which there is a superiority yielding £18 2s. per annum. The number of boys cared for is eleven, who receive one suit of clothes and £4 yearly, and education at a sessional school. The time for each bursar remaining on the foundation is four years, at the expiry of which period he receives £1 13s. 4d. to put him to a trade; and at the termination of his apprenticeship he is entitled to a similar sum, in name of apprentice fee. The Kirk-session are the patrons of this mortification. Mr John Miln, Savings Bank, *Factor*.

III.—*Gilbert Guthrie's, 1674.*

Gilbert Guthrie, merchant in Dundee, by his will, dated 2d June, 1674, mortified, disposed, and assigned, under the conditions after specified, to and in favour of the poor orphan boys, children of honest and indigent parents, residing within the burgh of Dundee, as a constant stock and patrimony for them, and in favour of the Magistrates, Ministers, and Kirk-Session of Dundee, and their successors in office, as patrons, tutors, and administrators to the said orphans and others above specified, ten acres of land, lying in the Westfield of Dundee, and two tenements of land in the Overgate; also, that acre of land known by the name of the "Grey Sisters' Acre," with the little bit of land at the west end thereof, with the teind sheaves of the same; with £2400 Scots, in bonds. It is expressly provided that the following rules be particularly and precisely observed:—That each person to be admitted be the manchild of honest and industrious parents, residents in Dundee: that his own kindred or name be preferred: that an orphan be preferred to one who has parents in life: that none be admitted under nine years of age, to continue at least for three years; and that each boy have forty pounds Scots paid him yearly, and to have forty pounds allowed for putting him to a trade: that no Kirk-treasurer be entrusted with the rents and profits of this Mortification, but that some honest man be chosen by the patrons:¹ that the Will be publicly read at the admission of each boy; and that intimation be made at three several diets of Session before a vacancy be filled up: that forty pounds Scots be paid for the education of such children as have no other benefit from this Mortification, but get their maintenance from their parents or otherwise: that if the Magistrates, Ministers, and Kirk-session shall not adhere to the above rules, but shall misapply the rents, and employ the same otherwise than as the Will appoints, they shall lose their patronage, and the next heirs of the testator, of the name of Guthrie, shall succeed to the management. The annual income of the Mortification is £204 2s. 4d.; the capital is

¹ Mr Guthrie would ~~not~~
 surers, altho
 in Dundee
 not altho

² the integrity of Kirk-trea-
 -a who held that office
 of his successors were

now £1350, with feu-duties amounting to £106 4s. 5d., which provides thirty-six bursars with £2 6s. 8d. annually. besides their education. Five other boys receive their education only, and an apprentice fee of £3 6s. 8d. is paid to those who learn trades.

The ten acres specified as lying in the Westfield of Dundee, lie upon both sides of Guthrie Street, so named in remembrance of Mr Guthrie. They were feued in sixteen lots, to as many feuars at different sums, according as the lots were more or less in extent. From a document in our possession, purporting to be an examination of the accounts of the factor of the Mortification, dated 19th February, 1806, and signed by the late Rev. Thomas Raitt of Lundie and Foulis, at that time minister of St Andrew's Church, and Session-clerk, these sixteen feus produced the sum above mentioned. It is said that, many years ago, owing to some remissness or other, the patrons of the Mortification were like to be deprived of the lands of these feus; but, owing to the strenuous exertions of the Kirk-session, headed by the late Rev. Dr John Blinshall, that contingency was prevented, and, in gratitude for such a valuable service, one of the streets which traverse the feus was called Blinshall Street, and another Session Street. One of the feuars, called William Syme, whose lot was feued at £11 19s. 11d., disposed his property to the late James Brown, Esq., of Cononsyth, who erected Ward House and other buildings on it; and another lot was feued by the late George Wilkie, Esq. of Auchlishie, for £13 19s. 2d. This lot became the property of Provost James Brown and his brother William Brown, sons of the late Mr Brown, formerly of Cononsyth. Mr Brown erected the large factory known as the "Bell Mill," and Mr Wilkie that which is known as the "East Mill," on the north side of Guthrie Street. Mr John Miln, Savings Bank, *Factor*.

IV.—Provost George Brown's, 1695.

George Brown of Westhorne, in the parish of Errol, formerly Provost of Dundee, by deed of mortification, dated 3d July, 1695, conveyed to the Provost, Bailies, Ministers, and Kirk-treasurer of Dundee, and their successors in office, as Patrons, certain heritable subjects in the Overgate Street of Dundee, the annual produce of which is

directed to be paid to the persons mentioned in the rules acted upon by the Patrons.

By these rules the objects of the charity are declared to be—"1st, The maintenance of indigent and poor persons within the burgh of Dundee, of either sex, of not less than sixty years of age, of the mortifier's relations in the first place, or next of the name of Brown, though not otherwise related to him, and, failing any of these, then of any other poor persons within the town and parish of Dundee; and, 2d, The maintenance and education of poor children residing within the town and parish of Dundee, giving a preference to those of the name of Brown, to whatever church or religious denomination they may belong." The annual income of the foundation is £80, derived from a ground-annual over property in the Overgate, of which one-half is devoted to the maintenance of aged poor people, and the other to the education and maintenance of poor children. There are at present eight of each, who receive £4 per annum, and hold the appointment for four years. *Factor*—Mr William Kerr.

V.—*Rev. David Ferguson's, 1695.*

The Rev. David Ferguson, minister of Strathmartine, on the 20th December, 1695, executed a deed, which was registered in the Court Books at Dundee, 8th December, 1698, by which he mortified, dedicated, and assigned 6000 merks, money of this realm, for the use, maintenance, and education of two poor male children, not under the age of nine years at their admission, nor above the age of fourteen years while they are at school. They are "to be of my own surname; and nearest of blood to me; whilk failing, any other two male children of my nearest relations; whilk failing, any other two poor male children, begotten of good and honest parents, in ane lawful marriage. And for the better administration and managing of this Mortification, I hereby nominate and ordain the Provost of the burgh of Dundee for the time, and his successors in office; David Graham of Fintry; Sir James Kinloch of that Ilk; Mr Alexander Graham of Kincaldrum, and their heirs and successors; Mr Robert Raitt, minister of Dundee, during his lifetime, and whom he shall appoint to succeed him,—to be lawful and undoubted Patrons, Managers, and Overseers of this Foundation and Mortification. That the said children, from the age of nine

years to fourteen years complete, be maintained, educated, and brought up at the Grammar School of Dundee, and to be lodged and boarded with one of the surname of Ferguson, in case there be any can do the same ; and to furnish the said children with sufficient clothes and necessaries for their bodies, head, and feet—their coats being always of a grey colour, lined, with blue sleeves. If the Patrons shall find them capable of being scholars, it is my will that they be put to St Leonard's College, St Andrews, for the space of four years, and furnish them with necessaries, bed, board, and clothes ; but if the said children shall incline to be tradesmen, then the said Patrons shall bind them to a trade, and pay what apprentice fee they shall judge necessary. Vacancies shall be filled up within the space of six months after they happen. I appoint the Patrons aforesaid to deprive and exclude from this Mortification, such as are children of thieves, nightwalkers, breakers of yards, drunkards, whoremasters, swearers, liars, or otherwise scandalous in their lives, and that both of them own the Protestant religion. And I empower my said Trustees to alter and explain any part that may not appear clear to them.”¹

The funds of this Mortification now amount to upwards of £4000, the interest of which is applied to the education and maintenance of two boys as bursars at the High School, till fourteen years of age, and at St Andrews for four years afterwards, if they show themselves apt for learning. Mr Webster of Balmuir and the Provost of Dundee are patrons, and Mr William Kerr, *Factor*.

VI.—~~St~~ William Steven's, 1720.

By deed of Mortification, dated 12th July, 1720, Mr William Steven, merchant in Dundee, mortified a sum, which at present is equal to about £2400, in favour of the Provost and Minister of the Murraygate district of the town, for the time ; David Hunter of Blackness, and the heir of George Dempster of Dunnichen, as patrons, for “ the maintenance and education of five young poor male children of my own surname ; whilks failing, to the surname of Garden ; whilks failing, to poor young boys, sons of decayed merchants in Dundee,—to

¹ This quotation is not in *extenso*, but fairly gives the substance of the deed.

be kept for four years at the schools of Dundee ; and, thereafter, such of them as the patrons shall find capable of learning and fit for the College, to be put four years to one of the Colleges of St Andrews."

There are no particular rules for the management of the Trust, which at present educates eight boys, who attend any respectable schools approved of by the patrons, and each receives £6 yearly. The funds are lent on heritable security. Mr William Kerr, *Factor*.

VII.—James Clark and Catherine Cave his Spouse.

Mr James Clark, engraver to the Mint in Edinburgh, left, by deed,¹ the sum of six thousand merks Scots, as a fund for "maintaining, educating, and breeding two boys, sons of decayed poor burgesses of the burgh of Dundee, from the age of seven to the age of seventeen years, and for putting them to apprenticeships, or carrying them on in such studies as they shall be most fit for. That the Town Council of Dundee have the perpetual administration of this Mortification, but obliged to observe the rules here set down, and every burgess of the town to have right to quarrel and cause rectify any thing done amiss thereanent. That boys of the surname of Clark be preferred in the first place, of the surname of Cave in the second place, of Black in the third place ; and failing of these three, of any other surname,—the most destitute to be preferred. When a vacancy happens, Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik, Bart., and his heirs for ever, shall have the patronage, choice, and election of the boys to the Mortification, out of a list of two in case of one boy, and four in case of two boys, to be presented to him by the Town Council of Dundee. That no boys be received under the age of seven, nor above nine years of age ; and that the entry to the Mortification shall only be on the first Tuesday of May or first Tuesday of November after the vacancy : That, if any of the boys die before they attain the age of seventeen years, they shall be buried at the expense of the Mortification : That in case

¹ The original deed appears to have been lost ; but, in the year 1723, Captain George Yeaman of Murie, and Mr David Spence, made rules for the management which were not recorded. Other rules were afterwards made by the trustees, in conjunction with Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik, Bart., in 1744. The Town Council presents a list of double the number of vacancies to Sir George Clerk, from which he elects the bursars.

half a-year's annual rent or more shall happen to *vaik* betwixt the time of one boy going out and the presenting of another, the same shall be left in the hands of the administrators free of interest: That the Town Council of Dundee shall annually appoint, immediately after the election of the Magistrates and Council, some discreet, honest burgess, not of the Council, to oversee the due application of the annual rent of the said Mortification, according to the rules herein set down."

Usually, the number of bursars is two, as originally appointed. Each receives the interest of 3000 merks annually; but one-fourth is reserved till their time at school is completed, to constitute a fund to enable them to prosecute their studies farther, or to apprentice them to some lawful calling.

The trust-capital, amounting to £714, is invested on security of the Town. The Town-Chamberlain, *Factor*.

VIII.—*Rev. James Paton's, 1726.*

The Rev. James Paton, minister of the parish of Kettins, Forfarshire, by deed of Mortification, dated 27th October, 1726, in favour of the Laird of Pitcur, and minister of the parish of Kettins, for the time being, as patrons, bequeathed the sum of £100 for the education of girls in Dundee, belonging to the parish of Kettins—the number being regulated according to their age, as well as the period of their being entitled to the benefit from the fund.

There are no special rules by which the Trust is governed, but an annual account is required by the patrons as to the state of the Mortification and the expenditure of the interest derivable therefrom.

Until the year 1869, the interest was expended on the education, in Dundee, of two girls belonging to the parish of Kettins; but the trustees then considered it advisable to avail themselves of the female school instituted in the parish, so as to extend the benefits of the foundation. Accordingly, legal counsel was taken on the proposed change, and as the result, arrangements were made whereby ten girls, of ages varying from nine to fifteen, receive their education in Kettins Female School, instead of two at Dundee as formerly.

The capital having increased to £445, is invested in the stock of the Glasgow and South Western Railway, and yields about £18 per annum.

IX.—John Lawson's, 1728.

Mr John Lawson, the date of whose deed is unknown, mortified the sum of two thousand merks (£1111 sterling), in favour and under the patronage of the Town Council, the interest of which sum is directed to be applied to the education of one bursar of the name of Lawson or Gray. Some misunderstanding concerning this mortification had occurred, and several claimants for the funds appeared in the Court of Session; but the Court, by interlocutor dated 1st November, 1728, in an action of multiplepinding, preferred St Leonard's College, St Andrews, to the other claimants. The funds are vested in those of the United College of St Salvador and St Leonard, the professors of which, by their own authority, commuted entertainment at the College table into a money payment. The bursar attends classes in the College, and is charged full fees. The United College, or their factor, is *Factor* to the Trust.

X.—George Bruce's, 1738.

Mr George Bruce, Master of the Grammar School, Dundee, by deed of Mortification, dated 27th May, 1738, mortified and disposed in trust to Andrew Wardroper, present Provost of Dundee; John Donaldson, Dean of Guild; Messrs John Willison, Thomas Davidson, and James Munro, Ministers of the Gospel, Dundee, and the person who shall succeed to him (Mr Bruce) as Master or Rector of the said Grammar School, and his successor in office, his library of books, together with the sum of five thousand five hundred merks Scots (£350 13s. 0½d.); the books to be kept separate from any other library in the place, and to be for the use of the said Provost, Dean of Guild, and Ministers of Dundee, and their successors in office, and of the Master or Rector, and Doctors or Teachers, of the Grammar School of Dundee, in all time coming.

The interest of the 5500 merks is directed to be applied as follows:—One-third part for augmenting the library, by the purchase of new books; one-third part to be paid to the Doctors of the Grammar School, who are appointed to be keepers of the said library, each of them in turn for the space of a year; the other third part to be paid to the Janitor of the Grammar School, for an encouragement to settle one in that office capable to assist in teaching.

Mr Bruce further left in trust to the foresaid Provost, Dean, Ministers, and Rector of the Grammar School, and their successors in office, the sum of 4000 merks Scots (subject to the life-rent of his niece), to be applied for the maintenance and education of an indigent boy, son of a burgher of Dundee, for the space of six years; of the name of Bruce is to be preferred in the first place; of the name of Gray in the second; and of the name of Duncan in the third; and in the last place, failing all these names, the son of any indigent burgher whatever.

At the end of the prescribed six years, and before another boy shall be admitted, the bursary shall be kept vacant for one year; but the emoluments for that year are to be paid to the retiring bursar, for the purpose of enabling him to prosecute his studies farther, or to put him to some lawful employment.

By the deed of Mortification, the Patrons are empowered to make rules and statutes for the better execution and management thereof.

In case the Magistrates and Town Council should fail in providing a convenient place for the reception of his books, within one year after his death, Mr Bruce made over his library, with the interest of one-third of a thousand pounds Scots, to the Marischal College of Aberdeen (where probably he had been educated), for the use of that University.

The library is preserved in the Grammar School department of the High School. In 1825, the patrons received from the town of Dundee a sum of £53 7s. 6d., being a sum repaid or deposited by the late John Christal with the town, as repayment of the sum drawn from the Mortification by his son. The town at same time paid £19 10s. of interest on the sum deposited with them; and the patrons, on the 5th November, 1825, resolved to lend said sum to the town, and to apply the interest in payment to a *second* bursar at the Grammar School of Dundee for four years, "of the names or description specified in the Deed of Mortification, and in the order therein mentioned," reserving power to establish rules in regard thereto. The stock of this Mortification is now about £477 *Factor*—Mr R. C. Walker.

XI.—William Henderson's, 1742

In the year 1742, Mr William Henderson, merchant in Dundee,

did "give, grant, assign, dispoſe, deſtinate, and perpetually mortify, to the Provost, Bailies, Miniſters, Town Clerk, and Catechiſt of the burgh of Dundee, the ſum of eight thouſand merks, Scots money, for the education and teaching ſuch a number, not under thirty, poor boys and girls, within the town and pariſh of Dundee;" with power to the above patrons to make rules, and to alter them, from time to time, as they ſhall think proper.

It will be remarked that generally the other Mortifications, beſides providing for the expenſe of the education of the bursars, make an allowance, which is paid quarterly, in name of ſubſiſtence or maintenance; but this of Mr Henderson only provides that the children ſhall be taught "in reading, Engliſh, writing, and arithmetic, and that they ſhall be provided with books, paper, pens, and ink."

The funds at preſent amount to £475 ſterling, and the intereſt is applied to the education of from thirty to forty poor boys and girls at the Sessiſonal School. Mr James Chriſtie, banker, *Factor*.

XII.—*Miss Euphan Graham's, 1766.*

Miss Euphan Graham,¹ on 13th December, 1766, did mortify, legate, and bequeath to the Miniſters and Elders of the Kirk-ſeſſion of Dundee, and their ſucceſſors in office, the ſum of £100 ſterling, the annual rent thereof to be employed by them for the maintenance and education of a young girl, from ten to fourteen years of age, of the town and pariſh of Dundee, and of needful circumſtances, and that for the ſpace of four years after being admitted and entered by the ſaid Kirk-ſeſſion, whom I hereby nominate to be patrons."

The fund was ſubſequentlly improved to £200, and a ſecond girl has been admitted ſince, each receiving £2 per annum, and education at a Sessiſonal School. Mr John Miln, Savings Bank, *Factor*.

XIII.—*Dr John Brown's, 1768.*

Dr John Brown, of Pleaſance, near Dundee, by his will, dated in 1768, mortified to, and in favour of, John Hallyburton, Provost of

¹ This lady was daughter of Baillie John Graham, and daughter-in-law of Mr William Henderson, mentioned in No. 11. After the death of the Baillie, Mrs Graham was married to Mr Henderson.

Dundee; John Brown, of Kincaldrum; and Charles Jobson and David Wise, merchants in Dundee, and the survivors of them; and, failing of them by death, the Magistrates, Ministers, Elders, and Kirk-Session of Dundee, as trustees and patrons, the third part of his whole effects, which were converted into cash in 1771, and amounted to £9872 17s. 6½d., after defraying expenses, &c. The third part of this sum, amounting to £3290 19s. 2d., was laid out at interest "for the maintenance and education of such a number of needful young boys and girls as it will answer, at proper schools, for the space of five years, of the name of Brown, in the first place, and failing them, of any other name, as the Trustees aforesaid shall think proper, of the town and parish of Dundee."

The number of bursars on the roll is at present twenty-nine. The yearly sum given to each boy and girl is £5—it is directed not to exceed £6 sterling out of the annual rent of the capital, which is ordered not to be encroached upon. The recipients are also educated at a Sessional School, and a sum of £8 is paid, one-half at the commencement, and the other at the expiry of the apprenticeship to the boys who learn some useful occupation. The capital, now amounting to £4400, is invested on bonds, and produces annually about £180. Mr John Miln, *Factor*.

XIV.—Captain John Ramsay's, 1774.

Captain John Ramsay, in the naval service of the Hon. East India Company, whose will bears date at Dundee, 15th February, 1769, by deed of Mortification, dated in 1774, mortified the sum of £900 sterling, to the Provost, four Bailies, Dean of Guild, Treasurer, Town Clerk, the three Ministers of the East and South Churches, and five of the Capital [senior] members of the Kirk-session of Dundee, and their successors, whom he appointed patrons to carry his wishes into effect. The following extracts from his last will and testament will explain his intentions:—

"I appoint my said Trustees at sight of the five Magistrates, Dean of Guild, Treasurers, and Town Clerk of the town of Dundee, the Ministers, and five of the Capital members of the Kirk-session, whom I appoint patrons and overseers of this fund, to lay out upon interest three hundred pounds principal of the said £900 sterling, and to apply the annual rents arising from the said £300 principal towards maintaining two boys of the name of Ramsay, to be the sons of Seamen or Brewers; as also, for clothing and educating them until they shall respectively attain to the

age of fourteen years ; and £3 to be allowed out of the same annual rent, for binding them to some trade or occupation. It is further my will and desire that none shall enjoy this benefit but two boys of the said name, except the lawful issue of my nieces, or those of the female descendants of my nephews. Proving their consanguinity, such are to be preferred before strangers of the same name ; and if at any time (in the course of Providence) it should be found that any of these boys should be remarkable for capacity and genius, my desire in this case is that he may be encouraged by bestowing the whole interest of the said £300 on him until his education be completed ; and afterwards be applied for the benefit of two as aforesaid.

"Item—I appoint two hundred pounds of the said £900 sterling to be laid out on interest, and to apply the annual rent arising from the said £200 principal towards supporting and helping to maintain decayed aged seamen, brewers, and aged widows of such brewers and seamen, as also for the benefit of lunatics belonging to Dundee."

The latter sum of £200 was never paid.

"Item—I appoint the remaining four hundred pounds sterling of the said £900, as a mark of my good-will towards my brethren and sisters, I mean the poor of Dundee, which is indeed but a mite in respect to the feeling I have for them, and the want of a poor's-house ; I therefore give this in the hope of a poor-house being established on a proper foundation in Dundee, and of its being properly applied for this alone purpose, by the foresaid eight members of the Council, and eight members of the Kirk-session of Dundee as patrons."

On 11th November, 1851, the Trustees handed over to the Dundee Parochial Board the sum of £1200, being the above £900 and accumulations thereon, to aid in the erection of a Poor-house, in terms of the foregoing clause.

"Item—I appoint my said trustees, at sight of the forementioned eight members of the Town Council, and eight of the members of Kirk-session, to lay out in some sure fund twenty pounds sterling, the interest arising from this sum to be paid annually to one of the members of the Presbytery of Dundee, after he has preached in the Old Church of Dundee, a sermon on the wonders of Divine Providence. My will and desire farther is that the sermon be preached annually ; first, on the 5th, then on the 9th of February, the third to be preached on the 9th of October, alternately, and to be continued while there remains a Christian congregation in Dundee. It is farther my mind and will that the senior minister of the Presbytery begin this annual sermon, and proceed according to their seniority in the ministry. The text for the first sermon I desire may be from Psalm the 57th, and 2d verse—' I will cry unto God most High, unto God that performeth all things for me.' "

This sum has now been increased to £96.

The number of bursars at present on the funds is three, who receive each of them £4 per annum. The capital is £540, lent out on bonds, which produces about £21 10s. per annum.

The sermon mentioned in the will is regularly preached; and the sum of £4 allowed for the same. Mr John Miln, *Factor*.

XV.—James Webster's, 1789.

The late James Webster, Esq., of Clapham Common, by his last will and testament, dated 14th November, 1789, bequeathed the residue of his fortune, not exceeding £6000, for the purpose of establishing an Academy in Dundee, where he was born. The following are the terms of the will:—

"But, if any surplus shall remain of my estate or effects, after all the purposes of this my will, and of the will of my said late brother, David Webster, are fully provided for and paid, and which I have every reason to suppose will be the case, then I give and bequeath such surplus money, not exceeding the sum of £6000, unto my said brother, John Webster, and Dr Thomas Webster, David Wedderburn, and John Wedderburn, and the survivors of them, and the executors, administrators, and assigns, of such survivor in trust for them or the survivor of them, to lay out and invest the said sum of £6000, or such other sum of money as the residue of my estate and effects shall amount to, at interest, as a perpetuity, either with the Corporation of the town of Dundee, on the security of their town funds, or in Government security, or in the purchase of lands, or in such other manner as they, my said trustees, or such other trustees as may hereafter be appointed, may judge safest and most permanent, and to apply the whole of the interest, dividend, and profit of the said £6000, or the rents of the lands to be purchased therewith, for the purpose of establishing an academy in the town of Dundee, where I was born, or for the teaching and instructing thirty scholars, youths between the ages of twelve years and the ages of sixteen years, who were born in the town aforesaid, or in any of the counties of Forfar, Perth, or Fife, in mathematics in all its branches, book-keeping, navigation, astronomy, mechanics, fortification, geometry, perspective, civil history, and morality. And I will that, out of the interest of the said sum of £6000, there shall be paid to the master of the said academy, at and after the rate of £4 per annum for each and every boy to be brought up in the said academy, so that no boy shall continue to be instructed therein longer than two years. And also for the purpose of educating thirty-five boys in the town of Dundee aforesaid, between the ages of eight years and the ages of twelve years respectively, who were born in Dundee aforesaid, or in any of the said counties of Forfar, Perth, or Fife, in the English language grammatically, writing, and arithmetic. And I will that there shall be paid to the master of the said academy, at and after the rate of £2

per annum for each and every boy to be brought up in the said academy, so that no one boy shall continue to be instructed therein longer than two years. And also, for the purpose of educating thirty-five girls in the town of Dundee aforesaid, between the age of eight and the age of twelve years, who were born in Dundee, or in any of the said counties of Forfar, Perth, or Fife, in needlework, and the English language grammatically, writing, and arithmetic. And I will that there shall be paid to the master or mistress to be employed for that purpose, at or after the rate of £1 10s. per annum for each and every of the said girls so to be educated as aforesaid; but so as none of such girls shall continue under such education longer than two years. And I do order and direct that the said academies or schools respectively shall be conducted and managed, at all times hereafter, upon such plan and such manner, and with such power and authorities, and under such regulations for naming other trustees and patrons of the said charities, and filling up vacancies from time to time, for carrying the trusts and charitable intentions of this my will into execution, as I have, by writing under my hand, already directed, or may, by writing under my hand, hereafter direct or recommend to be done, or such other plan as my said trustees, and the trustees hereafter to be appointed by them, shall judge more proper for carrying my intentions into execution, &c., &c.

The present patrons are the Provost of Dundee; James Webster, Esq., of Balmuir; David Graham, merchant in London; Alexander Anderson and Patrick Anderson, merchants in Dundee; Harry Warren Scott, younger of Balgay; and David Webster, son of the late James Webster of Balmuir.

The funds, which amount to about £7000, are lent on heritable security, and provide for the education of seventy-one bursars, of which twenty-one boys attend the High School, and twenty-seven boys and twenty-seven girls attend Mr Powrie's school. None of the bursars receive any allowance. Mr William Kerr, *Factor*.

XVL—Captain Alexander Whyte's, 1799.

Captain Alexander Whyte, a native of the town, mortified, in 1799, the sum of £500 sterling, in favour of the Kirk-session as patrons, to be a fund for the education of twenty-two poor boys and girls (seamen's children have a preference), of the town and parish of Dundee, each to receive £5 per annum for four years.

Mr Whyte was a shipowner and shipmaster himself, and hence his preference of the children of seamen may be inferred. In one of his voyages he brought home as much marble as would make a funeral monument for himself. It is known that he was interred in the Houff,

but the particular place is now unknown, as his executors never erected the monument. The sum devised by his will was directed to accumulate to a certain amount before being applied to fulfil his intentions. At present, the funds amount to £3670, the proceeds of which are distributed among twenty-eight boys or girls, who receive £4 annually, and education at a Sessional School for five years. Boys that learn a trade may receive in addition an apprentice fee of £8; and £10 per annum is devoted, in terms of the bequest, "for encouragement of Sunday schools in Dundee, and for defraying the expenses thereof." Mr John Miln, *Factor*

XVII.—James Pullar's, 1804.

Mr James Pullar, baker in Dundee, by deed of settlement, dated 15th November, 1804, appointed and disposed in favour of the following gentlemen as trustees,—James Gray, Walter Newall, and Andrew Peddie, junior, all merchants in Dundee, and James Ogilvie, writer there, and to the survivor of them: That upon the death or non-acceptance of any three of them, the survivor shall be obliged to denude himself of property in favour of the Minister of the Overgate district of the parish of Dundee, and his successors in office,—twenty members of the Kirk-session of Dundee, to be selected by that body,—of the Convener and Deacons of the Nine Incorporated Trades of Dundee, and their successors in office,—and in favour of the nine Deacons of the preceding year,—as trustees and patrons for the ends after-mentioned:—The remainder of his estate, heritable and moveable, after paying certain legacies, shall be allowed to accumulate, with interest, to a capital stock of £3000, after which period the interest shall be applied, after paying certain annual sums, in the proportion of one half of the surplus to maintaining and educating ten poor boys of the name of Pullar, and particularly those who can prove their pedigree from his father, John Pullar, farmer in Mill of Haugh Muir, are directed to be preferred. The boys not to be admitted under six years of age, nor be continued longer than six years on the fund. Messrs Rollo & Hendry, *Factors*.

XVIII.—James Constable's, 1821.

The late James Constable, formerly of Jamaica, afterwards residing

in Dundee, by Deed of Mortification, dated 4th May, and registered in the Books of Council and Session, 27th October, 1821, conveyed the residue of his fortune in mortification to the Parish Minister, Provost, and Dean of Guild, all of Dundee, and their successors, as patrons, directing the mortified funds to be invested in heritable property or security; the rents or annual profits to be applied by the patrons to the education of as many boys of the age from eight years to fourteen, as the amount thereof might, for the time, enable the patrons to pay at the rate of £8 per annum each boy, payable half-yearly. The boys are entitled to the benefit of the mortification for the period of four years each while attending school at Dundee, and applicants are preferred in the following order:—First, boys of the names of Constable or Watson (the latter being the name of Mr Constable's mother), natives of Dundee, or the parish thereof; secondly, failing boys of these names, then boys being sons of decayed burgesses of Dundee; and, thirdly, failing all these, then such boys, being natives of Dundee, as may appear to the patrons most deserving of the benefice.

The capital stock of the Mortification, amounting to £2900, is lent out on heritable security, producing annually about £120. At present, the number of bursars is fifteen, who receive each £8 sterling yearly. *Mr R. C. Walker Factor*

XIX.—*Mrs Margaret Hughes', 1825.*

In the year 1825, the late Mrs Margaret Hughes, Nethergate, Dundee, besides devising £10 sterling to the Kirk-session for behoof of the poor, mortified in the hands of that body the sum of £100 sterling, to be under their management as patrons, the interest to be applied by them for the education and maintenance of one poor girl of the parish of Dundee, at the schools in the town. The names of Kirkaldy or Patullo are to be preferred in the first place—but failing of which names, any other poor girl, not to be under the age of six years at the time of entry, who shall enjoy it aye and until she arrive at the age of twelve years complete. The capital is now £130, which affords £2 per annum and education to the recipient. *Mr John Miln, Factor.*

XX.—George Webster's, 1839.

George Webster, Esq., Westminster, London, when in Dundee in 1839, placed at the disposal of George Duncan, Esq., M.P., 100 guineas, for the purposes of education in the town. Mr Duncan invested the money on security of the town ; it is now lent on heritable security, and the interest paid annually into the funds of the Sessional School, for procuring education to poor children, under the patronage of the Provost and Bailies, who are authorised "to apply the whole or part of the said interest at any time, if they should see cause, towards the funds of any other school, for the education of poor children of a similar description, in the same proportion." The Town-Chamberlain, *Factor*.

XXI.—The Patrick A. Lowson Scholarship, 1873.

In February 1873, William Lowson, Esq., of Balthayock, desiring to perpetuate the memory of a son of unusual promise, who was drowned while bathing in an ornamental pond near the mansion-house, conveyed a sum of seven thousand dollars (about £1450), invested in American Government Securities, to the following trustees:—The Provost of Dundee, the Parish Minister, the Chairman of the Chamber of Commerce—*ex officio*; Patrick Anderson, A. J. Buist, H. B. Fergusson, Robert Mackenzie, and Mr Lowson himself. The free annual income of this sum, ranging from £60 to £70, is directed to be expended in bestowing "the advantages of a university education on deserving young men, to whom otherwise such advantages might be of difficult attainment. Applicants for the benefit of the scholarship must have attended school in Dundee or Broughty Ferry for three years ; and Mr Lowson adds in his deed of trust, "In respect that my son was, at the time of his death, attending the educational establishment conducted by Messrs James Brebner and Alexander Monfries, and that I had reason to be highly satisfied with his progress there, it is my desire that the trustees shall give a preference to young men who have been taught at an educational institution conducted by these gentlemen, or either of them." The scholarship may be given for one, two, or three years, as the trustees see cause, and the holder may attend any University in Great Britain or Ireland. If the appointment

is for three years, the holder may attend any foreign University during one of these years. The trustees have ample powers for framing needful rules and regulations, for appointing examiners, and for cancelling the appointment to the scholarship of any person who may prove to be unworthy of its benefits. With characteristic liberality, Mr Lowson adds, "It is my express desire that admission to the benefits of the scholarship shall always be free from any sectarian or exclusive views or feelings on the part of the trustees; and I therefore authorise and earnestly recommend the trustees to act upon wide and liberal principles in all matters connected with the appointments to be made by them." The wide-spread sympathy which was felt in Dundee for Mr and Mrs Lowson, on the occasion of this bereavement, was revived on the announcement of this foundation; than which, it has been well said, "no effort of monumental art can form a memorial so noble or so enduring as the setting up of arrangements by which great benefits will, for centuries to come, be conferred upon successive generations."

XXII.—Edward Bursary and Bequest.

In 1852, Mr Alexander Edward mortified £150, for the education of one or more bursars at the High School, under the patronage of the Directors. The same donor afterwards bequeathed £1000 for educating the children of poor but respectable parents, under certain restrictions named in the deed.

XXIII.—Anderson Scholarship, 1866.

Mr Alexander Anderson, by deed 30th Nov., 1866, gifted £1000, for the endowment of two Scholarships, at St Andrews University, for pupils of the High School.

XXIV.—Baxter Scholarship, 1869.

The Misses Baxter of Balgavies, by deed, dated 24th Feb., 1869, set apart the sum of £2500 for the endowment of two Scholarships, in the University of Edinburgh, in connection with the High School of Dundee.

CHARITABLE AND FRIENDLY INSTITUTIONS.

I.—~~Widows'~~ Fund, 1665.

Mrs Euphame Man (spouse of Bailie William Roger, *vide* No. II., *supra*), who died in October, 1665, left by her will,—To the Ministers and Kirk-session of Dundee, for the use of the poor Widows, 2000 merks. This sum was lent to the Laird of Monorgan, for £80 Scots of interest, which was divided in small sums among forty-two Widows. In 1679, the Session ordered the interest to be paid to the Elders of the Nethergate, Overgate, Murraygate, and Seagate quarters of the town, to be distributed by them among the poor Widows of their respective districts.

“January 7th, 1684.—This day given in to the Session of Dundie, and mortified be Issobell Lamb, wyfe to Mr John Guthrie, Minister of the Gospel in this city, the sum of ane hundreth pounds Scots, for the help and use of poore honest widowes, &c.”

“January 14th, 1684.—This day was mortified be Issobell Stirling, be order of hir deceased husband, Jas Kinloch, sometym burgess of this burgh, the sume of ane 100 merks Scots, for the help and use of poore honest widdows.”

May 26th, 1684.—Bailie John Kinloch mortified for the same purpose 50 merks Scots.

“Nov. 10th, 1684.—This day was given in to the Session of Dundee, 400 merks, and mortified for the same purpose, by Hendrie Crawford of Seatoun, lait Bailie of this brugh.

“Jully 1st, 1689.—This day is given in to the Session of Dundee, and mortified by Mistris Jane Alexr., spouse to Mr Henry Scrymgour, parson of Dundie, the soume of 500 merks Scots, for the help and use of poore honest widdows, &c.”

The following was the state of the fund in 1695, thirty years after its institution :—

"I, David Drummond, merchand in Dundie, and appoynted factor by the Session of Dundie for the Widows' Mortification of the said brough, grants me to have received from John Macleyn, merchand, and late factor for the Widows' Mortification.

"On bond of the town of Dundie, dated 15th Octr., 1689, for.....£333 6 8

"Another bond of the town's, dated 19th November, 1686, for.... 600 0 0

"James Bower's bond, dated 6th Dec., 1690, for..... 533 6 8

"Ane receipt of Mr John Spalding for Jas. Lyon's bond of..... 1333 6 8

(Scots) £2800 0 0

From 1695 to 1830, several sums were left at different times to the fund, which, in the last mentioned year, amounted to upwards of £1300 sterling, besides some small feus, which, with the interest of the capital fund, amounted to about £72 annually. In the year 1829, the Commissioners of Police ordered a donation of £13 to be paid to the fund from the amount of fines imposed in the Police Court, which enabled the patrons to increase the number of pensioners from twenty to twenty-three. At present, the capital is about £2300, and a superiority yields £10 per annum. Twenty-four poor widows, above sixty years of age, receive 6s. per month. The Kirk-session are patrons, and Mr John Miln, *Factor*.

II.—James Ramsay's, 1734.

Mr James Ramsay, merchant in Dundee, by Deed dated 9th January, 1734, to the Provost, Bailies, Dean of Guild, and Convener of the Trades of the burgh of Dundee, any four being a quorum, and the Provost being a *sine qua non*—(the members of the Guild Court of Dundee to be overseers of the patrons' management)—the sum of 2000 merks, to be applied in building and furnishing "a Workhouse within the town of Dundee, for containing idle and vagrant persons, as well men as women, to be employed in such work as the patrons should think fit; and, in the second place, to furnish necessary utensils and instruments for performing the work wherein the said persons should be employed for their subsistence or otherwise, for promoting virtue and manufactory in the Workhouse."

The patrons were empowered to make such rules and regulations respecting the Workhouse, and the persons to be employed therein, as they should judge proper.

On the 22d of April, 1743, the Town Council, with consent of the Founder, appointed £100 Scots to be paid yearly out of the funds of the Mortification to the Teacher of Mathematics, as part of his salary, until a Workhouse should be erected. The salary was paid for many years to the teacher ; but for some years the interest was paid to the Cashier for the Workhouse in the Old Hospital, which was fitted up for that purpose, which, having answered the end, the Workhouse was given up.

The capital with accrued interest at present amounts to about £204. The Town-Chamberlain, *Factor*.

III.—James Pullar's, 1804.

Besides the provision for education (vide No. XVII. *supra*), Mr Pullar directed his trustees to make the following payments annually : —To the Royal Infirmary, £10 sterling ; to the poor of the Nine Trades, £5 ; to the Kirk-session of Dundee for the use of the poor, £5 sterling—to be given at the door of the Old Church by the Deacon of the Baker Trade. After providing for the education of ten boys, the other half of the annual surplus of the interest of the funds, is to be distributed among ten poor old men and women, not under sixty years of age, who must be of the name of Pullar. Messrs Rollo & Hendry are *Factors* for this branch of the Trust also.

IV.—John Grieve's, 1806.

Clause, extracted from the Will (dated 21st May, and registered 9th June, 1806), of the late Mr John Grieve, merchant in Dundee.

"Fourthly, after disposing of my household furniture, books, &c., to the amount thereof, and what money may remain, after paying expenses and the before-mentioned legacies, I appoint the same to be lodged in the Bank, as a fund for defraying the expenses that may be incurred in carrying on the process presently depending between me and the said William Hogg, junior, respecting the said £500 due by the bond before assigned ; and as soon as that money, with the interest thereof, is recovered, I appoint the same, with any remaining moveable funds there may be, to be lent out upon proper security ; and from the interest thereof I appoint my said trustees, and acting ones for the time, to pay to my said sister, Agnes Grieve, an annuity of £20 sterling yearly, during all the days of her life, and at her death to pay into the Kirk-session of Dundee the sum of £400 sterling, to be

under their management as a perpetual fund to enable that public body to present and maintain a patient to the Lunatic Hospital, just now to be erected in this place—they also preferring a person related to me, or my late wife, in case of need."

The sum of £393 1s. 3d. was mortified for the above purpose, the Treasurer of Royal Lunatic Asylum being *Factor*.

V.—*George Ogilby's Hospital and Mortification for Juveniles, 1808.*

Mr George Ogilvy, formerly of Jamaica, and latterly residing in Dundee (where he died 19th April, 1825), by trust disposition and settlement, dated 4th July, 1808, conveyed to certain Trustees his whole estate, real and personal; and, among other purposes of the Trust,—failing the members of his own family, who had all died without issue—he bequeathed—

"To the Kirk-session of Dundee, £500 sterling, as a perpetual fund to be invested in Government funds or good heritable security, and the dividends or interest arising therefrom to be applied yearly for behoof of the poor of the pariah of Dundee. The Kirk-session shall, by acceptance of this donation, be bound to take charge of £2000 sterling (or the remainder of the foresaid balance), as an accumulating fund to be invested in Government stock, and the dividends arising therefrom to be again and always invested in the funds, and so continue accumulating for one hundred years (not presuming to carry my views farther), when the sum so accumulated shall be wholly appropriated for the building and establishing of an hospital for the maintenance, clothing, and education of poor boys belonging to the inhabitants of Dundee, to be under the direction and management of the aforesaid Kirk-session (that is to say, the Kirk-session of the Established Presbyterian Churches in Dundee, and the said Town Council and their successors in their offices for ever, for the uses, intents, and purposes afore and after mentioned and declared; written and signed by myself, Dundee, fifth July, eighteen hundred and eight), united with the Provost and Town Council of Dundee; of which accumulated sum the said managers shall employ £50,000 sterling or thereby, for erecting the hospital and a small chapel or church adjacent, and such out-buildings as may appear necessary, and furniture for the accommodation of the teachers and pupils, with about two or three acres of ground, which they will purchase for the buildings (I would prefer the west end of the town of Dundee), and the whole shall be enclosed with a substantial stone wall about ten feet high, and have a porter's lodge at the gate, where a man shall be kept constantly in waiting; and the remainder of said sum, after the purposes aforesaid, shall remain in the public funds, and the dividends be applied for the support of the said hospital, where such a number of boys shall be admitted as the funds will permit. Every boy to be admitted into this hospital shall be at least able to read

and write at his admission, and none to be received under eight years of age ; but they may remain in the hospital for seven years ; and each boy, after being at least five years there, and receiving from their teachers a certificate of their good behaviour, shall at leaving it receive £10 sterling. Besides the usual teachers of the different branches of learning, there shall be a chaplain and teacher of church music. The teachers shall reside in the hospital, in order that the scholars may be constantly under their direction. The teachers are to have board besides their salaries, and are to preside at table each with his own class. There shall be public exercises by the scholars in the different branches of learning once a-year, in the great hall of the hospital, in presence of the ministers and managers, when silver medals and fine gilt books will be distributed as prizes to such boys as distinguish themselves in any branch of learning. Upon this occasion, the boys shall appear in their new clothing, which shall be made of the best blue second cloth, and they are to have a small brass-plate or badge, with their number and class upon it, appended to their coats. My own relations and those of my name shall always have the benefit of this institution, if they shall apply for it, but always subject to the regulations thereof. And, whereas I have considered that £200,000 sterling of the aforesaid accumulated sum is sufficient for the purpose of said institution, I would have the said managers lay out at their discretion the remaining part (which I suppose may be about £80,000), in any other public works which may be judged by them of most general utility to the inhabitants of Dundee. These are the outlines of these institutions, the completing of which I trust to the good discernment of the managers at the time."

This deed was confirmed by Mrs Lilius Currence, relict of Mr Ogilvie, by her disposition, dated 21st October, 1831.

The stock at present consists of the residue of the Mortifier's estate, amounting to upwards of £8000, besides some heritable property. There is also a field at Cowdenknowes, which was purchased and enclosed by him. Mr Ogilvie's settlement was sought to be reduced in an action by his heir-at-law, but, after a lengthened litigation, the Court of Session sustained the settlement. Mr William Thoms, *Factor*.

VI.—Charles Anderson's, 1818.

Mr Charles Anderson, manufacturer, Chapelshade, Dundee, by deed, dated 6th February, 1818, and registered 3d February, 1820 appointed William Powrie, Esq., of Reswallie, and David Brown, Esq., merchant, Dundee, his trustees, to pay to the Kirk-session of Dundee, the free balance of his effects, after payment of two legacies, to remain in the hands of the Kirk-session for ever, under the following conditions,—viz, 1st, That the one half of the interest shall be

applied by them for the relief and support of the most indigent of the poor of the parish of Dundee : 2d, That the other half of the yearly interest be paid to the managers of the society for relief of the destitute sick in the town and suburbs of Dundee, which was instituted in 1797, and is supported by voluntary contributions and donations.

The capital amounts to £2269 6s. 9d., from the interest of which eleven old men, above sixty, receive 6s. monthly ; half of the remaining free revenue is paid to the Indigent Sick Society. Mr John Miln, *Factor*.

VII.—*Probest Alexander Riddoch's, 1822.*

Alexander Riddoch, of Blacklunans, Esq., some time Provost and merchant in Dundee, by deed of settlement, executed by him on the 19th March, 1822, directed his trustees to

“Pay to the managers of the Lunatic Asylum, near Dundee, the sum of five hundred pounds sterling, and that at the first term of Whitsunday or Martinmas, making twelve months, after my decease, with the lawful interest thereof after the said term of payment, during the non-payment, and upon payment of the said sum, the said managers are hereby required to lay out and invest the same on heritable security, and to apply the annual interest thereof only for the purpose of defraying the expense of the maintenance of, and attendance on, such poor patients belonging to the town and parish of Dundee, as may be in the said Asylum at any period thereafter, and shall be unable to do so themselves ; it being my particular wish and intention that the principal sum shall be added to, and remain part of, the capital stock of the said Institution in all time coming.”

VIII.—*Miss Elisabeth Hallyburton's, 1826.*

Miss Elizabeth Hallyburton, residing in Dundee, by Deed of Mortification, dated 25th September, 1826, nominated the Magistrates and Town Council of Dundee trustees for carrying the purposes of the Deed into effect. The funds of the Institution, £1262, being the reversion of her whole means and effects, are appointed by the disposition to be lent out upon good security, heritable or personal, and always kept as a separate and distinct fund, to be called the “Hallyburton Institution.” The free annual revenue is divided among three, four, or five maiden ladies, of respectable character and parentage, either natives of Dundee, or residing within it, or its immediate vicinity.

The funds are lent out on heritable security. The Town-Chamberlain is *Factor*.

IX.—Webster, Speed, Watt, and Johnston's, 1831.

Mrs Isobel Johnston or Webster, widow of Thomas Webster of Heathfield, and daughter of James Johnston, Provost of Dundee, by Deed of Mortification and Alteration, dated 10th December, 1835, appointed the Provost of Dundee, Sheriff-Substitute of Forfarshire resident in Dundee, Parish Minister of Dundee, Dean of Guild, and Convener of the Nine Trades, along with certain other individuals as trustees and governors during their lives, trustees for carrying the purposes of the Mortification into effect.

Having mortified the sum of £5000 sterling in favour of these gentlemen, Mrs Webster directs—1st, One half of the free proceeds to be applied in annuities to blind men and blind women, in equal numbers. 2d, The other half to be applied for the education of blind boys and blind girls. 3d, In the event of there not being a sufficient number of these classes to exhaust the proceeds, the residue to be applied for the education of boys and girls who have their eyesight. The benefits of the Institution are limited in all the branches to persons of the names of Webster, Speid, Watt, and Johnston—preferring them in order of the names, and being natives—1st, of Dundee or Farnwell; 2d, of any other parishes in Forfarshire; and, 3d, of any other county of Scotland.

Applicants for the benefit of the Institution must produce evidence, with parochial and medical certificates, in support of their claims. The annuitants receive £10 a-year, payable half-yearly in advance, at Whitsunday and Martinmas, in equal parts. The blind children are educated in the Asylum for the blind, in Dundee. The expense is limited in amount, and the benefit not to be continued beyond four years. The bursars are entitled to receive each £5 on completing the term of education; but all the benefits are contingent on the good conduct of the parties enjoying them.

At present, there are three males and four females on the annuity branch; and on the education branch there are twenty-eight—viz, ten boys and eighteen girls.

Of the capital fund, now increased to £6000, part is lent to the Dundee Harbour Trustees, and the remainder on other securities, the

interest amounting at present to about £230. Mr William Thoms, *Factor*.

X.—*George Marshall's*, —.

The interest of £600 sterling is annually divided among five old seamen, who have served in the navy, by the Boxmaster and Committee of the Trinity House, who are patrons. Mr James Hunter, *Factor*.

XI.—*Mrs Margaret Petrie's*, 1837.

Mrs Margaret Petrie, relict of the late Mr Mungo Morton, merchant and manufacturer, Dundee, mortified, in the year 1837, in favour of certain trustees, now deceased, a sum which now amounts to about £18,000 sterling. The annual produce of this sum, amounting to about £800, is annually divided among aged and infirm persons, of both sexes, not under the age of sixty years, of good reputation, and natives of or long resident in the town. Persons of the name of Petrie and Wighton have a preference. There are upwards of 170 on the roll, and each receives from £4 to £6 per annum, in quarterly payments. The trustees who presently administer the funds are Messrs George Duncan, James Powrie, James Soote, Patrick Anderson, Thomas Bell, William Lowson, and John M. Baxter. Mr Robert C. Walker, *Factor*.

XII.—*Mrs Gibson's*, —.

This lady devised £100 sterling in trust, directing the interest to be applied for preaching an annual sermon against cruelty to animals. Patrons—the Provost, Dean of Guild, Parish Minister, and First Master of the Academy. The Town-Chamberlain, *Factor*.

XIII.—*Pannure Donation*, 1840.

Besides many munificent benefits conferred on the town and its institutions by the late Lord Pannure, his Lordship, in the year 1840,

transmitted to the Provost the gift of £1000 sterling, which is invested on security of the town, and the interest thereof paid annually to the funds of the Royal Infirmary.

XIV.—*Miss Janet Henderson's, 1846.*

Miss Henderson, by will executed 1846, bequeathed stock to the value of upwards of £2000, from the proceeds of which fifteen old women each receive an annual allowance of £5. Menial servants are strictly prohibited by the terms of the will from participating in the benefits of this trust. Patrons—Rev. Dr Watson, Rev. James Ewing, Patrick Anderson, and John Henderson. Messrs Rollo & Hendry, *Factors*.

XV.—*James Louden's, 1854.*

Mr James Louden, by deed dated 14th February, 1840, bequeathed property which, in 1854, realised £650, the interest of which, subject to the payment of two annuities of £5 each, he directed to be applied one half in support of the Dundee Infirmary, and the other half to be yearly added to the principal, until said principal becomes sufficient to meet the whole expenditure of the Institution. The testator states that it is "his intention to provide a permanent and perpetual revenue, applicable to the support of the Dundee Infirmary, and that he therefore prohibits and forbids the Directors, or any one else, from encroaching on the annually accumulating capital." The bequest is under the management of six trustees. Mr John Miln, *Factor*.

XVI.—*Thomas Smith Thomson's, 1862.*

In 1862, the Kirk-session received £188 1s., the proceeds of a legacy bequeathed by Mr Thomas Smith Thomson, for the relief of aged and indigent men; to this sum there has been added several other legacies, bequeathed to the same purpose. The capital now amounts to £450—the interest of which is applied to the support of old men above sixty years of age, who receive 6s. monthly. Patrons—the Kirk session. Mr John Miln, *Factor*.

XVII.—James Guthrie Davidson's.

James Guthrie Davidson, Esq., of Ardgath, by deed of settlement, bequeathed the sum of £6000 to extend the benefits of Mrs Webster's Charity (see No. IX.) to blind men, women, and children, of other names than Webster, Speid, Watt, or Johnston. Mr William Thoma, *Factor*.

XVIII.—Edward Baxter, 1867.

On 4th January, 1867, Edward Baxter, Esq., of Kincaldrum, presented to the Guildry, an incorporation in which he had long taken a deep interest, £2000, 5 per cent preference stock of the North Eastern Railway Company, the annual interest of which he directed to be applied, in all time coming, towards supplementing the pensions granted to the Guildry poor. The £100 thus produced is distributed by the Dean of Guild and his assessors, and has been greatly appreciated by the recipients, upwards of sixty in number.

XIX.—John M'Combie, 1865.

By a deed, dated 14th Dec., 1865, the late Mr John M'Combie, Dundee, devised the sum of £100, less legacy duty, "to the Magistrates and Town Council, for behoof of the School in Dundee, for the instruction of deaf and dumb children." As doubts have arisen, on what grounds do not clearly appear, as to the destination of this bequest, the Council have deposited the money in bank. It now amounts to £105 16s.

XX.—Admiral Duff's.

The late Admiral Duff bequeathed to the Magistrates and Council the sum of £1000, the proceeds of which he directed to be applied for the support of a Scripture Reader. The fund has been invested, and the income from it is applied to the purposes prescribed.

There are two other bequests under the care of the Magistrates and

Council : the "Woodhill Mortification," which refers to a sum of £94, the annual proceeds of which is handed over, as directed by the deed, to Mr Miln of Woodhill; and the "Mortification for Scots Episcopal Clergymen," of which the amount stands at £116 11s. 1d., invested on heritable security, the interest of which is paid over to Bishop Forbes:

Section VII.

THE STAPLE TRADE.

HAND-SPINNING—THE FIRST SPINNING-MILL—THE “HECKLERS”—WAGES AT MILLS AND FACTORIES—WEAVING BY STEAM-POWER—CALENDERING—FLUCTUATIONS OF THE FLAX TRADE—INTRODUCTION OF JUTE—LARGE PUBLIC WORKS.

FOR an account of the textile manufactures of Dundee by steam-power, it is not necessary to go farther back than the beginning of the present century. At that time there was a considerable production of linens, chiefly osnaburges and sheeting; but the yarn was wholly spun by hand, and of course the days of weaving by steam-power were yet distant. The yarn was chiefly supplied from the spinning-wheels of thrifty housewives in the country districts, who congregated in the High Street on market days for its sale. The manufacturers bought it as it came off the reel, in small parcels varying from one to a dozen spyndles. The yarn thus obtained was necessarily unequal in quality and size, which rendered the production of uniform cloth a matter of difficulty, while the precariousness of the supply restricted the operations of large manufacturers. The greater proportion of cloth was produced by individual weavers, in their own dwellings, who supplied themselves with sufficient yarn for a web, which, on being passed at the Stamp Office, was offered from door to door until some cloth-merchant gave the price asked for it.

To obviate the inconvenience and loss of time involved in this primitive mode of conducting business, a class of dealers sprang up, who moved about the country districts, bought up yarn, distributed flax to be spun on hire, and collected and acted as agents for the production of cloth. By this means the larger merchants in the towns came to receive supplies of cloth more regular in quantity and better assorted as to qualities, until the introduction of mill-spun yarns superseded the former system.

At the period referred to flax was not the only material used in this industry. The manufacture of cotton was tried, with some prospect of success, giving employment at one time to about 400 persons, and manufacturing to the value of about £20,000; but the companies engaged in it did not gain a permanent footing. In July 1802, the

Advertiser mentions that "hundreds of families are now supported by the manufacture of coarse cottons, which still continue in great demand." The cloth produced was calicoes, handkerchiefs, and coarse waistcoats. A cotton-work stood on the north side of King Street, and the "Cotton Road" marks the locality of another establishment of the same kind. About 1790, a woollen manufactory was tried, and Dudhope Castle, now occupied as the Military Barracks, was leased for the purpose; but this branch likewise proved unsuccessful. The manufacture of sewing threads took a firmer hold in the town, at one time giving employment to upwards of 1700 persons, and producing goods to the value of £33,696 per annum; but it too has long been extinct.

Reverting to the linen trade, we find that the first innovation upon the time-honoured system of hand-spinning was attempted in 1793, when a mill was erected in Chapelshade by Fairweather and Marr, in which steam was adopted as the motive power. Success did not, however, attend this venture; nor the next one, made in 1798 by David Birnie, in Guthrie Street, in premises formerly used as a tan-work, where the East Mill now stands. Other three mills were tried, in Chapelshade, North Tay Street, and the Dens, which continued to survive; but the limited nature of these concerns may be judged from the circumstance, that all the five above-mentioned were driven by 60 horse-power of steam, and only turned out about 5000 spyndles per week of flax yarns, 5 to 6 lbs. per spyndle. In 1806, the Bell Mill was erected in Guthrie Street, by James Brown, which may be accepted as the prototype of the spinning-mills of Dundee, and was regarded at the time as a bold and costly speculation. It was built upon plans obtained from Leeds, where the machinery was also procured. The building, which still exists unchanged in external appearance, was 97 feet long, 40 feet wide, and four storeys in height, containing 40 spinning frames for flax and tow yarns, besides twisting frames and preparing machinery, the whole being driven by an engine of 25 H.P. The cost of the building was £7000, and of the machinery £10,000. The weekly production of this mill was 2700 spyndles, which cost 9½d. per spyndle, about three times that now required, with greatly enhanced wages and outlay.¹

¹ For this and other information embodied in this section we have drawn upon Mr Brown's *Reminiscences of Flax-Spinning, Warden's Linen Trade, Bremner's Industries of Scotland, &c.*

The unsettled condition of trade throughout the country until the close of the Peninsular war, was peculiarly unfavourable to enterprises hazarded as these were, in a new field of industry, and accordingly we find that one by one the mills came under the hammer, and no steady progress was achieved in spinning by machinery until after 1820, when a marked improvement began. In 1822, William Baxter & Son started the Dens Mill, the nucleus of the gigantic works now owned by the firm of Baxter Brothers & Co.; and at the close of the year, the town possessed 17 spinning-mills, driven by as many engines, representing an aggregate of 178 H.P., and 7944 spindles. The next decade marked an increase to 43 engines, of 724 H.P., employing 3000 persons, and producing yarns to the extent of about seven million spindles. Since that period, the development of spinning, though checked at times by commercial depression, has been rapid. The introduction of the power-loom added another important branch to the trade, so that the combined appliances brought machinery and steam-power into a development which the most sanguine pioneers in the early years of the century would have pronounced visionary and incredible.

In the earlier mills, the machinery was adapted only for heavy yarns, suitable for the coarser fabrics, which then formed the staple production of the looms; and, although changes and improvements have been successively introduced to suit the varying requirements of trade, the bulk of our manufactures may still be classed as heavy goods. At the same time, machinery has now been perfected so that fine yarns and cloth are largely produced, while the raw material is subjected to such skilful manipulation that waste has been reduced to a minimum, and material, which at one time would have been regarded as incapable of useful application, is now fully utilised. The improvement in the habits and condition of the workers has been no less marked than in the extent and quality of the goods produced at these works.

"In the early days of mill-spinning," Mr Warden observes, "it was with difficulty that a sufficient number of hands could be got for preparers, spinners, or reelers, and it was then the practice, in and around Dundee, for the owners of mills, or their managers, to attend the neighbouring country fairs to engage hands; and sometimes open tent had to be kept all day as an inducement to come to terms. Engagements were generally made for six or twelve months, as with farm and household servants at the present day, and "arids" given as earnest of the bargain. The system has been entirely changed for many years; then,

work in mills was new and little understood, and the prejudice against it, and those who took employment in them, very strong. The hours of labour were long, ranging from fourteen to fifteen a-day in towns, and in some cases they were even longer in country mills. Indeed, in some mills the hours were altogether arbitrary, and depended upon the caprice or whim of the manager, and the cupidity of the owner. Holidays were rare, and when they were granted, the time was subsequently made up by working extra hours. Now, employment in public works is a regular and recognised species of labour, and the hours precisely defined by the Factory Acts. Wages are much higher for the shorter hours of the present day than they were for the long and weary hours of the early days of the trade. Six complete holidays must be allowed yearly, as well as the weekly half-holidays on Saturdays, and no making up of lost time is allowed. The lofty and well-ventilated mills of the present age, where every appliance of modern skill is impressed for the comfort and convenience of the hands, tends to make them healthy and happy. . . . Before the introduction of coal-gas, the mills were lighted by whale-oil lamps. As may be supposed, this mode of lighting was imperfect, troublesome, unhealthy, and dangerous. The substitution of gas did much to render employment in mills more attractive to the hands; and, by removing obstacles to the prosecution of the trade, tended to make success more certain. Indeed, without gas, flax-spinning would not so soon have attained its present perfection."

Of employées connected with flax-spinning, the "hecklers," or flax-dressers, once formed a class of very considerable importance, both from their numbers, and the faculty of combination, which enabled them at times almost to control the whole trade, and dictate the rate of wages. Their policy, and the almost total extinction of their class which resulted from it, points a moral which has been exemplified in other quarters, where unreasonable dictation on the one side has provoked antagonism between labour and capital. That the "hecklers" had grievances it might be unjust to deny; but the frequent and obstinate strikes, by which they sought to right themselves, showed by their ultimate failure, and the extinction of their trade, that they grievously miscalculated their strength. In the autumn of 1827, during a depression of trade, the spinners proposed a reduction of 3d., out of 2s. 6d. per cwt., for dressing flax, which the flaxdressers answered by a strike of thirteen weeks' duration, involving much privation to themselves, and other operatives dependent upon them. In the end, the diminished wages had to be accepted; but the struggle had the effect of stimulating mechanical ingenuity to produce a substitute for manual labour; and hackling machines were gradually introduced, and perfected, so that in a few years they almost wholly supplanted hand-labour in the preparation of the fibre.

For a long period prior to 1832, when the practice was finally discontinued, it was deemed necessary, for the encouragement of home manufactures, to pay a bounty on linen cloth exported from this country. Such a policy would not now be regarded as other than injurious to the true interests of commerce; yet, it was contended by able writers like Dr Small, that the practice was "the particular cause of the increase and prosperity of Dundee, by which the industry of the inhabitants was first set in motion and encouraged." The subsidy thus paid by Government was of large proportions for the extent of the manufacture at the time, amounting, in 1823, to upwards of £75,000. It might be inferred that traces of this liberality would appear in the wages of the operatives; but, on the contrary, the rates of wages demonstrate the opposite result, so far as they were concerned. The miserable pittance earned by the workers are in fact the shady side of the picture of those times. In 1820, the Report of a Committee on the State of the Labouring Poor quoted the wages then paid in Dundee to weavers of sacking, 7s. 6d. per week; sail-cloth and bagging, 8s. 6d.; osnaburgs, 9s. 6d.; and sheetings, 10s.—in all cases for the best class of workmen. Female labour was still more miserably paid: women in mills rarely made 5s. a-week; hand-spinners, when fully employed, 2s. 6d., but more generally 1s. 2d. per week. It was stated that women had to spin for 4s. as much yarn as would reach from Dundee to Aberdeen—65½ miles! Compared with the earnings of the present day, these figures lead us to rejoice in a change, which has brought, with material progress, a juster recognition of industry, and its more adequate reward.¹ The following table furnishes a comparison of the wages paid to mill and factory hands at different periods:—

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF WAGES PAID AT MILLS AND FACTORIES.																
1853.					1863.				1873.							
60 Hours per Week.					60 Hours per Week.				58 Hours per Week.							
SPINNING MILLS—		s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.			
Preparers,.....		4	8	to	5	9	7	8	to	8	8	10	0	to 12	6	
Spinners,.....		5	6	—			8	8	„	8	9	10	7	„	11	7

¹ A discreditable practice long prevailed among the manufacturers of giving out webs ostensibly of uniform length, which were paid for by the piece. Hessian sheetings were presumed to be 115 yards; but, when a public meeting was held in 1833, on the Magdalen Green, where webs given out by various manufacturers were produced and measured, the Hessians were found to vary from 123 to 150 yards! The employers were thus shamed into the adoption of a uniform standard of length.

	1853.		1863.		1873.	
	60 Hours per Week.		60 Hours per Week.		58 Hours per Week.	
SPINNING MILLS—	<i>a.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>a.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Shifters,	2	9 to 3	5	9 to 6	7	0 —
Boys,	4	10 —	4	6 „ 9	6	9 to 3
Reelers,	6	6 „ 7	9	0 „ 14	10	6 „ 16
Overseers, ...	17	0 „ 24	21	0 „ 24	23	0 „ 40
Factories—						
Winders, ...	6	0 to 9	7	0 to 9	10	0 to 12
Weavers,	8	0 „ 11	9	0 „ 11	13	0 „ 16
Tenters,	17	0 „ 20	22	0 „ 26	23	0 „ 30
Warpers,	12	0 „ 16	15	0 „ 16	15	0 „ 20
	1853.		1863.		1873.	
	60 Hours per Week.		58½ Hours per Week.		58 Hours per Week.	
Mechanics, ...	21	0 —	17	0 to 25	27	0 to 30
Calenderers, ..	11	0 to 14	15	0 „ 16	15	0 „ 21
Lappers,	11	0 „ 15	15	0 „ 17	15	0 „ 21
Flaxdressers, .	2	6 per cwt.			2	10½ per cwt.

The introduction of weaving by machinery formed an important epoch in our local trade. About 1821, the subject engaged the attention of manufacturers; but it was not till many years after that practical steps were taken to test its capabilities. The honour of doing so is due to Messrs Baxter, who, in 1836, erected the first power-loom factory at their works in the Dens, following in the wake of similar undertakings in England, and also at Aberdeen. Messrs Baxter's factory was 150 feet long, 75 feet wide, and, on one floor, lighted from the roof—a plan which conduces greatly to comfort and safety, and has since been almost invariably followed in such works. The Dens Factory was speedily followed up by Alexander Rowan at Dudhope, John Laing at Dens Road, and Messrs Edward at Logie—these four works being for some years the only powerloom factories in Dundee. It is needless to say, they have since been rapidly multiplied, so that very few spinning works of any magnitude now exist without a weaving department of corresponding extent. The handloom has thus been to a great extent superseded, but is still employed for certain fabrics, and has therefore not experienced that complete extinction which has befallen hand-spinning.

In the finishing and packing of cloth, improvements, by the aid of machinery, have steadily followed the increased production. The primitive expedients of beetling the cloth upon a large stone, by wooden mallets plied by manual labour, and then tying up the cloth by cords,

was supplanted by the processes of calendering and press-packing, which greatly improves the appearance of the cloth, without injury to its quality, and gives the desired compactness and solidity to the bales required for shipment. The larger establishments contain a department for these operations ; but there are seven independent calendering works throughout the town specially engaged in this branch, and employing a large number of hands—one peculiarity of these works being, that no women or children are employed. The process of finishing is thus described :—

“The calenders employed are of four, five, or six bowls or rollers, two of which are made of paper, and the others of iron. The hydraulic packing presses are powerful machines, capable of exerting a pressure on the bales of from one to two thousand tons and upwards. The goods are beetled, sarceneted, cylindered, cheested, or mangled, &c., as may be desired—the different styles of finish to the goods being the effect of putting them through between the rollers in particular ways. The goods are cropped, then slightly damped, preparatory to the calendering process. Afterwards they are measured, lapped, or made up to suit the special taste of the market for which they are intended, then packed and shipped. In most processes of calendering, the goods are slightly contracted in width and extended in length. Few coarse linens, excepting those specially finished for padding, receive any starch or other extraneous substance, preparatory to calendering, to give them an appearance of having more body than they really possess. The firmness and consistency of linen is chiefly owing to the quantity of fibrous material in the cloth, and this adds value to linen goods.”¹

In its monetary aspects, the staple trade of Dundee has passed through a series of crises which retarded its progress, and at times even threatened its destruction ; but it has survived them all, and, by adapting itself to the changing exigencies of the markets, and promptly adopting new materials and improved processes of manufacture, has now reached a position which justifies strong faith in its stability and permanence. It is well to remember, however, that its prospects were not always so hopeful, and instructive to recall some of the vicissitudes over which it has triumphed. As has already been mentioned, the trade underwent a serious depression at the close of the first decade of this century, when the price of flax suddenly fell from £150 to £80 a ton. The effect in mercantile circles was most disastrous ; and for some time a series of violent fluctuations occurred, in which but few of the merchants, who withstood the first convulsions, escaped bankruptcy. In 1812, William Sandeman failed for £120,000, offering 4s. 4d. of dividend ; and numerous failures of less magnitude

¹ *Linen Trade*, p. 615.

followed. Within five years, 240 banks throughout the country succumbed, and wide-spread distress prevailed among the working classes. Had this state of things continued, the ruin of trade seemed imminent; but, fortunately, a brighter day dawned, and for some years prior to 1825, manufacturers enjoyed a return of prosperity, which sustained their hopes for the future. In that year, however, the commercial panic, which broke out in London, rapidly spread over the kingdom, and Dundee was paralysed by its effects. In 1826, between twenty and thirty bankruptcies occurred, and, but for the unusual yet kindly help of the Government, in granting Exchequer Bills to merchants for goods deposited, which was followed by the local banks giving similar advances, the consequences would have been utterly disastrous. In 1827, a revival of the American trade gave considerable relief, by a demand for bagging, which continued until 1835, when an extensive fire in New York consumed large stocks, and induced our manufacturers to glut the market. The goods thus imported lay in the store for years, only to be sold at enormous loss, and, with a panic in America, insolvency again became epidemic amongst Dundee merchants. Rallying again, the trade enjoyed a fair measure of prosperity until 1847, when the Railway Mania having culminated in the investment of nearly £200,000,000 in these undertakings, a monetary crisis followed, which operated most injuriously on every branch of industry. In 1857, the year of the Western Bank stoppage, several failures, for a considerable amount, took place in Dundee, the liabilities of one firm being £70,000.¹ Since that period, the town has enjoyed a gratifying immunity from insolvencies connected with its staple trade, considering the magnitude of its transactions. Nor can we deny ourselves the gratification of stating that, within the last few years, numerous instances have occurred of firms and individuals voluntarily paying, in full, the debts standing against them, when in former years the pressure of adverse fortune had compelled them to suspend payment. In thus employing their resources, a moral rectitude has been evinced, in the highest degree honourable to those who have displayed it, and an example given of commercial integrity which cannot fail to raise the credit of the town, and the character of its merchant princes.

We now come to speak of the third phase in the history of Dundee manufactures, which has had an influence not less beneficial and im-

¹ Boase's *Century of Banking*.

portant than the introduction of machinery for spinning and weaving purposes—the introduction of Jute. This material is the fibre which constitutes the inner bark of an Indian plant, of the *Corchorus* genus (natural order Tiliaceæ)—the variety *C. Capsularis* of botanists being the one from which the fibre is chiefly obtained. Its introduction to Europe for textile purposes is of comparatively recent date, it being almost unknown previous to 1830, except in the form of “gunny-bags,” in which sugar, rice, pepper, and other Indian produce had long been largely imported, without attracting attention to the material of which they were made. When first introduced, the great length of the raw fibre, sometimes exceeding twelve feet, suggested its employment for cordage; but, after repeated trials, it was found less suitable than hemp for that purpose. Some of the earliest parcels of jute-fibre sent to this country fell into the hands of manufacturers at Abingdon, in Oxfordshire—a place famous for its sacking, twines, &c.—by whom it was spun, dyed, and made into carpeting. About 1824, a few bales of the new fibre reached Dundee; it was experimented upon by William Anderson, whose experience of East India hems led him to regard it with favour, but without much practical result. A small consignment was received about the same time by Thomas Neish; but such was the hostility and indifference of spinners to the new material, that it lay in his warehouse for some years; and when at length some were induced to give it a trial, the difficulties encountered in manipulating it according to the prevalent treatment of flax, and with the machinery then available, discouraged its adoption at that time. In 1832, Mr Neish received another consignment, which was again tried by Balfour & Meldrum, whose experiments this time produced more favourable results. James Watt, another merchant, also tried a few bales with a like degree of success, and took up the introduction of the new material with such spirit that, in the following year, the reluctance of spinners was so far overcome that several used it in considerable quantities. For some time after the possibility of spinning jute had been demonstrated, it was not spun by itself, but mixed with tow and flax. The mixed yarn was not regarded with favour, many declaring the process to be little else than a fraud; still, considerable quantities were used unwittingly, or under mental reservation. Towards the end of 1833, James Taws first began to spin pure jute; Balfour and Meldrum followed, and were the first to spin 4 to 6 lb. line-yarn, and make jute-twist; and

to this circumstance the introduction of the jute carpeting trade in Dundee may be attributed. In 1835, pure jute-yarn was regularly sold in the market, 11 lb. fetching 4½d. a-pound—the price of the raw material being then £22 to £23 per ton.

The manufacture of jute-carpeting was first taken up by Mr James Neish ; but, notwithstanding a favourable return from the first consignment to the New York market, this branch of manufacture did not make steady progress for a considerable time. In the end, however, Mr Neish achieved marked success, and others followed in the same channel. Jute fabrics of every class long retained a doubtful reputation, partly arising from ignorance of the nature of the material, the want of proper machinery, the uncertainty as to the extent of the supply, and the prejudice which existed against them as substitutes for linen fabrics. One by one, however, all obstacles to its employment were overcome by patience and skill: its advantages became fully recognised, and Dundee now stands confessedly the head-quarters of the jute trade in Great Britain.

For a long time, the dyeing of jute for fine colours was not understood ; so that the yarns were sent to Glasgow for that purpose, and brought back to Dundee to be woven. That expedient, it is needless to say, has long ceased to be necessary, as this process has now been brought to a high state of perfection in this neighbourhood. Mr Warden remarks :—

“ It is one of the most easily dyed fabrics known, and the colours it takes on are bright and beautiful. The common dyes are quickly applied ; but they are very fugitive, and, when exposed to the sun's rays, soon become faint and dull. By the common process, the colouring matter strikes little more than the outside of the fibre, and, as it were, paints it ; and this mode of dyeing requires little material, and is done at small cost. The fibres of jute do not subdivide so minutely as those of flax, and they are of a hard dry nature, and to a considerable extent impervious to moisture. It therefore requires a more complex process to make the colouring materials thoroughly penetrate the fibres, so as to make the dye lasting. This can, however, be accomplished, and the better class of goods made of dyed jute undergo this process, which makes the colours much brighter and faster. It is hardly possible to make every colour perfectly fast, although some of them are as durable as those upon other materials. Jute is very readily brought to a rich cream colour, either in the fibre, in yarn, or in cloth. It is, however, very difficult to bring it to a full white without injuring the strength of the fibre. Many experiments have, from time to time, been made to bleach jute ; but at best they have been only partially successful, and it may be said that a perfect white has never yet been attained without impairing strength. Fresh sound jute, of fine quality, can, without danger, be brought to a moderate degree of

whiteness ; but, as the fibre gets older, exposure to the atmosphere changes it to a brownish tinge, and it then becomes more difficult to bleach. The slightly nature of jute, the regular even thread which, by the improved machinery, is formed of it, and the smooth, tidy, and clean appearance of jute cloth, are all pleasing to the eye, and therefore attractive. These qualities, combined with its cheapness, have served to recommend it to consumers, and bring it into general use. Now, instead of being used stealthily by spinners as of old, it is the only material spun by most of the leading firms in Dundee.

Down to 1840, our manufacturers obtained their supplies of jute from the London and Liverpool markets ; but, on the 26th of April in that year, the barque "Selma" entered the harbour direct from Calcutta, with 850 bales as part of her cargo. Upwards of twenty years elapsed, however, before the direct importation was regularly established, on a scale equal to the requirements of the trade. A fleet of between 70 and 80 large full-rigged vessels is now employed in this traffic, to the great advantage alike of the manufacturers and the town generally.

The following table, whilst showing the quantities of Jute, Flax, &c., imported into Dundee, exhibiting the growth of the staple trade, brings out very forcibly the rapid expansion of the new fibre, and, as it were, the stationary state of the pure Flax trade :—

Year.		JUTE.	FLAX, TOW, AND HEMP.
		Tons.	Tons.
1838,		1,136	30,850
1843,	JUTE.	4,858	26,268
1848,	Direct from	8,905	30,585
1853,	Calcutta.	15,400	47,113
1858,	Tons.	30,086	25,842
1863,	6,772	46,983	28,898
1868,	5,437	58,474	36,712
1869,	27,844	82,379	29,935
1870,	30,537	81,740	49,592
1871,	61,534	102,844	50,935
1872,	91,276	123,139	40,636
1873,	102,133	143,150	38,900

The introduction of jute has brought about great changes in the staple trade of Dundee, and rendered possible those adaptations of supply to demand, which the extended commercial relations of British enterprise so rapidly develope in distant countries. The paramount element of cheapness, combined with suitability of purpose and facility of production, are all found in jute fabrics, and to this much of its success is doubtless attributable. The extended use of it has at the same time set free the more limited stocks of flax and other fibres for

purposes to which they are better suited, so that the one branch of manufactures has not been extinguished to make way for the other—the changes involved being rather in the direction of a general expansion of trade.

"In place of sackcloth, bagging, and other coarse fabrics being made from hemp, hemp cordilla, and coarse tow, these are all now entirely made from jute, and some of these raw materials are not now known in the trade. While much the same quantity of flax and tow is now imported as many years ago, the real linen is in this way supplemented, the quantity formerly used in the coarser branches being now available for other purposes. The more common descriptions of osenaburghs, sheetings, and many other fabrics are now manufactured solely from jute; or these goods, instead of being made of flax or tow as formerly, are now composed partly of tow and partly of jute. Fine goods are also manufactured from a combination of jute and cotton. In this manner has the linen trade again been most largely supplemented. The jute trade has increased so rapidly, and the goods made from the fibre are now so highly appreciated over the whole world, that, looking to the future, one is entitled to say that, in extent, it will probably only be rivalled by the cotton manufacture. The pack-sheet, bagging, sackings, and woolpacks of Dundee, are used in almost every quarter of the globe. There is another fabric worthy of particular notice, which owes its existence solely to jute—the carpeting, which have nearly the appearance of carpets made from wool; and though they are neither so durable, nor retain their colour so well, when it is mentioned that their cost ranges from 6d. to 1s. 4d. a-yard, it is not remarkable that they should be greatly used."¹

Every one is familiar with the appearance of the raw material, when landed in compact oblong bales, of about 300 lbs. each. The first operation to which the fibre is subjected on reaching the works is termed "batching." Naturally of a hard and dry nature, it was long before the obstacles presented by this peculiarity of the fibre were successfully overcome, so as to bring it into a condition to spin and weave satisfactorily. Saturation with oil (the animal oils being found most suitable) was resorted to, and found to be successful; and accordingly the material, spread in layers in the batching-house, is allowed to lie a certain time, sprinkled with oil and water. The long fibres are then torn asunder, by being fastened to the ends of iron bars placed on either side of a wheel, having stout spikes in its rim. From this stage the fibre goes through the processes of spreading and drawing, roving, winding, spinning, and reeling, until the yarn is turned out into spindles, containing 14,400 yards. The yarn then either passes directly to the loom, or is sent to be bleached, according to the descrip-

¹ Paper by Mr R. Sturrock,

tion of cloth for which it is destined to be used. Of the bleaching and weaving processes it is unnecessary to speak, and the final processes of finishing, calendering, and packing have been already adverted to. We may therefore proceed to notice some of the larger manufacturing establishments.

The rise of Lochee, which, though now part of the municipality of Dundee, was a century ago an inconsiderable village, deserves more than a passing notice. It belonged in old times to the barony of Balgay, which, in 1601, was held by John Lindsay, a member of the ancestral family of Balcarres. The barony comprehended the loch of Balgay, which covered a portion of the valley on which the thriving suburb of Lochee is now built. The modern name is believed to be derived from Loch E'e—the eye or opening of the loch. A small stream, which doubtless formed the feeder of the ancient loch, still rises towards the east of the place, and, flowing westward, joins the burn of Benvie, forming with it the burn of Invergowrie, a short distance above its confluence with the Tay. The Lochee burn furnished the water supply required for bleaching the yarn and cloth of the old hand-loom weavers, and the neighbourhood of Dundee provided a ready market for their goods, which were chiefly coarse linens. In 1792, there were 276 looms in the Lochee district, producing 4860 pieces, of the value of £12,520. About half a century ago, there was a large flourishing manufactory in Lochee, carried on by the late Mr James Paterson, which gave employment to a great many hands, and was considered one of the largest establishments of its kind in the vicinity. Unfortunately, the greater part of it was destroyed by fire, along with a fine dwelling-house occupied by the proprietor, and was not again renewed. The Established and Free Churches have been built on the site which the work covered. A small part of the original factory, which formed a square, alone remains. The ground belonging to this establishment extended to about twenty acres, on part of which the fine buildings now forming a portion of the High Street are built.

About the beginning of the last century, a Mr Cox was engaged as a merchant manufacturer, on a small scale, in Lochee, who, at his death, in 1741, was succeeded by his son, David. In his hands the business remained until 1793, when it devolved on his son, James, the third in succession. He was a man of considerable enterprise and capacity, and, along with other leading men of his day, founded the Dundee Banking Company in 1777. In 1810, the fourth

generation entered upon possession of the works at Lochee, which at that time had become greatly extended, the bleaching greens covering not less than twenty-five acres. Three years afterwards, the occurrence of a destructive fire led to these works being abandoned, and the site of them has long been absorbed into the home farm of Camperdown. Mr Cox having moved into the village, then turned his attention to weaving, and was succeeded in that line by his eldest son, Mr James Cox, the present respected Provost of Dundee, and head of the firm of Cox Brothers, which was formed in 1841, and now ranks foremost in the staple trade of Dundee for the extent and enterprise with which its operations are conducted. About 1845, the firm commenced weaving by steam-power, and since then have established the Camperdown Linen Works upon a systematic plan, and on a scale which may truly be described as colossal. The works extend over an area of twenty-five acres, the greater part of which is covered with buildings of the most substantial kind, and which command admiration alike for their ornamental character, and the complete arrangements by which the various processes of preparing, spinning, bleaching, dyeing, weaving, and finishing, are carried on without waste of time, labour, or material. The firm have an establishment on the Hooghly, at Calcutta, for the storage and shipment of jute; and from the moment the raw material passes, by their branch railway, into the Camperdown Works, every process it undergoes is completed within the gates, until the finished fabric is sent for export to all the markets of the world.

Of the external features of these works, perhaps the most striking is the magnificent chimney shaft, erected in 1865, which forms a prominent landmark in the country for many miles around. It is built after the style of the Italian campaniles, but far exceeds in dimensions the largest of these examples of art. It is square in form for about three-fourths of its height, the upper portion being octagonal, and is built of particoloured bricks, with the exception of the basement and cornices, where stone is employed. An inner circular casing, 12 feet in diameter, is carried up throughout, and so connected with the exterior walls as to give strength and rigidity to the whole. The height of the shaft from the ground is 282 feet, or almost twice that of the Old Steeple; and upwards of a million of bricks were used in its construction. The weight of materials employed exceeded 5000 tons, and the cost was understood to be about £6000. That, even with this

large outlay, the forethought of the firm has been amply justified, by the immunity from the smoke-nuisance, which half a dozen ordinary chimneys would have created, may be inferred from the fact, that the smoke from 58 furnaces, and also all the smoke from the forges, is efficiently disposed of by means of underground tunnels, communicating with the one shaft.

In the Camperdown Works, the motive power is supplied by 22 engines, of an aggregate power of 2750 horses; the largest engine being a giant of 100 H.P., which has worked up to 500. The raw material worked up exceeds 15,000 tons per annum, and upwards of 5000 persons are employed in the various departments of the works. It is worthy of note, as forming an exception to the rule, that the partners reside in the immediate vicinity of their works, and thus are in a position to identify themselves more closely with the well-being of Lochee, which has become thriving and populous through the successful enterprise displayed in the Camperdown Linen Works.

In the town of Dundee, the Dens Works, belonging to Baxter Brothers & Co., have long held the foremost place for the magnitude and completeness of their arrangements, and the high standard of excellence which marks their manufactures. The situation is not naturally advantageous or well adapted for extension; but its difficulties have been successfully overcome, and, of the twenty-one acres of ground embraced within the boundaries, fully one-half are covered by the buildings and accessories of the works; while the superficial floorage exceeds twelve acres in extent—the greater part of which is occupied by valuable machinery, of the most improved construction, and which is chiefly made on the premises. In the spinning department there are upwards of 22,600 spindles, with all the requisite preparing machinery; while the weaving includes upwards of 1200 looms. The motive power of this vast concern is derived from 28 boilers, consuming about 300 tons of coal weekly, and supplying steam to 22 engines, of the aggregate indicated force of 2850 H.P. The hands employed number about 4500, of whom a large proportion are females. The firm has long been famed for the immense production, and fine quality of navy sail-cloth, manufactured at these works; but other classes of goods are now turned out in large quantities, the aggregate production exceeding twenty-five million yards in the course of a year, and comprising bleached and brown sheeting, ducks, paddings, towelings, Osnaburg, Hessians, &c. The early history of these splendid

works is referred to in the memoir of the late Sir David Baxter, Bart., long the head of the firm, and to whose sagacity and enterprise, and those associated with him, they will ever remain a noble and, let us hope, an enduring monument. The principal building has a frontage of 250 feet to Princes Street, and is five storeys in height, the centre of which is surmounted by a figure of James Watt, while at the east end a lofty bell-tower rises above the roof.

But a few years ago it might have been easy to describe all the manufacturing concerns of any note in the town; but, at the present day, any such attempt would require a volume of itself. It must suffice to enumerate, in addition to the two concerns just described, a few of the most remarkable, which come next to them in point of scale and equipment. The Tay Works, belonging to Gilroy Brothers & Co., present a most imposing appearance, having a frontage of 1000 feet to the Lochee Road, and rising to a height of five stories in the centre, and four along the wings—the former possessing considerable architectural character, and surmounted by a figure of Minerva over the pediment. These works are devoted almost exclusively to jute manufactures—the raw material being imported direct from Calcutta in vessels belonging to the firm. The Logie Works, of A. & D. Edward & Co., situated in the Scouringburn, among the first established in the town, have in late years been extended to colossal proportions, and now comprise a mill of 300 feet in length, and five storeys in height, besides extensive weaving factories, and other accessories on a corresponding scale. Bowbridge Works, erected by J. & A. D. Grimond in 1867, on the northern outskirts of the town, are justly regarded as among the best arranged works of their class, and, with recent extensions, are now of great magnitude. Carpets, matting, rugs, &c., form an important section of the goods produced at these works. At Seafield Works (Thomson, Shepherd, & Co.), these goods also form the leading articles. Of works solely devoted to spinning, those of O. G. Miller & Co. are the largest, embracing five mills, which produce a large quantity of yarns, chiefly flax and tow, the quality of which has long held a high position in the markets. Of other works, our space only permits us to name Wallace Factory (R. W. Morrison & Co.); Constable Works (Malcolm, Ogilvie, & Co.); Ward Mills (Don Brothers, Buist, & Co.); Pleasance Mills (Kinmond, Luke, & Co.); and Dudhope Works (Alex. Henderson); the number of smaller works being legion.

Section VIII.

MINOR INDUSTRIES : SHIPBUILDING—ENGINEERING—BUILDING TRADES, &c.—THE
PRESS—BANKING ESTABLISHMENTS—STATISTICS.

ALTHOUGH now eclipsed by the staple manufacturing trade, Shipbuilding for a long period formed the most important branch of industry in Dundee, and is still far from insignificant. We have elsewhere noticed the early history of this art, and the changes which, within the present century, have come over it, by the introduction of steam, and the preference given to iron vessels of large capacity, instead of the smaller wooden vessels, by means of which the commerce of the port was formerly conducted. The size of the vessels went on increasing until 1856, in which year wooden shipbuilding appears to have reached its highest development. At all events, the largest vessel of that construction was then built by Messrs A. Stephen & Sons : it was named the "Eastern Monarch," and measured 1848 tons. At that time there were six firms engaged in building timber vessels, while, at the present time, only two are solely engaged on that class ; and the vessels turned out by them are mostly of moderate dimensions, ranging from 100 to 500 tons. An intermediate class of vessels, built with a combination of iron and wood, were introduced by Messrs Stephen & Son, in 1865, in which the frames, keelson, stringers, tieplates, and beams were of wrought iron ; while the planking, keel, stern and stem posts, &c., were of wood. These *composite* ships were expected to combine the advantages possessed by iron and wooden vessels, but do not seem to have realized the expectations formed of them, as none have been built here for some years. The building of iron vessels was introduced in 1838, by Messrs Carmichael & Co., and, though the specimens constructed by that firm were of a small class, they attracted much attention at the time. In 1840, Peter Borrie constructed several iron paddle steamers ; but that class was relinquished until 1854, when Gourlay Brothers & Co. resumed iron-shipbuilding, and, through their enterprising skill, the trade has since steadily increased. This firm has constructed a large number of iron steamers of almost every description, from the screw-collier to the first-class mail-boat. They

have also turned out many fine iron sailing ships, the largest being the Dundee, of 1295 tons register, built for Gilroy Brothers & Co., and employed by them in the Calcutta jute trade. Messrs Stephen have, however, a sailing vessel in hand, which will measure 1800 tons. The first screw-steamer built at the port was launched from the yard of Mr John Brown in 1851. From 1861 till June 1867, the tonnage of all sorts of vessels launched and on hand was 41,564, representing a value of £627,000. During the last five years there has been an average of 6800 tons of iron steamers built yearly, 1833 tons of sailing vessels, 937 tons of wooden steamers, and 2279 tons of wooden sailing vessels. The average tonnage of all shipping launched and on the stocks, during the last-named period, was 18,960 tons, against 10,314 tons per annum during the period 1861-7. Of late, the greatest progress has been made in iron steam-ship building, the average during the last five years being fully three-and-a-half times that produced in the former period. For the year 1873, the vessels built and on the stocks were as follows:—

	Iron Steam-ships.	Iron Sailing Ships.	Wooden Steamers.	Wooden Sailing.	Total.
Number,.....	9	8	2	4	18 vessels.
Horse-power (nominal),....	2,080	...	240	...	2,320 H.P.
Tonnage (gross),.....	12,945	2,080	1,368	1,131	18,524 tons.

Of these new vessels, the most note-worthy are a pair of magnificent iron steamers, the "Teheran" and "Thibet," built by Messrs Gourlay for the P. & O. Company, each being 2600 tons measurement, with engines of 450 H.P. ; while Messrs Stephen's wooden screw-whalers, the "Proteus" and "Bear," of 684 tons, and 120 H.P., are also fine specimens of naval architecture in that department. In addition to the building of new vessels, a very considerable trade is done in the lengthening, conversion, and repair of iron ships—a branch which would probably be largely increased if the Graving Dock and Slip accommodation were extended. In the construction of marine engines, for vessels built at this port and elsewhere, Messrs Gourlay, and Mr W. B. Thompson, do a large trade—the former having turned out, during the past year, twelve, of 1869 H.P. ; and the latter eleven, of 935 H.P. At present there are about 1400 hands employed in the shipbuilding trade, besides 900 mechanics engaged in the construction of steam-engines ; and it is satisfactory to note that the workmen have fully participated in the prosperity of the trade, the rate of pay for ship-

wrights comparing most favourably with that ruling on the Thames and Clyde. Being closely allied to the staple manufactures of the town, the engineering and iron-founding trade has shared in the rapid development which has characterized it of late years. In 1847, there were only three such establishments of any extent in the town, now increased to eight or ten—the production of machinery at which is largely increased by the extended application of steam-power and improved appliances in the workshops. In the spinning and manufacturing works, it is of paramount importance to have machinery of the most improved construction; and, as no expense is spared in this direction, the strongest stimulus is provided for ingenuity and skill in its construction. In all departments, therefore, improvements are constantly being introduced, and frequent changes in the plant rendered necessary by the spirit of competition and the striving after perfection. Our local engineers have kept pace with such requirements, and contributed many important mechanical improvements in all departments of the trade, so that “the machinery of the present day, when compared with that in use half a century ago, shows such a wonderful advance towards perfection, that it may be doubted if improvements can go on in the same ratio; or, if the progress which can be made in the future, will at all compare with what has recently taken place.” In the production of power-looms and preparing machinery, Robertson and Orchar, Pearce Brothers, and C. Parker & Son, are justly celebrated; while J. Carmichael & Co., Gourlay Brothers & Co., and W. B. Thompson, have acquired a high reputation for steam-engines, boilers, &c.

With the growth of mills and factories, harbour and railway works, and the demand, arising from the general prosperity, for business premises and dwellings, the Building Trades have received extensive employment; but, from circumstances peculiar to these, no statistics regarding them can be given. These trades have, to a less degree than almost any other, derived assistance from steam-power and machinery, the sawing and preparation of wood being the only branch in which mechanical appliances have been introduced to any extent. In stone-dressing, machinery is used to a very slight extent, the great bulk of the dressed stone employed being still produced by manual labour and the sweat of the brow. Whether from this cause, or the combination of the workmen, resulting in the compulsory dressing of stones on the spot where they are to be built, the limitation of apprentices, and short-

ening of the hours of labour, &c.—perhaps from all these combined, and the greater demand for operatives—the cost of mason work has increased to double what it ruled not very many years ago. One effect of this has been a lower standard of excellence in workmanship for the ordinary class of dwellings, and the gradual introduction of brick-work for many structures. The local stones from the quarries in the Lochee district—which, from their hardness, are difficult to work, expensive when applied to ornamental purposes, and not altogether satisfactory in point of durability—have been of late years largely superseded by the softer freestone from Fifeshire, and the compact and durable stone obtained from the vicinity of Stirling, for supplies of which we are indebted to the railways.

Of other industrial pursuits, which at one time were carried on to a considerable extent in Dundee, some have been greatly reduced in scale, while others have become wholly extinct. The tanning and preparation of Leather is an instance of the former—the numerous works of last century being now represented in effect by one establishment, that of H. Henderson & Sons; which is, however, of considerable extent, and, through the enterprise and spirit with which it is conducted, bids fair to become one of the most extensive in Scotland. The Brewing Trade again, once numbering 60 masters, is now represented by the firm of H. Ballingall & Son, whose works are of considerable extent, producing ale and beer of a high standard of excellence, and largely used at home and abroad. Of trades that have altogether disappeared, the cotton and bonnet-making have been already noticed; to which must be added, the glass manufacture and sugar refining. Towards the end of the last century, a glass-work was in operation at Carolina Port, where upwards of a hundred workmen were engaged in making bottles and window-glass; but, for some reason or other, the business was given up about sixty years ago. Sugar refining was abandoned about twenty years later. Soap-making was at one time a considerable branch of trade, which, after being abandoned for many years, has recently been revived at one establishment; but whether it will prove the forerunner of other works of that kind remains to be seen.

THE PRESS.

THE precise time at which the Printing Press was set up in Dundee cannot be correctly stated, though it has been supposed to owe its in-

roduction to the army of Cromwell. It was certainly at work about the period of the restoration of Charles II., as appears from "Lamont's Diary," where we read, under date July 27, 1661—"The magistrands at St Andrews were lawriat by —, in the Old Colledge (Mr William Campbell had the classe this yeire), and Mr John Hamilton, in St Leonard's, and both ther theses were *printed at Dundie*." It may be inferred from this allusion that the press had been some time established, and acquired some repute, as it can hardly be supposed that the work of the mother university would be confided for execution to mere novices in the art. Seventeen years after this date, we find another work issuing from the press of Dundee, as, in 1678, the Rev. Robert Edwards, minister of Murroes, published a Map of the County, accompanied with a Memoir or Description in Latin.¹ After this date, the art appears to have gone into decay, probably from the causes that depressed all arts—the want of encouragement, and the general poverty of the people. It would even seem that it had died altogether, as we find, soon after the beginning of last century, the Church exerting herself on behalf of the press. The Presbytery of Dundee (at the time consisting of the now independent Presbyteries of Dundee, Forfar, and Meigle), patronized and took under its protection a printer of the name of Gaines, and encouraged him by a Presbyterial collection to establish himself in the town. This fact is ascertained by the following extract from the parochial records of Foulis Easter—

"Sabbath, April 18, 1703.—Given out to Daniel Gaines to help him in Setting up the Art of Printing in Dundee, by the Presbytrie's recommendation, £1 4s."

Whether Gaines succeeded in his attempt does not appear; but, within fifty years subsequent to his time, Henry Galbraith and Company "sett up the art," and published an edition of what was called Ostervald's Bible, in folio, with engravings, which is now very rare, if at all to be seen. The firm published also, in 1759, the whole theological works of Isaac Ambrose, in one large folio volume, which is likewise very scarce. In 1755, they commenced the publication of a newspaper, entitled *The Dundee Weekly Intelligencer*; but its circulation is believed to have been limited, and its existence brief. The next local typographer, and perhaps one of the most spirited the town has possessed, was Thomas Colville. He settled here early in life, and, about the year 1775, having succeeded to the business of Gal-

¹ This Memoir was translated by the Rev. Robert Traill, minister of Panbride, and published by Edward Lesalie, bookseller, in 1792.

braith and Company, he commenced a periodical publication, somewhat of the nature of its contemporary, *The Edinburgh Weekly Amusement*. How long it existed we do not know, as copies of it are now rarely to be met with. In 1783, Colville published a *Dundee Register and Directory*, the first of that useful series, which, though of very modest pretensions, found too little support to ensure its regular publication. Ten years later, Dr Small's creditable "Statistical Account of the Town and Parish" was published in a separate form. About the year 1796, Colville commenced a monthly publication, *The Dundee Repository*, which extended to two duodecimo volumes; and in January 1799, he published *The Dundee Magazine and Journal of the Times*. This was also a monthly publication, and extends to four or five duodecimos, of about 700 pages, containing a variety of curious and amusing articles. Mr Colville was one of the early printers of the *Advertiser*. The first title of that journal was *The Dundee Weekly Advertiser and Angus Intelligencer*, the first number of which appeared on the 16th January, 1801. He became the printer on the 8th Jan., 1802, and continued to be so until the 24th May, 1805. After closing his connection with it, he set up a rival paper, the *Dundee Mercury*, which was published weekly, on Wednesday; but, in or about 1813, it fell before its abler and better supported contemporary. In 1812-13, an edition of "Bishop Horsley's Sermons and Speeches" was printed in the *Advertiser* office, under the superintendence of the Rev. H. Horsley, the Bishop's son. In 1816, Mr Colville, who had been for some years associated in business with his son, Alexander, made one other effort to establish a monthly periodical, the *Dundee Magazine*. It was not successful. The magazine only lived the twelve months of that year, and makes one respectable octavo volume. The elder Colville died on August 22, 1819.

About the commencement of this century, another press was established in the town by Francis Ray, from which issued the first published "Gazetteer of Scotland," and also an elegant edition of "Rollin's Ancient History," in twelve volumes octodecimo, illustrated with engravings from the *burin* of Thomas Ivory, a native engraver. Since 1816, numerous efforts have been made to establish various periodicals. Robert Mudie, of the Academy, made two fruitless efforts in succession to establish a bi-monthly, first in the *Independent*, and then in the *Caledonian*. An attempt to establish a monthly was made by Alex. M. Sandeman, bookseller, in 1822, in the shape of the *Dundee Maga-*

sine and Caledonian Review, which lived eight months. It was edited by Wm. Wilson, an operative calenderer, whose name is favourably mentioned in "Chambers's Autobiography." In 1824, Alex. Colville made yet another effort in favour of expiring literature, by issuing fortnightly the *Literary Ohio*, a respectable quarto, also conducted by Wm. Wilson, on the plan of its London contemporary of the time, the *Literary Gazette*; but it too was unsuccessful, and succumbed in 1825. From that time down to 1832, no literary periodical seems to have been attempted, and the *Presbyterian Magazine*, then established under the editorship of the Rev. Alex. Duncan, was only published for one year in Dundee before being translated to Edinburgh. In 1833, another venture was made through the medium of the *Angus Album*, an annual; but in this case also the mild lamp of literature and poetry was quenched in the uncongenial atmosphere of trade and political debate, though fed by the contributions of David Vedder, and Joseph Grant, author of the "Tales of the Glens." About 1834, yet another attempt was made to establish a *Dundee Magazine*, the parties connected with it being Robert Nicoll, poet, James M'Cosh, David Vedder, Andrew Small, &c. Only two numbers appeared. They were published by F. Shaw. A like fate arrested the latest attempt made, in the *Angus Magazine*, which terminated its existence with the seventh number, in 1869.

In its newspapers, Dundee has attempted about as great a variety as in serial literature, but with more permanent results; although it is curious to find that while now, with its greatly increased population and intelligence, it has, strictly speaking, but two distinct newspapers, issued daily, with two weeklies issued under the same auspices, there were, a few years ago, *ten* papers (between dailies and weeklies) catering for public support. Since its commencement, in 1801, the *Advertiser* has steadily established itself in public favour. The editor, during its earliest years, was the Rev. James Roger; and afterwards, James Saunders, writer, one of the proprietors; who was succeeded, about 1808, by Robert Stephen Rintoul, under whose able direction it flourished till 1825, when he removed, first to Edinburgh, and thence to London, and founded the *Spectator*. His successor, John Galletly, conducted the *Advertiser* for six or seven years; after which, Peter Brown, James Saunders, and F. W. Baxter, successively occupied the post, and for a few months J. A. Lake Gloag occupied its editorial chair. For a number of years it has been managed by Mr

John Leng, with an ability and success exceeding that displayed by any of his predecessors. In 1816, the *Dundee Courier* entered the field, and for a number of years represented the Conservative side in politics, with ability, and for a time with but moderate success. In 1834, Dr Geo. Buist became editor, the title of the journal then becoming the *Courier & Constitutional*;¹ but, after a short time, Dr Buist terminated his connection with it, and started the *Dundee Guardian*, a journal which had but a brief existence. The next venture in local journalism was made in 1832, when the *Dundee Chronicle* was ushered into existence, to represent moderate Liberal opinions, by George Milne, a well-known solicitor in the town; but its first tenure of life extended over only ten months. In 1834, it was again resuscitated, on the occasion of the Water Controversy which then raged in Dundee, and survived for nearly seven years, during which the pungency of its local articles was attested by its energetic conductor being made the object of street assaults on four different occasions. The *Chronicle* then changed its name to the *Dundee Herald*, which, under Peter Brown and other writers, advocated the political doctrines of the Chartists, until that party had nearly died out. In 1841, the ecclesiastical agitation, which culminated two years afterwards in the Disruption of the Scottish Church, led to the establishment of the *Dundee Warder*, as the exponent of the Non-intrusion party. In 1845, its name was changed to the *Northern Warder*, on its amalgamation with the *Fife Sentinel*, when it was enlarged to eight pages, and became the largest newspaper then issued in Scotland. It was printed on a full-sized "Cowper" perfecting machine, propelled by a small steam-engine—the first instance, it is believed, in which steam-power had been applied to printing purposes north of Edinburgh or Glasgow. The first editor of the *Warder* was James M'Cosh, a native of the town, whose trenchant writing contributed largely to the success of the cause he espoused. About 1845, a strong desire was shown by some leaders of the Free Church party to get M'Cosh associated with Hugh Miller on the *Witness*, and negotiations were opened for that purpose; but the resolute opposition of Mr Miller frustrated the scheme. To secure the

¹ Dr Buist was a native of Tannadice; and, after his services in Dundee, proceeded first to Perth, where he started the *Constitutional*, and afterwards took the editorship of the *Fifeshire Journal*. In 1839, he went out to India, and for eighteen years conducted the *Bombay Times* with great ability and success. Shortly before his death, which occurred at Calcutta on Nov. 1, 1860, Dr Buist was selected to fill an important post in the Indian Civil Service.

services of Mr M'Cosh in Edinburgh, a semi-theological monthly was started, under the title of *Lowe's Edinburgh Magazine*, of which he became editor, and thus terminated his connection with Dundee. His new magazine was supported by Drs Chalmers, Candlish, and other eminent leaders of the party, but was discontinued after the publication of its third volume. Thereafter Mr M'Cosh proceeded to the north, and started the *Inverness Advertiser*, which he conducted with vigour and success until his strength, at no time robust, gave way, and he died in 1850, a martyr to the cause in which his ardent sympathies had been enlisted. A commercial paper, called the *Mercantile Gazette & Shipping Register* (bi-weekly), was started in 1845, and carried on for nearly three years, under the superintendence of D. Martin, merchant; but, owing to several of the merchants printing private trade circulars, and a club formed by others for having a *Trade Report* to their own liking, and which is still carrying on under Mr Warden, the former was discontinued. The *Saturday Post* was the next journal which sought public support, so that Dundee then possessed four newspapers, all professing Liberal opinions. These four speedily found occasion to double their number, on the repeal of the newspaper stamp-duty. The revolution which then took place in journalism was initiated by the proprietors of the *Warder* starting a penny newspaper, the *Weekly News*, which met with so much success among the working classes that the example was followed by the other offices, so that instead of the news of the day reaching the bulk of the people as formerly, by an occasional "read" of a high-priced paper at second hand, the poorest had now the means of knowledge brought within easy reach. The next step was the trial of a daily paper, the *Daily Argus*, issued from the *Warder* establishment, which was followed by the *Advertiser*. An amalgamation of the *Courier* with the former, and the relinquishment of the *Post*, left the field to the existing journals, the *Advertiser* and *Courier & Argus* as dailies, and the *People's Journal* and *Weekly News* as weekly issues, by the respective establishments. From the *Advertiser* office is also issued the *People's Friend*, a thriving weekly, which ministers to the wants of the people for literature of a popular form.

Of books emanating from our local press, the record is barren for the first forty years of the present century. In 1841, however, a full equipment of types and presses for book printing was established by the proprietors of the *Warder*. Amongst other works of importance

printed by them, under the supervision of Robert Park, may be enumerated the "Memoirs of the Rev. Robert M'Cheyne," 1st and 2d editions; "Weiss on the Psalms," together with other theological works by the same learned author; Roger's "Collation of the Holy Scriptures;" the "Wheat and the Chaff," by M'Cosh; "The Factory Boy," by James Myles; "Forfarshire Illustrated," in two editions, by James Thomson; "Commercial Tables," by G. T. Graham; "Statistics of the Linen Trade," superintended by A. J. Buist. The efficiency of this establishment in book-printing may be inferred from the circumstance, that, for upwards of ten years, there issued from it the series of "Clark's Translations of Continental Theological Works," numbering about fifty volumes; besides other Works in the classical languages. *Lowe's Edinburgh Magazine* was also sent out from the same establishment. From the *Courier & Argus* office also issued Mr Warden's important and laborious work, "The Linen Trade," "Warden's Burgh Laws," &c. In 1863, Messrs J. P. Matthew & Co. issued a quarto edition of the Scriptures, with Dr M'Gavin's "Compendious Commentary;" and, in 1867, the "Century of Banking," and one or two other volumes by W. C. Boase; while last year, "Stellar Azimuth Tables," in two vols., by W. S. Croudace, were stereotyped and printed by Messrs J. Durham & Son. The appearance of the works above mentioned, among many others which might be named, affords ground for anticipating a growing development of the book trade in the town.

BANKING.

After the unsuccessful attempt of the Bank of Scotland to establish a branch in Dundee, on its formation in 1696, repeated again with a like result in 1731,¹ no regular facilities existed in Dundee for monetary transactions until 1763. Prior to that time, it is known that the money part of farm rents, and the like, was paid in specie—a plan so inconvenient and unsuitable in mercantile affairs as hardly to be comprehended at the present time. In Dundee, as in other towns, a few shopkeepers would give cash for bills on London, or sell bills on London, to parties wishing to make remittances to other parts of the kingdom; but the facilities thus afforded were of a limited and precarious kind. To remedy this state of matters, a number of gentle-

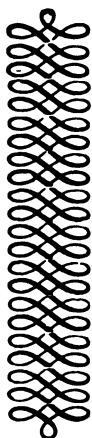
¹ See ante, p. 122.

men associated themselves into a native banking company, and, on 1st August, 1763, a contract of copartnery was signed, by which a capital stock of £12,600 was created, in sixty-three shares of £200 each. With this the firm of George Dempster & Co. commenced business under the title of the Dundee Banking Co. The partnership was to endure for seven years; and was renewed from time to time, until the 20th Feb., 1864, when the separate existence of the Dundee Bank terminated, on its amalgamation with the Royal Bank of Scotland. Of the thirty-six original partners of the Dundee Bank, the most prominent was George Dempster of Dunnichen, then Member of Parliament for the Forfar and Fife district of burghs. The first premises occupied by the Bank were the two eastmost shops under the Town House, which were rented for the moderate sum of £5 per annum. Twenty years afterwards, the Bank had four of the shops and cellarge in occupation, the rent of which was fixed at £28.¹ Beginning with a very small capital, only £1260 having been at first paid up, the Dundee Bank steadily grew in usefulness and stability. The system of depositing money in a bank, and obtaining interest on it, did not begin until 1792; but thereafter it rapidly increased, and broke up the habit of hoarding up savings in a chest, which formerly prevailed, in the absence of opportunities for more productive investments. "The mode in which the Banks promoted the prosperity of the country," says Mr Boase, "was chiefly threefold. First, by supporting an elastic circulating medium (whether of coin only, or coin and notes jointly), one whose amount varies easily as the wants of the community—changing from week to week, and from year to year—require. Secondly, by accommodating respectable and experienced men, of an enterprising disposition, with the means of carrying on business to a

¹ On the morning of Sunday, 17th Feb., 1788, these premises were broken into from the floor of the Guild Hall above, and £423 7s. 6d. carried off. The real perpetrators of this robbery, it is believed, were never discovered, although two men, James Falconer and Peter Bruce, both belonging to Dundee, were tried for the crime, condemned, and executed at Edinburgh; and three others were likewise arrested, and tried, two of whom were acquitted, and the third, after being found guilty and sentenced to be hung, was afterwards pardoned. In 1852, another burglarious attempt was made upon the safe, within the Bank's premises in Castle Street, which proved unsuccessful. A man named Faulks was tried for the offence, but got off on a verdict of "not proven," whereupon he raised an action of damages against the *Dundee Warder* newspaper, for commenting too freely on his character. In a jury trial, he obtained a verdict of one farthing damages; but the suit cost the defendants a large sum of money.

larger extent than their own capital would permit. Thirdly, by encouraging prudent and saving habits among the middle and lower classes, by receiving small sums on deposit at interest, and repaying the same, in part or in whole, at any time on demand."¹ In the early days of banking, the scarcity of silver was so great that people were in the habit of cutting one-pound notes into quarters, as substitutes for crown pieces. This led to an issue of 5s. notes, which were in the form subjoined.

A Dundee, — L — 5 —



*I ——— Cashier to ——— and Comp^y.
Bankers, in Dundee, in virtue of Powers from them,
promise to pay to ———, or the
Bearer, on Demand, at the Company's Office here,
Five Shillings Sterling; Or, in the
Option of the Directors, a Note of the Royal Bank
or Bank of Scotland, for four such Notes. And
these presents are signed by me & by ———
——— and ——— Partners*

The success of the Dundee Bank, and the increased extent of commercial transactions, led to other ventures of a similar kind. In 1789, a branch of the Paisley Banking Company was opened in Peter Street, under James Scott as agent; but this did not continue more than three years, when Mr Scott became cashier of the Dundee Commercial Bank, which was opened on 1st February, 1792. The nominal capital was £10,000, in ten shares, only seven of which, paid up to the extent of £500 each, appear to have been taken up. It continued until 31st Dec., 1801, when its business was transferred to the Dundee New Bank, of which John Baxter of Idvies, and George Lord Kinnaird,

¹ *Century of Banking*, p. 2.

the grandfather of the present peer, were the active promoters. Its nominal capital was £58,000, divided into twenty-nine shares of £2000 each, one-tenth of which was called up. Shortly after its establishment, the discovery was made, that various parcels of torn and withdrawn notes, amounting in all to £12,866 19s., had been stolen and put into circulation; but all endeavours to discover the delinquent proved fruitless, and the loss falling upon the solvent partners, well nigh made shipwreck of the undertaking. By the prudence and tact of the management, and the public confidence in the worth of the proprietors, however, the New Bank acquired a large business, which it retained until 1838, when the concern was amalgamated with the Dundee Bank.

The Dundee Union Banking Company was started 9th Feb., 1809, with a nominal capital of £100,000, three-fifths of which, being £60,000, was paid up—afterwards increased to £120,000. It survived until 1844, when its business was transferred to the Western.

The British Linen Company first obtained a footing in Dundee in 1811, since which time it has steadily built up an extensive business, and now occupies the handsomest banking premises in the town. In 1825, the name of the former Dundee Commercial Bank was revived, for a new company started with a capital of £50,000, in premises adjoining the Dog-well in the Murraygate. It continued until 1838, when it was somewhat suddenly merged into the Eastern Bank then founded, the ostensible inducement being a premium of £20,000 offered for the goodwill. It was believed, however, that the Commercial had lost more than its original capital, and that this amalgamation was effected to avert a less agreeable winding up. The Eastern carried on a successful business until 1863, when it was amalgamated with the Clydesdale Bank, which thus acquired a footing in Dundee.

In 1833, the next banking office was opened in the town for a branch of the Bank of Scotland, which, more than a century before, and again about the beginning of the present century, had made a like attempt, and withdrawn it for lack of encouragement. The business was long transacted in the shop on the High Street, now occupied by the publishers of this work, from which it was removed to the premises specially built for its accommodation, in Reform Street; where, it is unnecessary to say, this oldest of Scottish banking corporations still carries on a very extensive business.

In 1833, the National Bank of Scotland opened a branch in the

premises once occupied by the Dundee Union Bank, in the Cowgate, afterwards transferred to the new premises in Reform Street, where its business is still conducted.

The Royal Bank, which was established in Edinburgh in 1727, did not possess a branch in Dundee until 1836. It was continued for six years; when heavy losses, sustained in the commercial derangements of the period, led to its withdrawal. Shortly afterwards, in March 1844, the Western Bank of Scotland having bought up the Dundee Union Bank, obtained an introduction to Dundee, and carried on an extensive business down to its stoppage, on 9th Nov., 1857. In Jan., 1858, the Royal acquired the premises in Murraygate, which had been previously occupied by the Western Bank, and resumed its connection in the town, which was further extended in 1864, by taking over the business and premises of the Dundee Bank.

In 1863, the Commercial Bank of Scotland opened a branch in Dundee; in 1865, the Union Bank; in 1871, the City of Glasgow; in 1873, the Aberdeen Town and County Bank; and, in the present year, the North of Scotland Bank. The town has now representatives of all the Scottish banks except one—the Caledonian Bank; although it is curious to find that every local bank has been successively absorbed by the larger corporations which have their head-quarters elsewhere.

Our history of the banking agencies, in Dundee, would be incomplete without reference to the one which is specially adapted to foster and encourage habits of prudence and independence among the great body of the people—the Savings Bank. This institution was opened in 1815, and was long located in Reform Street; but in 1867, it was transferred to handsome premises, specially erected for its accommodation, at the corner of Euclid Street and Constitution Road. From a small beginning, the funds of the Bank have steadily accumulated to upwards of £355,000, having more than doubled within the last six years. The number of accounts now exceeds sixteen thousand, on which the average deposit last year was 28s., while the interest which accrued, upwards of £8000, represented about 11s. for each depositor. Compared with the progress of similar institutions in the other large towns of the empire, that of Dundee is highly favourable, especially when it is remembered that it has now to compete with the Post Office Banks, and numerous provident and benefit societies, as a means of investment for the savings of the working classes.

In the following list, the local banks, which have been absorbed into other concerns, are indicated by italics :—

BANKS.	Date of Sub-opening.	Sub-offices.	
BANK OF SCOTLAND,	1696	—	Withdrawn.
"	1731	—	Withdrawn.
"	1833	—	
<i>Dundee Banking Company</i> ,	1783	—	Amalgd. with Royal Bank 1864.
<i>Paisley Banking Company</i> ,	1789	—	Withdrawn 1792.
<i>Dundee Commercial Bank</i> ,	1792	—	Transfd. to Dundee New Bank.
<i>Dundee New Bank</i> ,	1801	—	Amal. with Dundee Bank 1838.
<i>Dundee Union Bank</i> ,	1809	—	" " Western do. 1844.
BRITISH LINEN COMPANY,	1811	1	
<i>Dundee Commercial Bank</i> ,	1825	—	Transfd. to Eastern Bank 1838.
NATIONAL BANK OF SCOTLAND,	1833	1	
ROYAL BANK OF SCOTLAND,	1836	—	Withdrawn in 1842.
"	1858	4	
<i>Eastern Bank of Scotland</i> ,	1838	—	Amalgd. with Clydesdale 1863.
<i>Western Bank of Scotland</i> ,	1844	—	Suspended in 1857.
COMMERCIAL BANK OF SCOTLAND, ..	1863		
CLYDESDALE BANK,	1863		
UNION BANK OF SCOTLAND,	1865		
CITY OF GLASGOW BANK,	1871	1	
ABERDEEN TOWN & COUNTY BANK, ..	1873		
NORTH OF SCOTLAND BANK,	1874		

The scarcity of currency in the early days of the banks, which led them to issue notes for 5s., and even smaller sums, also induced private parties to circulate coins or tokens, chiefly in copper, representing farthings, halfpennies, and pennies. Many of these were under standard value, and issued as much for an advertising as a circulating medium. The Dundee coinage of this class was somewhat extensive.¹ Some of the earliest were designed by James Wright and his son, natives of the town; the daughter of the latter, Fanny Wright, became a lecturer of some notoriety in America, and afterwards married M. d'Arusmont. We append descriptions of a number of these examples of local coinage :—

SHILLINGS.

1. *Obverse*—A Highlander with sword and target. "From the heath-covered mountains of Scotia we come." Dundee Arms, and motto in sunk oval. *Reverse*—An ancient ruin. "Dundee shilling, payable by J. Wright, jun." View of Broughty Castle.
2. *Ob.*—Same as above. *Rev.*—An ancient cross. "Dundee Silver Medal, price one shilling. Cross taken down 1777."

PENNIES.

3. *Ob.*—Dock Street Warehouse, with town's arms below. "Public Warehouse on the Quay, Shipping of this port, 8800 tons reg." *Rev.*—The Town.

¹ In Conder's "Arrangement of Provincial Coins," &c., Ipswich, 1798, a list of those issued prior to that date, will be found; and a pretty good collection is preserved in the Edinburgh Antiquarian Museum.

house, "Dundee Penny, 1797. Town-house founded 1732. Payable on demand by Thos. Webster, jun."

4. *Ob.*—Portrait. "Dundee Penny, 1798: Adml. Ld. Duncan born here 1731, defeated the Dutch fleet 1797." *Rev.*—Adam and Eve and serpent under a tree. "Be fruitful and multiply. 23,000 inhabitants in Dundee, vid Statistical Account by R. Small, D.D."

HALFPENNIES

5. *Ob.*—A ship moored, with town's arms below. "Commerce augments Dundee." *Rev.*—Old Steeple. "Dundee Halfpenny, 1795. Old Tower founded 1189. Payable at the warehouse of Alex. Molison."
6. *Ob.*—Arms of Dundee. "Dei Donum, Prudentia et Candore. Payable at W. Croom's, High Street, Dundee." *Rev.*—"Sells wholesale woollen and linen drapery goods, watches, &c. &c., cheap."
7. *Ob.*—A building. "Dundee Halfpenny, 1796. Infirmary founded 1794. *Rev.*—A ship moored, with town's arms below. "Mare et commercium colimus."
8. *Ob.*—Building. "Town-house finished 1734. Dundee Halfpenny, 1787." *Rev.*—View of glass factory. "Glass Works, west cone, founded 1788. Payable by John Pilmer, Church Lane."
9. *Ob.*—Ancient Fortress. "Dundee Halfpenny, 1797. Duithope Castle, founded 1660. Converted into barracks 1794." *Rev.*—Flaxdresser at work. "Flax hocking. 2436 tons flax and hemp imported here in 1796, value £160,128."
10. *Ob.*—View of Church. "Dundee Halfpenny, 1797. St Andrew's Church founded 1772. *Rev.*—"Cowgate Port, the last remains of our ancient walls. Payable at the warehouse of Alex. Swap & Co."

FARTHINGES

11. *Ob.*—A pair of scales, above cypher "M. & Co.," "Payable on demand, Dundee." *Rev.*—A sentinel, cannon, and part of fort.
12. *Ob.*—A horse and loaded cart. "Sic itur ad opes." *Rev.*—View of Trades' Hall. "Dundee Farthing, 1796. Trades all."

POPULATION OF THE TOWN.

The following figures exhibit the Population of the Burgh at various periods—the limits of the Parliamentary Boundary being taken after 1831:—

Year.	Population.		
1680,.....	6,580		
1780,.....	15,700		
1801,.....	27,396		
1811,.....	31,000	Increase per cent. in 10 years.	Valued Rental.
1821,.....	32,126	3.6	
1831,.....	48,026	49.5	£ 72,821 10 0
1841,.....	64,629	34.5	107,126 16 0
1851,.....	78,981	22.1	111,003 10 0
1861,.....	90,425	14.6	209,333 10 9
1871,.....	118,977	13.5	370,122 2 0

In the nine Wards into which the Burgh is divided for electoral purposes, the number of Voters enrolled in 1874, stood as follows:—

Ward 1,.....	2024	Ward 4,.....	2585	Ward 7,.....	1190
" 2,.....	1806	" 5,.....	2832	" 8,.....	1815
" 3,.....	1828	" 6,.....	1819	" 9,.....	2699

Total Electors—17,768.

EMINENT MEN.

It has been remarked that the history of a country may be written in the biography of its great men, and to some extent the same might be said of a town. In the case of Dundee there is no difficulty in identifying its progress, as a municipality, with a succession of able rulers from Halyburton, in the sixteenth century, to Riddoch, in the nineteenth. But of such localised services, honourable as they were to them, and beneficial as they have been to the community, it is hardly necessary now to speak. We may, however, present some biographical notices of Dundee men whose talents were employed in a wider sphere than their native town, and whose names therefore claim an honourable, if not a conspicuous place, in the annals of their country. We shall first refer to the family of

THE SCRYMSEOURS.

The family of Scrimgeour or Scrymseour is undoubtedly of great antiquity ; but it will be sufficient to take up the line when authentic history lends its aid. According to Buchanan and other authors, the surname was first bestowed by Alexander I. on one of his knights, Sir Alexander Carron, who, discovering a plot against the King's life while residing at Invergowrie, got the Sovereign conveyed across the Tay to Fife, and thereafter proceeded with him to quell a rebellion in the north. It is related that, in this campaign, the King's forces had to cross the Spey to attack the enemy on the opposite bank, and the bearer of the royal standard shrinking from the task, it was successfully undertaken by Carron, on whom the King bestowed the name of Scrymseour (skirmisher, or hardy fighter), at the same time creating him and his heirs hereditary standard-bearers. As such the family had the privilege of displaying part of the royal arms as their

armorial bearings. In the time of Sir William Wallace, a lineal descendant held the same honourable office, and enjoyed the confidence of that hero, who, by a charter still extant,¹ conferred on him the office of Constable of Dundee, together with a portion of the lands of Dudhope. "A special lustre," says Mr Burton, in reference to this family, "was always conceded by the popular voice to that race which held a hereditary title conferred by Wallace."² The fourth Constable, Sir James, carried the royal banner at Harlaw in 1411, and met a soldier's death on that fatal field. From that period down to 1661, sixteen descendants of the first Constable successively held the office, of whom we have already given some particulars in our account of the Barony, and of the contentions which arose out of the arbitrary exercise of the Constable's jurisdiction until its abolition in 1748. The Scrymgeours are now represented by Frederick Lewis Scrymgeour-Wedderburn of Birkhill, Hereditary Royal Standard-bearer of Scotland.

HECTOR BOECE.

This well-known historian was born at Dundee about the year 1465, or, according to some accounts, 1470. He was descended from an ancient stock, and his family, at the period named, possessed the barony of Balbride (anciently Ballinbride), now Panbride, acquired in the reign of David II. Hector Boece, or more properly Boyce, was known in the learned circles of Europe by the Latin form of his name, Boethius, and had the appellation of Deidonanus from the place of his birth, being so designated in the edition of his history published by Ferrerius. He appears to have received the rudiments of his education in Dundee, after which he studied for a time at Aberdeen, and then took up his abode in Paris, at which university he took the degree of bachelor of divinity. He succeeded so well in the study of divinity and philosophy that, in 1497, we find him appointed to a professor's chair in Montague College at Paris. In this sphere, he made the acquaintance of many learned men, among others of Erasmus, who, in one of his epistles, describes his friend as "a man of an extraordinary happy genius, and of great eloquence." In 1500, Bishop Elphinstone of Aberdeen had founded King's College in that city; and, on his invitation, Boece returned to Scotland, and was appointed the first Principal and Professor of Divinity in the new University. It is worthy of note that his sub-principal, William Hay, was likewise an

¹ See translation in Appendix, Note A.

² Hist. Scot., vol. II., p. 300.

Angus man, and fellow-student with Boece at Dundee, becoming afterwards his successor as head of the College. Hector's brother, Arthur Boece, at one time Chancellor of the Cathedral of Brechin, filled the Chair of Canon Law in King's College, and afterwards, in 1535, became a judge of the Court of Session.

The talents and reputation of the Principal, together with the efficiency of the coadjutors with whom he was associated, secured a high measure of success for the northern University. Here Boece compiled his first book, a life of Elphinstone, who died in 1514, and of his predecessors in the See of Aberdeen. It was in Latin, entitled "*Episcoporum Murthlacensium et Aberdonensium*," and was published at Paris in 1522. He next wrote his celebrated work, the History of Scotland, which appeared, also in Latin and at Paris, in 1526, under the title of "*Scotorum Historia ab illius Gentis Origine*." The first edition contained seventeen books: it was prefaced by a copious geographical description of the country, and brought down the narrative to the death of James I. In 1574, Joannes Ferrerius, a Piedmontese scholar, once resident in Scotland, published another edition at Paris, containing the nineteenth chapter, which continued the history to the reign of James III. The first translation into the Scottish vernacular was made by John Bellenden, for the use, it is said, of James V.; and a metrical version, author unknown, is preserved in the University of Cambridge. The first English translation was a folio, by Hollinshed, London, 1587, which, it is well known, furnished Shakspeare with the historical data on which his tragedy of Macbeth is founded.

In 1527, King James V. granted to Boece a yearly pension of fifty pounds Scots, and shortly after substituted for it the rectory of Tyrie, which he held till his death. In 1528, Boece took the degree of D.D., on which occasion, as we learn from the burgh records of Aberdeen, the magistrates voted him the present of a tun of wine or twenty pounds Scots, at his option, and resolved—"the said counsall to convey this day efternowne, in the prowest innis, to se and devise quhar this money sall be esiaist gotten."¹

Boece died at Aberdeen in 1536, and was buried in the chapel of King's College, near the tomb of his patron, Bishop Elphinstone. Before his death, it appears that Boece succeeded to the family property of Panbride, and it is traditionally related that he joined the barons of Panmure and Carmylie in constructing a road from that

¹ Spalding Club Register, p. 121.

quarter to join the old road from Dundee to Montrose and the north. An old road, still discernible in the Moor of Arbirlot, bears to this day the name of "Heckenboce Path;" while the farm of Hunter's Path, in the same district, is said to have been formerly known as Hector's Path.

In his private character, Boece is described as having been generous, courteous, and discreet, while his learning, for the age in which he lived, was extensive, if not profound. All critics are agreed as to the purity and elegance of his style; but it must be owned that equal unanimity prevails as to his credulity. "His History of Scotland, considering the age in which he wrote, is remarkable for its elegance and purity of style; but his credulity and fondness for the marvellous detract from its value, and deprive him of all title to be considered an authority. He adopted, without enquiry, and without even seeming to have any doubt of their authenticity, the fables of the monastic chroniclers that preceded him, as well as the no less absurd fictions and traditions of his own age. Some writers¹ accuse him of having invented many details in the earlier part of his history; but from this charge of fabrication he has been vindicated by Mr Maitland, in his biographical introduction to Bellenden's translation. It is enough that he has to bear the imputation of having been the great stumbling block to a truthful history of his own times; for his falsehoods, after having been once and again disproved, come up again fresh as if uncontradicted, to garnish the pages of the novelist, the tale-writer, and the would-be historian."²

SIR GEORGE MACKENZIE.

This celebrated lawyer was born at Dundee in 1636, being the eldest son of Simon Mackenzie of Lochslin, a brother of the Earl of Seaforth. He studied at St Andrews, and afterwards at Bourges in France. Returning to Scotland, he was admitted to the bar in 1659, and soon acquired reputation as an advocate, being one of the counsel for the Marquis of Argyle, at his trial for high treason. He afterwards had a judgeship, and represented Rosshire in Parliament; in which capacity he signalised himself by strenuous opposition to the Union, and his advocacy of popular measures. Up to this period, his career was altogether marked by a progressive and patriotic spirit. His

¹ This charge is broadly made, in a learned and now scarce work, *Father Innes' Critical Essays*, 2 vols., London, 1779.

² *Scottish Nation*, I., p. 335.

policy changed, however, after receiving knighthood in 1674; and, becoming King's Advocate, he put the law in force with great severity to compel submission to the Government. So odious did he become, by stretching the laws to answer party purposes, that he received the unenviable title of "the blood-thirsty advocate," and "bloody Mackenzie." Nor did "A Vindication of the Government of Charles II.," which he published in 1691, to justify his policy, tend to allay the popular hatred of the oppressive measures with which he identified himself. Apart from these, his abilities as a jurist were conspicuous; and, during his tenure of office, as Lord-Advocate, he introduced various improvements into the criminal law. In 1689, he founded the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, and, retiring into England the same year, died at London, May 2, 1691. His works are numerous, and evince great taste and versatility, ranging from poetry to Institutes of the laws of Scotland. He was among the first Scotchmen who wrote the English language with elegance and purity, so that Dryden was led to style him "that noble wit of Scotland;" but, in spite of all this, his fame must ever be tarnished for lending himself as a willing instrument of despotism in the persecution of the Covenanters.

DR PATRICK BLAIR.

This eminent physician and botanist was born in Dundee about 1680, and practised physic and surgery in the town. In 1706, a travelling menagerie having lost its elephant by death, the doctor took possession of the bulky subject, and, after careful dissection, compiled an account of its anatomy and osteology, which appeared in the "Philosophical Transactions" for 1710. This attracted the attention of scientific men, and led to the separate publication of the essay with figures. In 1715, Dr Blair fell under suspicion for his avowed Jacobite principles, and was for a short time under imprisonment. Displeasure at this treatment probably led to his removing from Dundee to London, where he acquired some distinction for lectures on the sexes of plants, read before the Royal Society. In 1718, he brought out a work on medical and botanical science; and two years later, his "Botanical Essays," the work by which he is best known, though it is now of course left far behind in the progress of that science. Removing again to Boston in Lincolnshire, he practised there during the remainder of his life, publishing at intervals another work entitled

"Pharmaco-Botanologia," which he left unfinished at his death, that event occurring soon after 1728.

SIR JAMES IVORY.

This eminent mathematician was the son of a watchmaker, and born at Dundee in 1765. Intended for the Church, he was, after receiving the rudiments of education in his native place, sent to St Andrews, where he passed the usual curriculum for theology. Mathematical science, however, engrossed his attention, and his natural inclination being fostered by his instructors, he was enabled to accompany his fellow-student, Mr (afterwards Sir John) Leslie to Edinburgh, where his university studies were concluded in 1786. Instead of entering the Church, however, he returned to Dundee, and took the appointment of assistant in the Academy then started in the town, which post, however, he only occupied for a short time. While officiating in the Academy, he introduced the study of Algebra, and the story goes that, the Provost for the time, at the conclusion of the first annual examination of the school, expressed his strong disapproval of this "new way of teaching the A B C;" and, at a subsequent meeting of the Town Council, proposed "to put Jamie Ivory awa', as they had a gude enough teacher of the A B C already!"¹ In 1789, Ivory entered upon the project for establishing flax-spinning at Douglastown, near Forfar, and of which he continued to be managing-partner for fifteen years. During this period, of what might be supposed uncongenial labour for a man of his tastes, Mr Ivory devoted his leisure hours to scientific study and research, and contributed frequently to the Royal Society memoirs on mathematical and astronomical subjects, which evinced great skill and originality.

On the breaking up of the Douglastown concern in 1804, Mr Ivory obtained the professorship of mathematics in the Military College, then at Great Marlow, afterwards removed to Sandhurst. His services in this congenial sphere were valuable and fully appreciated, and the conscientious character of the man is apparent from his preparing an edition of Euclid, for the use of his students, without taking even the credit of placing his name on its title-page. In 1809, the theory of gravitation received an important elucidation from Ivory's discovery, that the attraction of a spheroid upon a point without it is immediately derived from its attraction upon a point within it—a theorem

¹ Dundee Celebrities, by W. Norrie, p. 71.

which was pronounced by scientific men to be the most important contribution made to mechanical science since the days of Maclaurin. He afterwards investigated the theory of refraction and other phenomena in astronomical science, and, according to Herschell, "supported alone for many years the mathematical reputation of Great Britain; and aroused a taste for the higher methods of analysis, the study of which had reached its lowest point at the beginning of the present century, when his earliest memoirs were composed." In 1819, failing health, induced by constant study, necessitated Mr Ivory's retirement, upon a pension; but he continued, with more or less frequency, to enrich the scientific literature of the day by his contributions. In 1831, at the suggestion of Lord Chancellor Brougham, the order of knighthood was conferred on Mr Ivory by William IV., along with other distinguished men, among whom were Herschell, Brewster, and Leslie. In 1839, the University of St Andrews elected him LL.D. Besides being a Fellow of the Royal Society, Sir James was an honorary member of several learned bodies, and of the Institute of France. A pension of £300 from the Crown rendered the close of his life free from pecuniary care. He died at Hampstead, near London, Sept. 21, 1842, in his 77th year.

LORD IVORY.

James Ivory, a nephew of Sir James Ivory the mathematician, was born at Dundee in 1792, and, after attending the academy there, passed to St Andrews, where he displayed the family aptitude for mathematics. Having resolved to follow the legal profession, he was admitted to the Faculty of Advocates in 1816, appointed Sheriff of Caithness in 1832, and Solicitor-General in 1839. A year after, he succeeded Lord Glenlee on the bench of the Court of Session. In 1849, he was promoted to a judgeship in the Court of Justiciary; and, for several years before his retirement, in 1862, he was senior judge of both Courts. He died Oct. 18, 1866.

As a pleader, Lord Ivory was regarded as learned, subtle, and thorough-going, but deficient in forensic skill and the graces of oratory; so that Lord Eldon is said to have designated him "the worst speaker, and the best writer he ever knew at the bar." As a judge, however, he was characterised by breadth of intellect, uprightness, and an almost chivalrous love of justice. In politics, he was a steady and consistent Liberal; in private life, genial and unaffected, and the

affairs of his native town ever commanded his interest. His uncle, Sir James Ivory, having destined a portion of his mathematical library for Dundee, which circumstances at the time prevented from being secured, the books passed into the custody of Lord Ivory, by whose directions they were, at his death, transmitted to the Free Library.

REV. JOHN WILLISON.

This eminent divine and religious author was born in 1680. Destined from an early age for the Church by his parents, he entered on the study of divinity after completing his academical education; and, being duly licensed, was inducted minister of Brechin in 1703. Here his abilities as a preacher, combined with the simplicity of his manners and benevolent disposition, soon gained him wide popularity, and led to his being called to the Second Charge in Dundee, which he accepted. He was admitted on 6th Sept., 1716, and there spent the remainder of his long and laborious life. In his new sphere, Mr Willison took a prominent part in ecclesiastical affairs, notably in the controversy with his co-presbyter, Mr Glas, and in zealous opposition to the patronage party in the Church. On the latter question his superior attainments and zeal made him the recognised leader of the evangelical party; so that, when the General Assembly, in 1734, resolved to apply to Parliament for the repeal of the oppressive act of Queen Anne, Willison was one of three members deputed to proceed to London on this mission, which, it is unnecessary to say, proved unsuccessful, as have been many like assaults on the citadel of patronage.

In the discharge of his duties as a minister of the Gospel, Mr Willison was as conspicuous as he was energetic in the Church Courts. The impression still survives of his devotion to the poor and distressed; and he has left "a name of fame behind him, for consistency of principle and purity of motives, which fall to the lot of few." His writings were numerous, chief among which may be mentioned his *Catechisms*, *The Afflicted Man's Companion*, and *Balm of Gilead*—treatises which acquired a household fame second only to *The Pilgrim's Progress* of Bunyan. His death occurred, May 3, 1750, in the seventieth year of his age, and forty-seventh of his ministry. His son, Dr Willison, was a physician of repute and extensive practice in the town.

GEORGE DEMPSTER, M.P.,

Was the grandson of a wealthy merchant and burghess of Dundee, (son of the last Episcopal incumbent of Monifieth,) who purchased, about 1700, the estates of Dunnichen, near Forfar; and those of Newbigging, Laws, Omachie, and Ethiebeaton, near Monifieth. The family was an ancient one, deriving its surname from *doomster*, or executioner, an office which certainly would not now-a-days imply high pedigree. The subject of this notice, afterwards so eminent as a politician and agriculturist, was born at Dundee, in December, 1732, and educated at Leuchars and St Andrews; after which he removed to Edinburgh to qualify himself for the bar, to which he was admitted in 1755. At this period, he enjoyed the friendship of many eminent men, including Hume and Robertson, the historians; Home, the dramatist; Dr Carlyle, Adam Ferguson, and other literary celebrities, with whom he was associated in "the Poker Club." The death of his father, in 1754, gave him considerable means; and, aspiring to a seat in Parliament, he stood, in 1762, for the Forfar and Fife district of burghs, (Dundee, Perth, Forfar, Cupar, and St Andrews,) and was returned after a severe contest, which cost him about £10,000, and led to the sale of his Monifieth estates. In public affairs, he was an indefatigable worker, and devoted special attention to what related to Scotland and India. He supported the financial policy of the Pitt Administration; but was opposed to the continuance of the East India Company's oligarchy—of which board he was for some time a director. Ever alive to the commercial interests of his native country, he devoted himself with zeal to the encouragement of the linen trade, then in its infancy, and gave great attention, and part of his fortune, to the introduction of the cotton manufacture, which was not so successful, although assisted by the Arkwrights, and the Dales and Macintoshes of Glasgow. Chiefly through his exertions, an Act was obtained organising a Board for the encouragement of Fisheries in Scotland; and in this department of industry he may be regarded as first introducing the packing of salmon in ice. By this method, what had previously been an insignificant local source of food, expanded into a considerable trade, which, under the railway system, has continued to grow in importance. In 1763, he was one of three gentlemen who started the first local bank in Dundee, under the firm of George Dempster & Co., and the Dundee Banking Co.

In 1786, Mr Dempster's public services were recognised by the Convention of Royal Burghs presenting him with a service of plate; while his native town acknowledged its obligations by having his portrait painted by Gainsborough—a fine example of that master's art, which still graces the walls of our Council Chamber.

In the domain of agriculture, and the social improvement of the working classes, Mr Dempster was far a-head of the landed gentry of his day; nor did his philanthropy content itself with empty theories. Mainly to give practical effect to his ideas, he purchased the property of Skibo, in Sutherland; and, while other Highland lairds were depopulating their estates, he granted long leases, abolished the remnants of feudalism by exempting his tenants from all personal services, drained, enclosed, and otherwise improved their lands, with great spirit and liberality. He even attempted the introduction of cotton spinning, which, from the natural disadvantages of the locality, was not successful. At Dunnichen, again, Mr Dempster, in 1788, laid out the village of Letham, and gave it off in small lots in perpetuity, at £2 per acre; and, so long as handloom weaving provided employment to the villagers, it was a thriving place, though now suffering, like others of its kind, from the introduction of power-looms, and the centralising effect of large towns. It is worth noting, however, that Mr Dempster's enterprise in this instance was as remunerative to himself as it was beneficial to the community; since the ground, before he commenced, was so worthless as to yield only £5 of rent, while, in 1813, it yielded £200 per annum. By draining mosses and bogs, planting, and other improvements, he largely increased the extent and value of his property, and raised the character of the whole district, so that, in the words of the *Edinburgh Review*, "It may be said that, in George Dempster, we have a noble instance of the individual influence of a man of ability, education, and public spirit, seconded, and made more than ordinarily acceptable, by genial and happy temperament, and a grace of manner which commended every scheme and enforced every suggestion." His character was such as Burns might be expected to appreciate, and accordingly we find "honest George" honourably noticed in the "Poetical Address to Scottish Representatives," along with his attached friend, Sir Adam Ferguson of Kilkerran—

"Dempster, a true-blue Scot, I'se warran'
Thee! aith-detesting, chaste Kilkerran!"

The genuine, hearty, and sagacious nature of the man appears in all his writings; in evidence of which we give a quotation from a letter of his in the *Scots Magazine*, in which it will be seen his ideas of agricultural progress quite anticipate those of the advanced economists of the present day:—

“For these last forty years of my life, I have acted, in the management of my little rural concerns, on the principles you so strenuously inculcate. I found my few tenants without leases, subject to the blacksmith of the barony, thirled to its mills, wedded to the wretched system of out-field and in, bound to pay kain, and to perform personal services; clothed in hodden, and lodged in hovels. You have enriched the *Magazine* with the result of your farming excursions. Pray direct one of them to the county I write from. Peep in upon Dunnichen; and if you find one of the evils I have enumerated existing—if you can trace a question at my instance in a court of law with any tenant as to how he labours his farm—or find one of them not secured by a lease of nineteen years, at least, and his life—the barony shall be yours. . . . The Highland Society’s being silent on the subject of the emigration of the Highlanders who are gone, going, and preparing to go in whole clans, can only be accounted for by those who are more minutely acquainted with the state of the Highlands than I pretend to be. One could think the Society were disciples of Pinkerton, who says—‘The best thing we can do would be to get rid entirely of the Celtic race, and people their country with inhabitants from the low country.’ How little does he know the valour, the frugality, the industry of these inestimable people, or their attachment to their friends and country! I would not give a little Highland child for ten of the highest mountains in all Lochaber. With proper encouragement to its present inhabitants, the next century might see the Highlands of Scotland cultivated to its summits, like Wales or Switzerland—its valleys teeming with soldiers for our army, and its bays, lakes, and firths with seamen for our navy. . . . I was pleased with your recommending married farm-servants: I don’t value mine a rush till they marry the lass they like. On one farm of 120 acres (Scots), I can show such a crop of human thriving stock as delights me. From five to seven years of age, they gather my potatoes, at 1d., 2d., or 3d. per day; and the sight of such a busy, joyous, field of industrious happy creatures revives my old age. Our dairy fattens them like pigs; our cupboard is their apothecary’s shop; and the old “casten clothes” of the family, by the industry of their mothers, look like birth-day suits on them. Some of them attend the groom to water his horses, some the carpenter’s shop, and all go to the school in the winter time whenever they can crawl the length.”

Withdrawing from Parliament in 1790, Mr Dempster devoted the closing years of his life chiefly to agricultural improvements; but he retained a lively interest in public affairs until his death, which took place at Dunnichen on Feb. 13, 1818, in the eighty-sixth year of his age. In politics, Mr Dempster was a staunch Whig; but, while his political allegiance was with Lord Rockingham, his nature was singu-

lary free from the party rancour but too prevalent in those days. He numbered amongst his numerous friends Viscount Melville, Lord Loughborough, and many others whose political principles he opposed in the House of Commons. Living in the era of the French Revolution of 1792, he hailed it as a hopeful augury for liberal opinions, and was one of those who signed the congratulatory address forwarded by our local Whig Club to the President of the French National Assembly, although subsequent events modified considerably the sympathy thus extended. Mr Dempster held, for fifty-three years, the patent office of Secretary to the Order of the Thistle—a post which brought him more honour than profit. His literary fame would rank high if we could accept the curious suggestion which has been made, that he was probably the author of the *Letters of Junius*.¹ This is based on the circumstance that he was known to be on intimate terms with Woodfall the printer, whom he assisted with money in his misfortunes; and because Mr Dempster evinced great reticence on his parliamentary life, and, to prevent his biography being written, carefully destroyed all his political correspondence a few years before his death. Such of his political letters as are extant are claimed to resemble the style of Junius; but it is needless to add that the theory is not entertained with favour by those who have closely studied this *questio vexata*, and may be supposed to be best able to judge.

ADMIRAL LORD DUNCAN.

Of all the distinguished natives of Dundee, the name of Admiral Duncan is perhaps the most widely recognised, identified as it is with the long roll of victories upon which the British navy rests its fame. The Duncan family is of Norwegian origin, and held the barony of Lundie before 1678, together with the estate of Gourdie. The old house of Lundie stood towards the south-west of the park of Camperdown, and was probably erected by a Sir John Campbell, a cadet of the Argyle family, and Lord High Treasurer in the reign of James V. The remains of this edifice were not wholly removed until about 1823, and showed it to have been originally an imposing edifice, both in extent and position. It is uncertain at what period the Duncans came into possession of Lundie; but it is known to have been the family residence down to 1745, about which time it became ruinous, and the Admiral's father then removed to Gourdie House (afterwards called

¹ In a letter by Dr Rogers, in "Notes and Queries," March 1867.

Lundie House), which continued to be occupied until Camperdown House was built. The grandfather of Admiral Duncan married a daughter of Sir P. Murray of Ochtertyre ; and their eldest son, Alexander Duncan of Lundie, married Helena Haldane, whose brother was proprietor of Gleneagles, and likewise of the Airthrey estate, at Bridge of Allan, now the romantic seat of Lord Abercromby. The Gleneagles estate and barony of Haldane being entailed in the female line, thus descended to the Camperdown family ; and Captain Haldane of Airthrey having espoused his cousin-german, Catherine Duncan, sister of the first Viscount, the two families became more closely allied, and represented the line of the ancient Earls of Levenax or Lennox. Adam Duncan was the second son of the Alexander Duncan above mentioned, and was born at Dundee, July 1, 1731, his father being then Provost of the town. After receiving his early education here, Adam entered the navy in 1746, under his relative, Captain Haldane, on board the Shoreham frigate, where he remained about three years. Thereafter he became a Midshipman in the Centurion, flagship of Commodore (afterwards Admiral) Keppel ; from which he was promoted, in 1755, to the Norwich, with the rank of Lieutenant, in which vessel he served on the North American Station. Returning to England, he was appointed Second Lieutenant of the Torbay, seventy-four, which joined the expedition sent against the French settlement of Goree, on the African coast, where he was slightly wounded. On his return, he became successively Commander and Post-Captain, and was transferred to the Valiant, the flag-ship of Keppel, in the expedition against Belleisle. In 1762, he assisted, under Admiral Pococke, at the siege of Havannah, and subsequently accompanied Admiral Keppel to the Jamaica Station, where he remained till the conclusion of the war. In 1779, we find him steadily rising in his profession, being then in command of the Monarch, seventy-four, which formed one of Rodney's squadron, sent to relieve Gibraltar, then closely blockaded by the Spaniards. In the action off Cape St Vincent, 16th January, 1780, Captain Duncan's ship was the first to dash in among the Spanish squadron, and his answer, on being warned against the probable rashness of this movement, was the characteristic one—"Just what I want ; I wish to be among them." Laying his vessel alongside the San Augustin, a Spaniard much larger than the Monarch, and with two others of the enemy within musket-shot to

leeward of him, Captain Duncan, after a short engagement, so riddled his opponent that she surrendered.

In 1782, the *Blenheim*, of ninety guns, was placed under Duncan's command, in which he led the larboard division of the Channel Squadron, under Lord Howe, in an engagement off Gibraltar. Transferred thereafter to the *Edgar*, he was promoted successively to be Rear-Admiral of the blue, and Vice-Admiral in the white squadron; but these were regarded as barren honours, since his frequent applications for a post of active duty had been so coldly received by those in power, that he was on the point of retiring from the service in disgust. At last, however, the turning point in his career came, with his appointment to the *Venerable*, seventy-four, in which he hoisted his flag as Admiral of the blue, in command of the North Sea Fleet, on the 1st June, 1796.

At this juncture, the French were meditating a descent upon Ireland, with forty thousand men; and a large Dutch fleet was assembled in the Texel to co-operate in that movement. After upwards of a year spent in the harassing duty of watching this formidable armament, and rendering the enterprise abortive, Duncan had the mortification to find the mutiny in the British fleet, which began at the *Nore*, spreading over almost all the ships under his command, thus placing him in the most painful position in which a brave and patriotic commander could find himself—deserted by his crews in the face of the enemy. His conduct on this occasion was equal to the emergency, and was happily successful. Assembling the crew of the *Venerable*, he addressed them in the following simple and touching words:—

“My lads, I once more call you together, with a sorrowful heart, from what I have lately seen of the disaffection of the fleet; I call it disaffection, for they have no grievances. To be deserted by my fleet, in the face of an enemy, is a disgrace which never before happened to a British Admiral, nor could I have supposed it possible. My greatest comfort, under God, is that I have been supported by the officers and seamen of this ship, for which, with a heart overflowing with gratitude, I request you to accept my sincere thanks. I flatter myself much good may result from your example, by bringing these deluded people to a sense of the duty which they owe, not only to their king and country, but to themselves. The British Navy has ever been the support of that liberty which has been handed down to us by our ancestors, and which, I trust, we shall maintain to the latest posterity; and that can be done only by unanimity and obedience. The ship's company, and others who have distinguished themselves by their loyalty and good order, deserve to be, and doubtless will be, the favourites of a grateful

country. They will also have, from their inward feelings, a comfort which will be lasting; and not like the fleeting and false confidence of those who have swerved from their duty. It has often been my pride to look into the Texel, and see a foe which decided on coming out to meet us. My pride is now humbled indeed. My feelings are not easily to be repressed. Our cup has overflowed, and has made us wanton. The all-wise Providence has given us this check as a warning, and I hope we shall improve by it. On Him then let us trust, where our only security can be found. I find there are many good men among us; for my own part, I have had full confidence of all in this ship, and once more beg to express my approbation of your conduct. May God, who has thus far conducted you, continue to do so; and may the British Navy, the glory and support of our country, be restored to its wonted splendour, and be not only the bulwark of Britain, but the terror of the world! But this can only be effected by a spirit of adherence to our duty and obedience; and let us pray that the Almighty God may keep us in the right way of thinking. God bless you all."

This appeal to the nobler instincts of British seamen was irresistible: many of them were melted to tears, and all declared their resolution to be faithful to their duty. With his own ship and the *Adamant*, he boldly risked the blockade of the passage from the Texel, deceiving the enemy, by making signals as if the rest of his fleet were at hand to support him, instead of holding aloof in the power of the mutineers. His decision, and the prevalence of wiser counsels, soon brought others of the disaffected ships to share his enterprise, until, shortly afterwards, all had returned to their duty; and their commander was in a position to give them an opportunity of retrieving their honour.

Finding himself compelled to refit and revictual several of his ships, Admiral Duncan left a squadron to watch the enemy while he made a run into Yarmouth roads. He had only been there a few days when information was brought to him that the enemy had at last come out. Weighing anchor immediately, he had the satisfaction of falling in with them off Camperdown, on the 11th October, 1797. The action that followed is thus described in Admiral Duncan's despatch:—"Finding there was no time to be lost in making the attack, I made the signal to bear up, break the enemy's line, and engage them to leeward, each ship her opponent, by which I got between them and the land, whither they were fast approaching. My signals were obeyed with promptitude; and Vice-Admiral Onslow, in the *Monarch*, bore down on the enemy's rear in the most gallant manner, his division following his example, and the action commenced about forty minutes past twelve. The *Venerable* soon got through the enemy's

line, and began a close action, with my division on their van, which lasted two hours and a-half." The result was one of the most splendid victories in the annals of naval heroism. Of the fifteen sail of the line and eleven frigates which formed the Dutch fleet, nine of the former and two frigates were captured, including Admiral de Winter and the Vice-Admiral. The killed and wounded amounted, on our side, to 825 men; and, on the enemy's side, to 1160.

On his return to the Nore, on the 16th of October, the victorious Admiral was raised to the Peerage by the title of Viscount Duncan of Camperdown and Baron of Lundie. He afterwards received the thanks of Parliament, with an annual allowance of £2000 to himself and his two next heirs. The city of London presented him with the freedom, and a sword of 200 guineas value. Nor was his native place backward in conferring what honours it had to bestow. On his arrival in Dundee, Lord Duncan, in full uniform, and bearing his valuable sword, was conducted by the Magistrates in procession along the High Street to the Town Hall, where he received the congratulations of his townsmen. A service of plate was subscribed for, and his portrait hung up in the Town Hall, where it still remains, bearing the following commemorative inscription:—

"The Right Honourable Viscount Duncan, Commander of the British Fleet in the North Sea, in the glorious engagement with the Dutch near Camperdown, on the 11th of October, 1797, when the enemy were completely defeated, with the loss of nine ships of the line, among which were those of the Admiral and Vice-Admiral.

<i>The whole English Fleet consisted of ships,</i>	<i>. . .</i>	<i>24</i>
<i>" Dutch do. do.,</i>	<i>. . .</i>	<i>26</i>
<i>The number of guns in the English Fleet,</i>	<i>. . .</i>	<i>1198</i>
<i>" " Dutch do.,</i>	<i>. . .</i>	<i>1259</i>

The portrait of the gallant Admiral was here placed at the request of a general meeting of the noblemen and gentlemen of Angus, who were justly proud that their county had given birth to so distinguished an officer. And as a further testimony of their satisfaction, they at the same time resolved that a piece of plate, of 200 guineas value, should be presented to him by the county, in memory of that great and important victory."

In the year 1800, Lord Duncan retired from the command of the North Sea Fleet into private life; but, four years later, he proceeded to London again to offer his services to his country; but, being stricken by apoplexy while attending at the Admiralty, he hastened back to Scotland, dying on his way home, at Cornhill, near Kelso, August 4, 1804. His remains were interred in the family vault of Lundie Churchyard, where a modest tablet records the fact. His Lordship

was married in 1777, to a daughter of Lord-President Dundas, and niece of Viscount Melville, by whom he had several children. He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, who was, at the Coronation of William IV., in 1831, created Earl of Camperdown, and whose grandson, the present Earl, now inherits the title and estates. "Admiral Duncan's character," says Alison the historian, "both in professional daring and domestic suavity, closely resembled that of Collingwood. He had the same rapid eye and intrepid decision in action, the same boldness in danger, the same vigour in command, the same gentleness in disposition. Tall, majestic in figure, with an athletic form and noble countenance, he recalled the image of those heroes in whom the imagination of the poets has loved to embody the combination of vigour and courage, with strength and beauty. The rapidity of his decision, the justice of his glance, was equal to that of Nelson himself."

ARCHBISHOP GLADSTANES.

In our list of eminent natives, we are able to place one who rose to the highest dignity in the Episcopal Church, and who belonged to a family from which the Gladstones of the present day claim their descent. About the middle of the 16th century, there lived one Halbert Gledstanis, who is designed "Clerk of Dundee," and probably held some clerical office. He had a son, George, who was born here, and, after receiving his education at the Grammar School, took his degree at the University. Thereafter he taught languages in Montrose, where he was reader in 1585-6. In 1587, he was admitted to the charge of Ecclesgreig or St Cyrus, where he remained until his translation to Arbirlot in May 1592. During his ministry there, he took an active part in the General Assemblies. In 1597, he was again translated to St Andrews, and two years later was appointed Vice-Chancellor of the University. His Presbyterianism appears to have become so pliant as to commend him to the favour of the king, James VI., who, in 1600, appointed him Bishop of Caithness. Among other projects favoured by the king, which the bishop strove to further, was that of the Union of the two countries; but his efforts in that direction proved abortive. In 1606, Gladstanes was translated to the Archbishopric of St Andrews, and, for several years thereafter, his name frequently occurs in ecclesiastical history as an active and talented dignitary of the Episcopal Church in Scotland. He died 2d May, 1615.

REV. JOHN GLAS.

Although not a native of Dundee, but identified with it as the scene of his labours, and where the sect which bears his name was founded, some notice of this divine will not be out of place. The son of a minister, Mr Glas was born at Auchtermuchty, Sept. 21, 1695. Educated first at the Parish School, afterwards at Perth and at St Andrews, he was admitted a licentiate of the Church of Scotland in 1721, and ordained minister of Tealing in the following year. Here he soon became highly popular as a preacher, and his sermons, which frequently extended over three hours in delivery, kept up the unwearied attention of large audiences. Adopting peculiar views on Church doctrine and polity, which he not only freely avowed himself, but formed a society of kindred minds in his parish to foster and extend, he fell under the notice of the Church courts. This led him to withdraw his signature from the Formula and some passages in the Confession of Faith. His views, as expounded in a treatise entitled *The Testimony of the King of Martyrs*, were, that national covenants and a national church were unauthorised by Scripture; that individual congregations were subject to no jurisdiction by Church courts; and that it was unwarrantable to impose parental vows in baptising children. The result was his suspension and deposition from the ministry in March 1730. Mr Glas then removed to Dundee, and founded a select body, according to his ideas of a Christian Church, to which the name of "Glasites" came to be applied. His followers at first were few in number, and, in 1733, Mr Glas left Dundee for Perth, where he succeeded in erecting a chapel and forming a small congregation; but, though a man of the most inoffensive character, such was the intolerance of the times towards any innovations in religious belief, that a certain lady, seeing him in the street, was heard to exclaim, "Why do they not rive him in pieces?" and steps were seriously entertained for ejecting him from the city. In 1739, the General Assembly, among other strange acts, recalled the sentence of deposition, declaring, however, "that he is not to be esteemed a minister of the Church of Scotland until he shall renounce the principles embraced by him that are inconsistent with the constitution of the Church." Unmoved by the harsh treatment he received, he remained at Perth many years, pursuing the even tenor of his way, in the midst of many trials, and suffering domestic afflictions of the deepest kind. Returning to Dundee, where a congregation had likewise been formed,

REV. JOHN GLAS.

and the octagonal place of worship erected, which still stands in King Street, he ended his days on the 2d Nov., 1773, in the 79th year of his age, and 55th of his ministry.

Mr Glas was the author of numerous theological works, mostly of a controversial character, which were published at Edinburgh in 1762, in 4 vols. 8vo. Among his writings may be mentioned, *A Plea for Pure and Undeified Religion*, 1742; *Catholic Charity*, 1743; *The Unlawfulness of Blood-eating*, 1743; *A Dissertation on Infant Baptism*, 1746, &c. Mr Glas married Katharine, daughter of Mr Black, one of the ministers of Perth, an amiable and pious woman, who supported her husband in his darkest hours, and by whom he had fifteen children, all of whom he survived. One of his sons, Thomas, who was a bookseller in Dundee, became pastor of the congregation formed by his father, but died of fever in the prime of life. George, another son, born in Dundee in 1725, was educated for the medical profession, and went several voyages to the West Indies in the capacity of surgeon. He then adopted the seafaring profession, and, while commanding a vessel in the Brazilian trade, wrote an interesting *Description of Teneriffe*, published in 1764. Engaged by a company in London to form an African settlement, he went out, taking with him his wife and daughter; but, falling into the hands of the Spaniards, his crew were murdered and his vessel plundered. Captain Glas was kept a prisoner for some time; but, contriving to inform the British Consul of his situation by means of a slip of paper concealed in a loaf of bread, he regained his liberty. In 1765, he sailed, with his wife and daughter, for England, having, besides all his property, a considerable amount of specie in the ship. As they neared the coast of Ireland, four of his crew conspired to seize the vessel; and as they were proceeding to put their design into execution, Captain Glas hastened from the cabin, and was stabbed in the back by one of the mutineers, and almost instantly expired. Seizing Mrs Glas and her daughter, who implored mercy in vain, the ruffians next threw them overboard, locked in each other's arms. The tragedy was completed by the slaughter of the mate, one seaman, and two boys, who vainly strove to do their duty; after which, the ship's boat was loaded with the money-chest and valuables. First sinking the ship, the wretched beings pulled for the shore, and landed at Ross; but justice speedily overtook them. They confessed their crimes, and were executed in October 1765.

The aged minister had been apprised that his favourite and long-lost son was on his voyage home, and daily expected his arrival. When the news reached him, and some one silently pointed to the newspaper paragraph which narrated the tragical catastrophe, Mr Glas bore the shock with perfect resignation, and in a few hours attended a church meeting, and took part in the services. On being told afterwards that the guilty parties had been executed, he remarked, what a glorious instance of Divine grace it would be if George Glas and his murderers should have met together in heaven !

Robert Sandeman, the son-in-law of Mr Glas, and author of *Theron and Aspasia*, took up his peculiar doctrines and practices, and, with some modifications, spread them in England—hence the name of Sandemanians bestowed on his followers. These doctrines embrace the definition of Faith as simple assent to the Divine testimony ; while their practice consists of the weekly celebration of the Lord's Supper—love-feasts, of which all are required to partake—the kiss of charity, practised on these and other occasions—weekly collections for the poor—a literal interpretation of the precepts on abstinence from blood—washing each other's feet, &c. In the choice of elders or pastors, want of learning or business engagements are overruled, but second marriages are an insuperable bar to the office. In discipline they are strict and severe, but must be unanimous in all their decisions ; and they think themselves obliged to keep apart from all other Christian societies. It is scarcely necessary to say that they are gradually declining in numbers.

THOMAS DICK, LL.D.

Thomas Dick was born in the Hilltown of Dundee, on November 24, 1774, his father, Mungo Dick, being one of the small linen manufacturers who flourished in the days of handloom weaving. His parents were exemplary Seceders, and did not fail to impress the mind of their boy with some measure of their own piety, so that, by his mother's teaching, he could read the New Testament before going to school. The religious training of his childhood maintained an ascendancy over his mind, to which the erudition and accomplishments of later years brought no change, but only added lustre and refinement. It is related that the bent of his mind towards astronomical studies was first exhibited by the following incident :—In August 1783, a meteor appeared, which created both wonder and alarm among the

common people. At that time Thomas Dick was nine years of age ; and while in his father's garden with a female servant, the meteor flashed across the heavens. The girl, looking towards the north, exclaimed—"You have never seen lightning before ; see, there's lightning!" In the terror which this remarkable phenomenon inspired, they both fell prostrate to the ground, imagining that the last day had come, and it was some time before they recovered themselves. From that day Thomas sought by every means to acquire knowledge of astronomy and meteorology, preferring books which treated of such abstruse subjects to any other reading. His early education was of a limited kind, partly on account of his father sending him to the loom, and partly through his constitution being weakened by infantile diseases. At thirteen years of age, he had saved as much of his pocket-money as purchased a small work on natural philosophy, which became his constant companion even while plying the shuttle. He constructed a little wooden desk upon his loom, on which he placed the open book, so that, while his feet and hands kept the treadles and shuttle in motion, his eyes followed the lines on the open page. To obtain a better knowledge of the planets described in the book, he constructed a machine for grinding a series of lenses, the glasses of which were contributed by the old women of the neighbourhood who used spectacles. Arranging his lenses by means of paste-board tubes, he found himself in possession of a rude telescope, by which he made observations on the heavenly bodies. His parents would have been better pleased had he shown more aptitude for the loom ; and his mother frequently warned him that he would not make his bread by star-gazing, and told him, "ye mind me o' the folk the prophet speaks o', wha weary themselves i' the fire for very vanity ;" while his father would say, sorrowfully—"I dinna ken what to dae wi' that laddie, Tam, for he cares for naething but books and glasses. I saw him the other day, lying on the green, trying to turn the steeple o' St Andrew's Kirk upside down wi' his telescope!" The good people had the wisdom, however, to allow their son to follow the bent of his mind, so that he, at the age of sixteen, became assistant-teacher in a school, and began the study of Latin. While in this situation, he contrived to purchase a copy of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which, it may well be supposed, would largely gratify his thirst for scientific knowledge.

In 1794, at twenty years of age, he entered himself as a student

in the University of Edinburgh, supporting himself by private teaching. In the end of 1797, he became teacher of a school at Dubbieside, near Leven, in Fifeshire, from which he shortly afterwards removed to the school at Path of Condie, Perthshire. His first literary essays appeared about this time as contributions to various publications. Returning to Edinburgh, he completed his curriculum as a student of Divinity, and was licensed to preach in connection with the Secession Church. He was never settled in any fixed charge, but officiated as a probationer in different parts of Scotland, until, on the invitation of the Secession Church of Methven, he became teacher of the school at that place. Here he remained for ten years, during which period he instituted classes for scientific teaching, established a people's library, and founded what was truly the first Mechanics' Institute in the kingdom. From Methven, Mr Dick removed to Perth, where he taught for other ten years, at the same time actively prosecuting his astronomical studies. Here he wrote his *Christian Philosopher*, which was published in 1827, and became at once popular. The success of this book induced him to resign his public teaching, and to retire to Broughty Ferry. There he built a cottage on Fort-hill, upon a barren spot, where nothing would grow until 8000 wheelbarrow loads of soil had been spread over its surface by the learned and indefatigable philosopher himself. The most prominent feature of his residence was an observatory, carried up above the roof, in which were placed his numerous and valuable philosophical instruments. The astronomer and his elevated abode excited the wonderment of the villagers at that time, by whom he was long familiarly known as "Philosopher Dick," and who speculated much on his reasons for dwelling so far above his neighbours. The only motive they could fix upon was, that he wished to be "near the stars." In the seclusion of this retreat, for a period of nearly twenty-five years, when age and illness stayed his hand, his pen was constantly employed on those numerous works in which he not only, as an American divine has said, "brought down philosophy from heaven to earth, but raised it from earth to heaven." His *Philosophy of a Future State* appeared in 1828, and proved equally successful with his former work. Its popularity in America was greater than in this country, and was signified by the degree of LL.D. being conferred on the author by the Senatus Academicus of Union College, New York. In 1837, Dr Dick visited London, where he published his next work, *Celestial Scenery*. He also visited the

principal towns in France, inspecting the observatories and colleges; the same privilege being accorded to him at Cambridge on his return. In the spring of 1849, he was attacked by a severe illness, from which he never fully recovered, and a painful surgical operation, for a tumour in the breast, still further enfeebled his system. He survived, however, until the 29th July, 1857, when he died at the ripe age of eighty-three.

Dr Dick was thrice married, and a widow survived him. Notwithstanding a life spent in literary labours of the severest kind, in the production too of works which had a wide circulation, the pecuniary reward to the author was miserably inadequate. This was due, perhaps, to careless business arrangements with his publishers; but the result was to deprive him, in his old age, of much of that ease and comfort to which his labours fairly entitled him. To remedy this, a private subscription was set on foot in Dundee, which resulted in £223 being collected for his benefit. For some years before his death, efforts were made to procure an allowance from Government, which at first were unsuccessful; but afterwards, in April 1855, it was announced that the Lords of the Treasury had been graciously pleased to bestow upon him £10 per annum! Upon this announcement being made, a strong memorial, backed by the Earl of Dalhousie, then Hon. Fox Maule, and other influential men, was laid before the Government, which was successful in procuring an allowance of £50 per annum, which, after his death, was continued to his widow. Speaking of his income from his works, Dr Dick says, "My writings have not produced so much pecuniary compensation as some have supposed, notwithstanding they have had a pretty extensive sale in this country, and much more so in America. For the entire copyright of the *Christian Philosopher*, which has passed through more than ten large editions, I received only £120, while the publisher must have realised at least £2000 on this volume alone." A neat monument, of Peterhead granite, was erected to the memory of Dr Dick, in the churchyard of the Chapel of Ease at Broughty Ferry, bearing this inscription:—

IN MEMORY OF
THOMAS DICK, LL.D.,
AUTHOR OF THE CHRISTIAN PHILOSOPHER, &c.,
BORN 1774,
DIED 1857.

GEORGE KINLOCH, M.P.

This distinguished political reformer was born at Bellevue (afterwards known as Airlie Lodge), Dundee, on April 30, 1775. The family surname is believed to have been derived from the Celtic, *Cean-loch*, or head of the loch, the ancient possession of the family being at the head of Rossie Loch in Fifeshire. George Kinloch, the head of the family in the reign of James V., had two sons, one of whom, Sir Alexander, succeeded to the Fifeshire estates, but sold them to "Balfour of Burley." The other son, David, became the progenitor of the Kinlochs of Kinloch; his son, a distinguished physician, having purchased the estate of Balmyre in Perthshire, the name of which he changed to Kinloch. While yet in his eighteenth year, George Kinloch visited France, and the course of events then evolving in that country so impressed his youthful mind that he returned home deeply imbued with Republican principles, which he never afterwards hesitated to avow and defend. The question of Parliamentary Reform had begun to take hold of the public mind in 1793, and to it, through good report and bad, Mr Kinloch devoted his energies, until, after many years of agitation and arduous effort, the measure of 1832 realised to a large extent the hopes of political reformers.

In the beginning of this century, Dundee was singularly deficient in public spirit and political zeal; but this apathetic state of feeling was broken about 1814, when the improvement of the Harbour began to be discussed. Towards this object, and the organisation of a responsible and popular management, a bill was framed, in the carrying of which Mr Kinloch first identified himself with our local interests. He proceeded to London at his own expense to combat the opposition waged against it by the self-elected Council of the day, and on the passing of the Act, his labours were acknowledged by a service of plate being presented to him by the Guildry, on Oct. 13, 1815, the day on which the foundation stone of King William's Dock was laid. Two years afterwards, on the refusal of Provost Riddoch to comply with a requisition for calling a public meeting to discuss the subject of Parliamentary Reform, Mr Kinloch presided at a meeting on the Magdalen Green, which was attended by 7000 people, at which strong resolutions in favour of the measure were adopted, and embodied in a petition to Parliament. As has been truly observed, "It required

courage of no ordinary kind to take a leading part in advocating the cause of the people in those days, when such advocacy was too often visited by severe pains and penalties ; yet, though Mr Kinloch did not push himself forward as an agitator, or court popular applause by pandering to class prejudices, he never feared to sacrifice himself if he could be useful to the public. Far removed by social position from those fears which perplexed and harassed the operatives of Dundee, he never beguiled them into positions of peril, nor uttered a word which compromised their safety. If he sympathised with them in their social misery, and waxed indignant when he thought of their political degradation, he did it in words which proclaimed his entire responsibility ; and his hope, fervently expressed, was that his hearers might conduct themselves as became men engaged in a noble yet perilous enterprise."

In 1819, another monstre meeting, attended this time by about ten thousand persons, was held on the Green, in which Mr Kinloch took the most prominent part. The occasion of this assemblage was the occurrence known as "The Peterloo Massacre." At a place so named, near Manchester, a peaceable Reform meeting had been dispersed by the military, who, in the rash exercise of power, fired into a crowd of defenceless people, of whom many were killed and wounded. The uneasiness of the authorities in Dundee, with regard to the demonstration of sympathy with the victims of this outrage, and indignation at the Government under which it occurred, was shown by the precautions taken to preserve the peace. A large number of constables, specially sworn in, were mustered in the Town Hall, while the soldiers were held in readiness at the Barracks.

An imposing procession, composed of working men, marched at mid-day to the Green, bearing flags trimmed with crape. "A hundred sailors paraded in great order, carrying a Union Jack, surmounted by the figure of a ship's hull, both reversed, as emblematic of the ruined state of commerce ; while a number of youths carried a pole, from which dangled a broken tea-kettle and two broken tea-pots ; and from another were suspended the fragments of a gill-stoup, of wine-glasses, tobacco-pipes, and snuff-boxes—memorials of luxuries once enjoyed by the poorest man in the country. One of the banners, it was also noticed, had for its motto the significant words, 'Bread or Blood!'"

The reception of Mr Kinloch on this occasion was enthusiastic in the extreme. His address, while marked by good sense, was spirited

and eloquent; nor did he hesitate to denounce those who abetted the recent outrage as enemies to the liberties of the people and the security of the country. Resolutions to this effect, and calling for the reform of the House of Commons, on the basis of universal suffrage, the ballot, and annual parliaments, were unanimously adopted, and the policy of Lord Sidmouth, the Premier, was reprobated in the strongest terms. After the thanks of the meeting had been voted to Mr Kinloch, in reply to which he pledged himself—perhaps somewhat hastily, as subsequent events showed—"to be always at his post when the country required a defender, or the people a friend"—the vast assemblage quietly dispersed. A disturbance seemed eminent, however, in the evening. When Mr Kinloch had proceeded to confer with the authorities in the Town Hall, the rumour spread that he was to be kept in confinement, and the large crowd which assembled on the High Street, armed with missiles to assail the building, was only pacified when he presented himself at a window, and assured the people that he was under no restraint.

This demonstration, or rather the prominent part taken in it by Kinloch, was deemed by the advisers of the Crown sufficient to warrant the prosecution of him for sedition; and it was alleged that a certain clergyman, who attended the meeting as an informer, furnished a report of his speech, on which such a charge was to be founded. At all events, Sheriff L'Amy was sent to investigate the circumstances, and immediately afterwards Mr Kinloch was cited to appear before the Court of Justiciary at Edinburgh, on 22d December, 1819. Judging it more prudent to avoid a trial than to face his accusers, and vindicate his conduct, Mr Kinloch left the country. On these circumstances, the Court pronounced the usual interlocutor—outlawry for non-appearance. Opposite views have prevailed with regard to this episode in his career—his friends claiming that he was expatriated for advocacy of popular opinions, while others maintain that the outlawry was the result of his own procedure, and amounted only to a formal deliverance, by no means implying that he was, or would have been, found guilty of the charge against him. In support of this view, it is urged that no steps were taken to hasten or prevent his voluntary exile, as he quietly retired to Paris with his family. Without entering upon this question, it is right to hear his own statement, as subsequently given at a public dinner at which he was entertained in Dundee:—"I was cited," he said, "to appear before a set of preju-

diced judges and a packed jury (?), for the atrocious crime of having said we needed Reform, that cutting of throats was murder, that Castlereagh was a knave, and old Sidmouth a fool. My counsel assured me I had spoken too freely and honestly against myself, and that there was no chance for me but to move off. I took the advice, thinking it preferable to visit the hospitable shores of France, at my own expense, rather than subject my country to the expense of transporting me to Botany Bay."

Three years later, when George IV. visited Edinburgh, one of Mr Kinloch's daughters was presented to his Majesty, and preferred a request that her father's outlawry might be recalled, which was granted. From the period of his return to the passing of the Reform Bill in 1832, he occupied himself in advocating that measure, and, among other writings, published a pamphlet on the Corn Laws. Dundee having then acquired the right to send a Member of its own to Parliament, the seat was the object of a keen contest—the candidates being Colonel Chalmers, Lord Hallyburton, Mr David Guthrie, and Mr Kinloch himself. Ultimately the two last named went to the poll, and the result was the election of Mr Kinloch, in December 1832. In the following month, he proceeded to London, by way of Paisley and Greenock, where he addressed large meetings, and was heartily received, and took his seat on Jan. 29, 1833, being the first Scottish Member who entered the House. His attention to parliamentary duties was unremitting; but, unfortunately, his public career was prematurely closed by an attack of inflammation, with which he was seized on March 6, and to which he succumbed on the 28th of that month, in the 58th year of his age.

The intelligence of his death was received with profound sorrow, and a movement was set on foot to erect some public memorial to his name, but it took almost forty years to carry this into execution. At length, a bronze statue was commissioned from Mr John Steel, R.S.A., and, on Saturday, Feb. 3, 1872, it was unveiled in presence of a large assemblage. The statue is an admirable example of the sculptor's art, and forms a prominent object in the grounds of the Free Library Buildings. The pedestal, which is of Aberdeen granite, bears the following inscription:—

"GEORGE KINLOCH OF KINLOCH, OUTLAWED FOR THE ADVOCACY OF POPULAR RIGHTS, 22 DECEMBER, 1819. PROCLAIMED MEMBER FOR DUNDEE, IN THE FIRST REFORMED PARLIAMENT, 22 DECEMBER, 1832. BORN IN DUNDEE 1775. DIED IN LONDON 1833.

"ERECTED BY PUBLIC SUBSCRIPTION TO COMMEMORATE A SIGNAL TRIUMPH OF POLITICAL JUSTICE, 3 FEBRUARY, 1872."

WILLIAM GARDINER.

In the annals of botanical science, few men of humble birth and limited opportunities have done more to deserve recognition than the subject of this notice. William Gardiner was born at Dundee in 1809, of parents whose straitened circumstances afforded him little education beyond reading and writing, so that, at the early age of ten, the boy was apprenticed to an umbrella-maker. In this unpoetical calling, he contrived, by means of evening classes and indomitable perseverance, to supplement the lack of education, and become a tasteful and accurate writer. Botanical study took an early hold of his mind, induced no doubt by the example of his father and uncle, both of whom exhibited a love for plants, and took the young student with them in their botanical rambles. In the early mornings, or after the work of the day was over, Gardiner would set off in search of botanical specimens from such local habitats as Will's Braes, Baldovan Woods, or the Hare Craigs; while the holiday was utilised for more extended journeys to the Sidlaw Hills, or the Red Head Cliffs. In the summer of 1838, he got a few weeks of liberty; and, in order to supplement the scanty resources which he possessed from his wages of 10s. a-week, he proposed to the Edinburgh Botanical Society to collect for its members, Alpine plants from the Scottish mountains, which was accepted. The results of this, his first regular excursion of importance, were alike profitable to himself, in the way of discovery and extended knowledge, and satisfactory to the Society. The value of the collections was recognised by his election as an Associate of the Edinburgh Society; and a like honour followed some time after from the Linnæan Society of London. In 1840, he traversed the Clova mountains, collecting for the London Botanical Society; and, on this congenial task he entered with so much skill and enthusiasm that, by the distribution of the rare botanical treasures then found, his name became known over the kingdom. Numerous commissions followed, so that he soon found himself in a position to support himself wholly by his cherished pursuits; and, up to the date of his last illness, he distributed specimens to all parts of the country and the Continent, so that few botanical collections were not enriched by his contributions. One of his patrons was Mr Stephenson, the celebrated engineer, for whom he compiled dried specimens extending to sixteen

volumes of the *British Flora*, for which Mr Stephenson gave him what was considered the handsome remuneration of thirty-seven guineas.

In 1843, Gardiner wrote a monograph of the botany of the Reekie Linn and Den of Airlie, which was printed in the first volume of the Botanical Society's *Transactions*; and, in the following year, he explored the mountains of Aberdeenshire, an account of which he afterwards published as *Botanical Rambles in Braemar*. His next work, *Twenty Lessons on British Mosses*, illustrated with real specimens of the plants, quickly ran through four editions, and was followed by a second series, which was equally well received. His chief work, *The Flora of Forfarshire*, succeeded, and took its place as a standard book, embracing, besides its technical contents, graphic descriptions of the localities in which the rare plants were found, and interesting references to the more important discoveries he made of individual specimens hitherto unknown. Among these, he was the first to find in Britain the rare bulbous moss, *Buxbaumia aphylla*, the fruit of the *Alectoria jubata*, and the discovery of a new *Spheria*, which, in compliment to him, the Rev. M. J. Berkeley named *S. Gardinerii*.

The success of the Watt Institution, during the earlier years of its existence, was in a great measure due to Mr Gardiner's exertions, as a member of committee. At great labour, he contributed to its museum a complete and valuable collection of British mosses, besides contributions in other departments of natural history. He also gave a series of public lectures on botany, copiously illustrated by his own drawings. Though offered at one time an appointment by Sir William Hooker, where his talents would have been more widely appreciated, he never left his native place, having no ambition but to pursue science for its own sake, and content to earn what sufficed for his modest wants, and the support of his aged mother. For some time before his death, he was unable through illness to prosecute continuously his favourite studies; and a fever, with which he was seized, finally prostrated him, and resulted in his death, on June 21, 1852, at the early age of forty-three.

SIR DAVID BAXTER.

In recalling the services rendered to the commonwealth by men who have reached an eminent position in literature and science, it will not be deemed out of place to assign a niche in the local Walhalla to one who occupied the first and foremost place among the merchant princes

of our day. Sir David Baxter was so closely identified with the mercantile prosperity of Dundee as to become a representative man in his order; and his career, apart from the great wealth and influence which he achieved, will be dwelt upon by future generations as bound up with the development of the trade and institutions of the town during a period of unexampled prosperity; while his princely benefactions cannot fail to claim grateful acknowledgments from future generations.

David Baxter was the second son of William Baxter of Balgavies, and was born at Dundee on 13th Feb., 1793. Receiving his education at the local schools, he entered on commercial pursuits, his first business connection of importance being that of manager to the Dundee Sugar-Refining Company. Its premises were situated in the Seagate, where Messrs Jaffe's warehouses now stand; but, notwithstanding Mr Baxter's energetic management, the concern was unprofitable, and ultimately collapsed. He then, on the retirement of his elder brother, Edward, from the manufacturing business, which had been started by his father at the Dens, entered as a partner in the firm of William Baxter & Son, and devoted himself exclusively to the new business, so that in process of time the firm so extended its operations and established its reputation as to become famous at home and abroad. The application of steam power to the process of weaving mainly contributed to the wonderful expansion of the trade in which this and other firms were engaged. In 1825, Messrs Baxter's attention was turned to the power-loom, by an attempt to introduce it at Aberdeen; but an actual trial, in 1828, proved so discouraging that the machinery, got up at considerable expense, was laid aside, and it was not until 1838 that the process was permanently resumed under more favourable circumstances. They erected a factory at Upper Dens, containing 216 looms; and the skill and perseverance with which the difficulties surrounding the new enterprise were met, at length ensured success, to which a large share of the credit was due to Mr Peter Carmichael, the manager of the works, who, on the suggestion of Mr David Baxter, was assumed as a partner in the business. The death of his father and two brothers left Mr David Baxter in name, as he had long been in fact, the head of the firm, and to his energy and business capacity the transactions of the firm steadily expanded into gigantic proportions.

The onerous duties and responsibilities resulting from such a business did not prevent Mr Baxter from taking a full share of public business, and devoting his time and influence to the charitable and

educational institutions of the town. His first appearance at our public Boards was as a Police Commissioner in 1825. Three years afterwards, he became a Guild Councillor and a member of the Harbour Board. In 1829, he was instrumental in getting up an address to the King in favour of Catholic Emancipation—a question which then served to bring out the antagonism between the Whig and Tory parties. Less liberal, in the light of recent experience at least, were his views on the Ten Hours Bill of 1832, against which his firm headed a petition to Parliament, maintaining that sixty-six hours per week were necessary not only for the employers, but for the welfare of the work-people themselves. In his capacity of Harbour Trustee, we find him, in 1834, moving the Board to subscribe ten guineas to a fund for erecting a monument, in Westminster Abbey, to Telford, the engineer; while in 1836 he strenuously resisted a proposal that the Board should make up the balance of the expense of a piece of plate presented to Mr Kinloch—threatening to institute legal proceedings at his own expense if the Harbour funds were applied to such a purpose. In the affairs of the Harbour Trust, Mr Baxter for many years took an active part, and to his sagacity and financial ability the sound basis on which that corporation has ever been conducted was largely attributable. In many other public matters, he took a leading part. He was one of the few gentlemen who subscribed for the preliminary surveys for bringing a supply of water from the Monikie district—he opposed the adoption of the Lindsay Police Act in 1852, as being inadequate to the requirements of Dundee, which a short experience of its working proved—and he took up with zeal the popular side in the Corn Law movement. So strong were his sympathies in this direction that he supported Mr J. B. Smith, President of the Anti-Corn Law League, though an utter stranger, in his candidature against Mr George Duncan, for the representation of the town in 1841. After Mr Duncan's election, however, Mr Baxter frankly bore testimony to his faithful discharge of his duties; assisted in getting up a banquet to him in 1847; in 1852, seconded his re-election; and, in 1853, presided at a meeting, and presented a service of plate to him, in recognition of his parliamentary services, and his praiseworthy conduct in bestowing the £1100, subscribed by his friends as a personal gift, to the erection of Industrial Schools.

Of all his services, however, that which most conspicuously raised Mr Baxter in public estimation was the splendid gift to the community of the Public Park which bears his name. Sensible of the

yearly lessening facilities which the denizens of the town enjoyed for out-door recreation, by the absorption of open spaces for building purposes, Mr Baxter announced, in May 1861, that, in conjunction with his sisters, the Misses Eleanor and Mary-Ann Baxter, he had resolved to purchase for the people a pleasure ground, of which they could not be deprived. Accordingly, a field of thirty-five acres, on the estate of Craigie, was secured, and, after three years of preparation under the direction of Sir Joseph Paxton, it was formally opened on the 9th Sept., 1863, with a demonstration in which Earls Russell, Dalhousie, Camperdown, and other notables took part, and where, in presence of some sixty thousand spectators, Sir David handed over the keys of the Park to the Trustees appointed to preserve it for the use of the people of Dundee for ever. On that occasion, an address was presented by Mr Leng, handing over to Sir David a beautiful marble statue of himself, by Mr Steel of Edinburgh, erected at a cost of £1000, and set up in the Pavilion of the Park. The pedestal bears the following inscription :—

"THIS STATUE, OF SIR DAVID BAXTER OF KILMARON, WAS ERECTED BY 17,731 SUBSCRIBERS, IN GRATEFUL ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE GIFT OF THIS PARK TO THE PEOPLE OF DUNDEE, BY HIM AND HIS SISTERS, MISS ELEANOR AND MISS MARY-ANN BAXTER; AND IN AFFECTIONATE REMEMBRANCE OF THEIR LATE FATHER, WILLIAM BAXTER, ESQ., OF BALGAVIES, THEY DESIRE THAT HIS NAME BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE GIFT. A.D. 1863."

Before the formal opening of the Park, namely, on the 1st Jan., 1863, Lord Palmerston intimated that Her Majesty had been pleased to raise him to the baronetage of the United Kingdom, in consideration of his eminent commercial position and generous conduct to the community. The Chamber of Commerce, of which Sir David had frequently been chairman, met a few days afterwards, and presented him with an address, recognising the honour thus conferred on the head of the linen trade, as a compliment at once to the worthy recipient and to the commercial interests of the country. In replying to these congratulations, Sir David said that,

"After his surprise, occasioned by the reading of Lord Palmerston's letter, had somewhat subsided, his first thought was, how would the honour which his Most Gracious Sovereign had conferred upon him be received by his fellow-townsmen; but the address which had just been read, and the many congratulatory letters which had been sent to him from the many places with which he was connected, abundantly assured him on that head. The address had reference to his position in the trade of the town; but he could not forget that that position had been handed down to him by those who had gone before him; and if his firm had been enabled to extend and consolidate its business, very much of the credit was due to his partners, Mr Carmichael and Mr Dalgleish, and he gladly embraced the opportunity of paying a merited compliment to the memory of the departed, and of doing an act of justice to those who were still with him. He had seen many great changes and improvements in the trade of Dundee, and there was a

striking contrast between the past and the present. He was proud to be able to say that now every work of any magnitude had its well appointed schools, and all the other appliances calculated to raise the working classes in the scale of society ; and although these improvements had not been so extensive as he could wish, yet he was happy to say there was now an almost universal feeling on the part of the employers that the higher the intelligence possessed by the working classes the more valuable they would be as workers. He referred to the Park, and expressed his gratification at the thoughtful manner in which the visitors had conducted themselves while inspecting the progress of the operations necessary in laying it out ; and from this he argued that, if the great body of the people were fairly treated, they would conduct themselves so as to win the confidence and goodwill of all. Thus gracefully and humbly did he accept the honour conferred upon him by his Sovereign, cherishing a grateful remembrance of those who had been his associates and the companions of his prosperous and honourable mercantile career, and speaking a kindly word for the workers, whose humble efforts had aided him in his progress upwards."

Shortly after the opening of the park, Sir David took a leading part in obtaining from the Town Council the site in Albert Square, with the view of erecting an Institute for literature, science, and art, which had for some time been a favourite idea with him. Towards this object he subscribed £6000, other £6000 being forthcoming from members of the Baxter family ; and, some time after, when the building fund was found to be insufficient for the undertaking, Sir David came forward with another £1000. Through certain complications, which arose from an ill-judged constitution of the managing body under the Limited Liability Act, this undertaking failed to realise the hopes of its founders ; but the location of the Free Library within its walls, and the completion of the Museum buildings by the town, now bid fair to secure completeness and practical utility to the scheme.

In furtherance of education, Sir David likewise made the following liberal donations to the University of Edinburgh :—

"The Baxter Mathematical Scholarship, founded in 1863, of the annual value of £60, tenable for not more than four years ; awarded for proficiency in the department of mathematics, particularly in that branch of it which includes mechanical and physical science.

"The Baxter Philosophical Scholarship, also founded in 1863, of the annual value of £60, and tenable for same period, for proficiency in mental philosophy.

"The Baxter Physical Science Scholarship, founded in 1865, of the annual value of £60, tenable for two years. By the deed of foundation it is to be awarded to the most eminent of the Bachelors of Science, who have passed their examination in the physical sciences, including experimental philosophy and chemistry.

"The Baxter Natural Science Scholarship, also founded in 1865, of the annual value of £60, and tenable for two years. It is awarded to those Bachelors in Science who have passed their examination in the department of natural science, including botany, zoology, physiology, and geology.

"The Chair of Engineering, founded in 1868, by an endowment gift of £5000, supplemented by an annual parliamentary vote of £200."

The town of Cupar, near which his estate of Kilmaron is situated, was likewise enriched by Sir David building and endowing a high class seminary for the education of young ladies. His latest benefaction was towards a Convalescent House, in which the patients of our

Infirmary could find a temporary home during the period of recovery from sickness. For this purpose he offered in his lifetime, on certain conditions, a gift of £10,000; but the scheme not having been followed up until his last illness and death occurred, it was then found that the above sum was set apart for the building and furnishing of a Convalescent House, while a further gift of £20,000 was bequeathed for its endowment. The trustees nominated for the purpose accordingly acquired a site, of about six acres, at Barnhill, in the outskirts of Broughty Ferry, and having selected plans by Mr Maclaren, for a building to accommodate from fifty to sixty inmates, the work is being proceeded with, and, on its completion, will be handed over to the Governors of the Royal Infirmary, as an asylum in which, for generations to come, the sick and deserving poor may be nursed back to health and fitted to renew the battle of life.

In March 1872, Sir David was seized with paralysis, in Edinburgh, where he resided for the winter; but, recovering a little, he was removed to Kilmaron, where he survived for several months until a relapse occurred, which ended fatally on the 13th October. Sir David married, in 1833, Elizabeth, daughter of Robert Montgomery, Esq. of Barrahill, Ayrshire, now Lady Baxter, who survives him. By his settlement, Sir David Baxter divided his heritable and personal property, valued at £1,200,000, in two portions, one being given in equal portions between his two surviving sisters, Mrs Molison and Miss Baxter, and to the family, ten in number, of his brother, the late Mr Edward Baxter. The other portion was devised to other relatives, and to public and benevolent institutions. Of the latter, the Free Church of Scotland received about £55,000, besides £7,500 to the Free Church congregation of Cupar; and the University of Edinburgh, about £40,000, half of which sum was directed to be expended on additional buildings, and the other half for endowment purposes. For the erection and endowment of a building adapted for a Mechanic's Institute, in Dundee or immediate neighbourhood, a sum of £20,000 was bequeathed, the testator expressing his wish that the fees to be charged should be as moderate as possible. One of the most considerate bequests was that of £3000, to the managers of departments and those in positions of trust, in the employment of the firm; and another of £1000 to the clerks in the office. The landed estates and personal effects were conveyed to Lady Baxter in liferent, thereafter to go by entail to his nephew, the Right Hon. W. E. Baxter, M.P., and his heirs.

JAMES THOMSON.

The literary history of Dundee would be incomplete without some notice of one whose prolific pen and untiring industry have done more perhaps than any other native to illustrate the annals of the town and neighbourhood; and a brief sketch of his career seems specially called for in this edition of his principal work. James Thomson was born in Dundee, of parents in humble circumstances, about the year 1799. His educational advantages were few, for, at a very early age, he was sent to earn his bread at a spinning-mill in Tay Street, where he had the misfortune to get his right hand crushed by machinery. Unfitted by this accident for manual labour, his parents succeeded in getting him on Webster's Mortification for two years, where, besides being assiduous in picking up the other branches taught, he learned to write well with his left hand. After doing a little in bringing forward tradesmen's accounts, he turned his attention to teaching as a means of support, and prosecuted his duties with so much diligence as to qualify himself for conducting the public school of Boysack, near Arbroath. The bent of his mind turned to the study of antiquities and local history, in which departments he became so engrossed as to neglect his own pecuniary interests, and thus fall out of any settled employment. By indomitable perseverance, he acquired a good knowledge of Latin, and an extensive acquaintance with British literature, particularly that which related to his antiquarian studies, which he pursued with "an enthusiasm which conquered every obstacle, and made what would have been tedious labour to most men a delight and a pastime to him." His earlier writings, dated from Boysack, appeared first in the columns of the *Montrose Chronicle*, *Dundee Advertiser*, and other newspapers, the proprietors of the former allowing him space for two columns of his pickings for nearly three years; and, from the infinite pains taken in their production, by patient research among public and family records, and personal visits to every scene described, these writings possessed an originality and freshness which made them both pleasant and instructive reading. Such was the extent and minuteness of his information on the topography, antiquities, and history of the district that he came to be acknowledged as the highest authority on such matters, and may be termed the father of our local archæological literature. So much was he venerated that, years after his gleanings for such information, parties on a similar errand, in some localities, have been shown the room Thomson occupied and the bed on

which he reposed. At the time he prosecuted these studies, the path was untrodden and uninviting, and the difficulties he encountered can scarcely be estimated, now that the study has been popularised and rendered attractive, under the fostering care and ample resources of learned societies, devoted to the republication of literary materials which, in his day, were almost unknown, or well-nigh inaccessible.

In 1830, Mr Thomson published his "Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Dundee"; in 1836, he contributed largely to Mr Charles Mackie's "Historical Description" of the town; in 1842, the "History of Dundee" first appeared in a small duodecimo volume,¹ which, under new proprietorship, was enlarged and republished in 8vo. in 1847. "Forfarshire Illustrated" made its appearance in 1845; and subsequently he furnished Mr Myles with most of the material for his "Rambles in Forfarshire." Unable, in his lifetime, to meet with patronage sufficient to enable him to publish several laborious MS. works, Mr Thomson wished them, after his death, to be given to the Watt Institution; of these, now preserved in the Free Library, may be mentioned the "Book of the Howff," a remarkable monograph, giving in full the epitaphs and inscriptions, together with learned notices of the families represented in that ancient place of sepulture. "Collections, Illustrative of the Ancient Ecclesiastical State of Scotland," is another manuscript evincing no less labour and research in its compilation, giving a minute account of the ancient religious houses throughout Scotland, and their revenues. This MS. is embellished with clever pen and ink vignettes, remarkable as having been traced by the left hand of the author.

In manner and disposition, Mr Thomson was kind and obliging, his habits rather convivial, and his conversation singularly sparkling, humorous, and intelligent. For six or seven years before his death he was totally prostrated by paralysis; but his penury was relieved, and his distress alleviated, by the kindly aid of his nephews, Messrs Thomson, of Seafeld works. The subject of this notice was a widower, and childless; but the buoyancy of his spirits sustained him on his weary sick-bed. Latterly, however, his sufferings were very great; every sense but that of pain seemed to have given way, and death came at last as a refuge and relief. He died, in the house in which he was born, in Small's Wynd, on Saturday, July 30, 1864.

¹ Published by J. Chalmers; but without the author's name.

THE HOUFF MONUMENTS.

The following is a selection of the oldest and most curious epitaphs :
For others the reader may consult Thomson's MS. "Book of the Houff."
in the Free Library.

No. 2.—*West Wall.—In the First Recess, next Blackness Aisle.*

To his most excellent father, A. Miln, oft times Bailie in this city
with great praise, who at length died in the 68th year of his age, and
of the Lord 1651.

No. 3.—*At the Second Recess.*

To his dearest brother, Thomas Milne, — in this city, having
ended his life well in the year of the Lord 1641, and of his age 22.
Mr Alexander Milne, Minister of Forgan, placed this monument.

Fame will the long life give which fate denied,
Nor can we call him dead who thus has died

No. 4.—*On the top of, and within the Third Recess.*

The sepulchre of the family of John Yeaman of Dryburgh, 1628.

"It is uncertain at what place Death awaits thee—wait thou for it at every
place. Before old age be careful to live well ; in old age be careful to die well."—
Seneca.

No. 5.—*On the top of the Fourth Recess.*

Monvmentvm memorabilis. Monument to the memory of the Pa-
rentis of R. Fletcher of Inverpeffer, A. F. his B. their Sp. and Poste-
ritie ; As. F., J. F., R. F., Gm. F., Jm. F., sonnes to R. F., cavsded
bvild this, Ano Dom. 1627.

For James Fletcher fieri fecit 1627. Memento mori.

To the memory of John Baxter, Esquire of Idvies, merchant, Dun-
dee, who died 25th August, 1833, aged 68 years, this stone is erected
by his grateful and affectionate son, Henry Baxter.

No. 6.—*Between the Fourth and Fifth Recesses.*

To the memory of James Guthrie, related to an upright judge among the inhabitants of Dundee, who, when a boy, was sent to a distance by his father, Mr John Guthrie, pastor of a church in Dundee. He served his apprenticeship to merchandise at Stockholm; and, when freed, he traded with many nations. He married Christian Scott, descended from Bailie John Scott. His pious wife, sorrowing, placed this monument at her own expense. He died in the calends of April, in the year of the Christian era 1710, and of his age 46, leaving his wife and seven of her sons surviving.

Immediately under Mr Guthrie's monument another was erected in 1833, to the memory of a descendant, which is inscribed thus :—

1733. Sacred to the memory of John Guthrie, Esqr., late merchant in Dundee, and of Helen Yeaman, his spouse; the former died on the 3d of March, 1786, and the latter on the 11th of June, 1818. This stone was erected by their eldest son, Major John Guthrie, 33d Regt.

No. 7.—*In the Fifth Recess.*

The sepulchre of the Parents and Family of Patrick Guthrie, 1631.

Fates come by certain order, none can stay,
Or 'gainst the order offer a delay.
The grave is ready still, and doth receive
The cited people; farther will not crave.

—*Theater of Mortality.*

Lo, thou my days an hand breadth mad'st;
mine age is in thine eye
As nothing : surely man at best,
is wholly vanity.—Ps. xxxix 5.

The resurrection of Christ is the key of the graves of the dead, and the pattern and hope of ours.—Tertullian of the Flesh.

So also is the resurrection of the dead : it is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption.—I. Corinthians xv. 42.

Life is too much the shadow of to-morrow,—live your time to-day.

No. 8.—*In the Fifth Recess, near the Great Gate.*

M.W.F. W.F. H.D.

Ye who pass by, of us, pray, mindful be;
You're what we were—what now, you soon shall see.
All things must pass—we went, and you shall go;
Learned, unlearned, equally all so.
I know that my Redeemer lives,—this hope,
To me, in grave, is comfortable prop.
Virtue remains after death.—*Theater of Mortality.*

No. 9.—*On the top of the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Recesses, north side of the Great Gate.*

James Mudie erected this in the year 1602, for a monument of the family burial place of the Mudies.

Here lies a most chaste virgin, Janet Mudie, only daughter of James Mudie, formerly Bailie of the city of Dundee, who leading her father in the path of death, died in the month of September, A.D. 1612, and of her age 15.

The whole life of man is a passage to death, and death itself is the way to life.

All things depend on fate, all in their turns,
Sooner or later hasten to their urns.

No. 11.—*On a lofty, but much decayed mural monument, near the north end of the Wall.*

In the adjacent ground is laid the mortal remains of Alexander Duncan of Lundie, who died the — day of April, in the year of the Christian era 1696, aged 44; and his beloved wife Ann Drummond, only daughter of Mr John Drummond of Megginch, who died the — day of April, 1675, aged 42. Also their children, William, Patrick, Christian, and Ann, whom their parents survived. Also another, William, who survived his mother, but not his father; and John, a son second in birth, who died the — day of July, 1696, aged 20.

Mr Alexander Duncan of Lundie caused this mausoleum to be erected in the year of the Christian era, 1718

No. 12.—*Very near the North End of the Wall.*

To the memory of Alexander Riddoch, Esq., many years Provost of Dundee, and one of his Majesty's Deputy-Lieutenants of Forfarshire, who died 9th December, 1822, aged 78 years.

A man of strict integrity, a sincere and constant friend, a magistrate whose firmness and moderation in times of difficulty and danger were of great benefit to the community.

IN THE AREA OF THE GROUND.

No. 3.—To his most excellent father, Alexander Milne, oft-times Bailie in this city with great praise, who at length died in the 68th year of his age, and of the Lord 1651. Over him dead, his son, Mr Alexander Milne, caused this monument to be erected.

Religion, manners, prudence, candour, always shone
In Milne united, with a lustre all their own;
The common wealth was prosperous underneath his care,
To him the court and seat of justice sacred were.

No. 6.—This is the marble sepulchral, monumental mausoleum, of Andrew Forrester, a famous Bailie of Dundee, who died in the office of Bailie on the 13th day of November, 1674, aged 34. His only and chosen wife, Marjory Watson, survivor, caused this to be erected in testimony of her love.

I have sent my soul to God, but the vile inglorious body which you see here, Christ, my judge, shall so restore, that at length it shall arise from the grave to the heavenly mansions.

No. 10.—Heir lyes ane faithfvl brother called Henrie Guthrie, Merchand, Bvrgis of Dvndie, who lived the spaice of 20 ziers in the holy band of matrimonie, and depairtit this lyf at the pleasur of Almighty God, the 29th day of November, 1635, of the aidge above.

No. 15.—The 6th day of the month of March—

Man, tak hed to me,
Hov thov sal be,
Cvhan thov art dead
Drye as a trei,
Vermes sal eat ye;
Thy great borte
Sall be lyke lead.

Ye tyme hath been,
In my sovth grene,
That I vas clene
Of bodie as se ar;
Bvt for my eyen,
Nov tvo holes bene;
Of me is sene
Bvt benes bare.

1827.—Revised by Mrs Charles Ross, in memory of her mother, Jean Knight.

No. 17.—Heir lyis two godlie agit personis, to wit, Johnne Kynneir, svntyme in Keathe, and Evphan Gray, his spovs, qvha deceissit as follovis, to vit, the said Evphan Gray deceissit the first day of March, 1627, of the aidge of 59; and ye said Jhone Kynneir deceissit ye — day of Octor, of ye aige of —.

No. 19.—Margaret Ramsay, spouse to Andrew Mureson, depairtit the 20 day of May, 166—, of hir age —.

Stay, trav'ler, notice who entomb'd heer lyes,—
On that was verteous, Chest, and Verie Wyse;
Good to the poor, still livd a godly lyfe,
Both first and last, since she becam a Wyfe,
To quarrell death for her Chang uer but Vain,
for death spares nather godly nor prophane;
To say shes Changd, tuar but a foolish storie
if not to live eternalie in Glorie.

No. 24.—To Mr William Ferguson, Physician and Bailie in Dundee, and Euphemia Kinloch, his dearest parents ; also to seven brothers and sisters german, who died by the disturbed order of nature ; likewise for himself and Helen Duncan, his lawful wife, the surviving William Ferguson, merchant, raised this monument to their pious memory. Mr William Ferguson died 25th March, 1627, aged 64 years, and Euphemia Kinloch died 5th June, 1603, aged 57 years.

No. 26.—Remember to die. The hour flies.

Erected by David Lowson, manufacturer, Hilltown, Dundee, in memory of his spouse, Jean Balfour, who died 25th December, 1816, aged 41 ; also his daughter, Elizabeth, who died 22d February, 1817, aged 4 years ; also Barbara, died 29th July, 1817, aged 3 years.

All ye that pass by, I pray draw nigh,
And weep, while I mourn with grief ;
For my Oxon, my dear, and my daughters lie here,
Now their sorrow and pain, to them has prov'd gain,
For in death they have met a relief.

No. 31.—Heir vnder lyes ye corpes of Griesell Clyhills, a matron vas, and mirror of pietie, vertue, sobrietie, & modestie, & espoused to James Man 58 zeirs, & departit this lyf ye 1 of Janv. 1648, of age 80 zeirs.

For I know that my Redeemer liveth, &c., Job xix. 24, 25, and blessed and holy, &c., Rev. xx. 6.

No. 32.—Heir lyes the corpes of a vorthe honest man caled James Man, who vas baptised 22 Jvly 1561, and married with his only vyf 22 Sep. 1582, rendering his spirit to his Maker ye 13 Sep. 1640, to his and the beholderes great ioyii.

When this corruptable hath pvt on incorrvption, and this mortal hath pvt on immortality, then sal be brovght to pas that saying, Death is svalloved vp into victorie.

No. 34.—Heir lyes ane godly and vertwvs woman, Sarah Auchinleck, spovs to Abraham Martine, Frenchman, Chirvrgeon-Barber, who departit this lyf 25 Jvly, 1665, of her age 40. Heir also lyes ane honest man, Abrahame Martine, Frenchman, Chirvrgeon-Barber, lavfvl son of Abraham Martine, merchant, Bvrgis of the city of Metz in Lorraine, who departit this lyf 13 June, 1673, of his age 57.

Revised 1820, J. Constable.

No. 35.—Heir is interred a vertuous woman, Catherine Constable, spouse to John Mastertoun, Fletcher, who departit the 15 of Janu., 1683, and of her age 39 yeirs.

Our care is short, yet aiming still in minde,
Christe pouer and presence in my whole life to finde,

Who now in grave doth lie, till sons of God shall be
 In heaven restored to glorious libertie ;
 With mother, children, wher husband longs to raise
 To God, in Christ, immortal songs of praise.

36.—Here restes in the Lord iohn makcleen, marchent in dundie,
 who departit this life the 10 of ianuarie, 1696, and his age 75 years ;
 and his spous agnes froster, with seuerall of their children.

One graue tuo bodies doth containe,—
 In heaven their souls remaine ;
 Heads of ane honest familie,
 Who liued well, dyed happilie ;
 Their fame will neuer be forgot,
 Though bodies in the graue do rot.
 Reader, though little be set forth,
 Blaine thou my pen, and not their worth.

No. 37.—Heer lyas interred Robert Forrester, Skipper in Dundie,
 and his wife Agnes Scot, and their children, whereof the eldest
 daughter, Isabell Forrester, was spouse to James Patersone, Skipper
 in Dundie. She was a godly woman, and an honest vertious wife all
 the tyme of her life, who departed on the ii. day of November, 1669,
 of her age 53 years.

Heers a Forrester whose boughs are broke,
 And laid unto the dust ;
 The eldest branche, when it did blume,
 like to an ivy claspt
 with Patersone, a mighty Oak,
 not overblowne by storms ;
 thou Neptune, Boreas hath ordained,
 with their great mightie pouers—

[Two lines illegible.]

To whom her husband caused erect this monument for himself and
 their children, in 1673 years.

No. 39.—'Mongst Scotiah Vrns this English Matron lyes,
 Grave, vertuous, modest, loving, chaste, and uise ;
 The poor, the uorld, the heauens, and the grave,
 Her alma, her fame, her soul, and body haue.

On William Playfair, who died Decr. 14th, 1735.

Beneath this stone survivings did inter
 The breathless Corps of William Playfair ;
 He was not fully eighteen Years of Age,
 When He, o flow'ring Worthy, quit ye Stage ;
 Some golden Beams of heav'nly Virtue Strove
 To hold his Life unstain'd, his Thoughts on things above.

No. 47.—To the memory of Margaret Tod Bell, second daughter of Thomas Bell, merchant, Dundee, who died 5th Decr, 1823, aged 16½ years.

Erected by Thomas Bell, merchant, Dundee, who has paid all dues regarding this railed inground.—*See Hospitall Book*, 1823.

No. 54.—David Smart, baker, died 24th January, 1806, in the 76th year of his age. He was universally beloved and respected, and eminently distinguished as a friend to the poor—was for upwards of 50 years a master baker in Dundee, and often held the offices of Deacon of that trade, and Convener of the Nine Trades. His remains were interred with public honours, as recorded at the time in the *Dundee Advertiser*.

No. 59.—Erected by James Stewart, manufacturer, Pleasance, and Agnes Yoolow his spouse, as a Testimony of Respect due to the memory of her brother, David Yoolow, late merchant in Greenock, who died There on the 6th day of July, 1826, aged 46 years. Also her mother Agnes Johnston, who died on the 5th day of December, 1830, in the 80th year of her age.

'Twas Sin that gave Man the dread Sentence of death,
'Twas Sin that did kindle both Hell and God's Wrath;
But Glory to God, for he sent one to save,
And gave Man the Victory o'er Death and the Grave.

No. 60.—1812. Erected by James Robertson and Jean Caithness his spouse, in memory of their children, viz. Agnes and Wellmina.

This World is like a city full of crooked streets,
And Death the market place where all men meets;
If life were merchandize to buy,
The rich would live, none but the poor would die.

No. 61.—Erected by William Urquhart, Nursery and Seedsman in Dundee, in memory of his Spouse Sarah Walton, who departed this life 17th Decr 1811, age 45 years.

A Rachel's beauty, Lydia's open heart,
A Martha's care, and Mary's better part,
In her were all combined;
Her Spirit fled from earth to heaven,
Her body here to dust is given—
Both shall again be joip'd.

Also Mary and James, two of their infant children, interred near this place.

Also in memory of Helen Bisset, his second wife, who died 8th July 1836, aged 69 years, much regretted.

Here also his sons have laid the ashes of their beloved father, William Urquhart, who died 28th Decr 1836, aged 79 years, lamented by his family and friends.

His dust lies here, the spirit's gone,
To join the choir above
Of souls redeem'd, who ever sing
A Saviour's matchless love.

No. 63.—This monument of a woman of approved goodness, Catherine Guthrie, wife of John Ferguson, merchant, who, after the birth of her first born son, William, who survived her three months, died 20th January, 1668, and of her age 29.

Here Catherine Guthrie, with her son doth lie,
Chaste, virtuous, good, full of serenity ;
She scarce a year was wife, when cruel fate
From her mate pluck'd her, to his sad regret.
Wishing her softest rest, he doth erect,
This monument from his entire respect.

No. 65.—While thou dost here enjoy thy breath,
Continue mindful of thy death ;
Death's one long sleep, and life's no more
But one short watch, an hour before.

Here, underneath this stone,
Lies skipper George Adamson,
Who died anno ninety-four,
And was of age three and threescore
We die to live, and live to die,
In Jesus Christ, and so did I ;
Which Christ, as I have loved best,
Among his saints I hope to rest.

Lo, here, the certain end of every one,—
Behold, alive to-day, to-morrow dead and gone ;
But it is true, the liberal heart God loves,
And from him still all cause of lack removes.

Here resteth in the Lord, Isobel Broch, spouse to George Adamson, who departed 30 December, 1704.

No. 66.—Heir lyis iohn goldman, mairchand, and elizabeth Traill, his spouse, quha both depairtit in september, 1607, of his age 34 hirs 29.

No. 66.—Here lies an honourable man, formerly citizen and — of the city of Dundee, William Goldman of St Fort, who died in the 44th year of his age, on the first of the nones of April, in the year from the parturition (accouchment or lying in) of the Virgin, 1613. Remember to die.

No. 68.—Heir lyis a godlie vertevs man named Robert Muresone, merchandt, Burges of Dundei, who departed the 3 of September anno 1637, being of age 32 yeeris, and lived 4 years in the blissed band of mareag with his law fyll spovs, Helen Colene, of whom he begat thrie children.

Avay, vaine world ! thov ocean of annoyas,
And come sveit heaven, with thy aeternal joyas.

No. 71.—Heir lyis ane godlie father, Alexander Gray, elder, Baxter, Bvrges of Dundie, quha departid the 5 of Agust 1613, vith his spovse Elspet Smythe, a godlie matron.

Ve pass from deithe to lyf.

As gras ve pass
From that ve was,
Ve hope againe
Vith Christ to raigne.

No. 80.—Heer is interred George Forrester, Dean of Gild, Dundie, who departed this lyfe the 3 of Ianwarie, 1675, and of his age 40 years.

Forrester, Dean of Gild of Dundee, suddenly snatched away in the flower of his youth, is buried under this tomb. Upright and greatly excelling, he shone as a lover of piety beyond many, and was an honour to the town, and left an example to us. Reader, learn to follow a good example.

No. 81.—Here rests what was mortal of Mr Alexander Forrester of Milnhill. He who wishes to know what sort of man he was, let him receive this as most true :—For piety toward's God, love to his country, gentleness to his friends, and benevolence to all, he was illustrious. These virtues were accompanied with varied learning, but they were the less appreciated on account of his modesty. He died in the month of October, 1615, aged 49. At the order and expense of Martha and Magdalene Forrester, his sisters, this monument was erected to his memory.

Under this stone, also, are buried the ashes of an excellent man, John Forrester of Milnhill, who succeeded to the paternal estate of his brother, the foresaid Alexander, who died unmarried. He took to wife Isabella, daughter of Henry Crawford of Monorgan, by whom

he had a daughter, Isabella, who was married to Thomas Crichton of Edinburgh, and among with him purchased the estate of Milnhill by hereditary right. His time with being long, he married Margery, daughter of John Henderson, merchant, and formerly Bailie of this Burgh ——— surviving. He died the first day of the mounth of February ———, aged 71.

No. 88.—Here resteth in the Land, William and George Fairweather, Shipper, James Fairweather, and if an upright life, who lived with the love of all persons, and at their death were much lamented (the father deceased 13 May, 1683, of his age 41, the son dying 25 May, 1683, of age 37, and Anne, his Conscience, spouse to William Fairweather, younger, a religious young woman, is also here interred, who deceased 11 May, 1684, her age 20.

Father and Son, here interred are,
 O'errest by tempests in stormy seas were;
 Through living power still preserved their props,
 On whom they trusted both by faith and hope;
 Waiting with mine, till grave her dead resign,
 Hence they'll be call'd eternally to reign.

No. 91.—Heir lyis ane godly, faithfull, verteous, honest woman, namit quhill Patrick Gvthrie, elder, merchand, Bvrges in Dvndie, qvha departed this lyf at the pleasovr of Almchtie God, the 33 of September, 1625, being abovit the aidge of 68 zeirs, qvha leived in the holie band of matramonie abovit 32 zeirs.

No. 93.—Here lyis ane godly and verteous man named Androv Gemmill, merchant, Hospitall Maister of this Burgh, who departed this lyf vpon the last day of Avgvst, 1638 zeires, and of his age 42.

No. 100.—In death is life. To Andrew Gray, descended of the noble family of Gray, a citizen of Dundee conspicuous for piety and honesty, and well deserving both of the Church and the Poor.

O, Death! where is thy victory—where thy sting?

To the memory and virtue of a most upright man, William Gray, Procurator in the Sheriff Court of Forfarshire, his heirs and Mariot Doig, his widow, erected this monument. He died the 19th day of April, in the year of the Lord 1629, and of his age 49.

No. 101.—Kynd Comarads, heir Covpers corps is layd,
 Walter by name, a Tailsovr of his trayde;

Bothe kynd, and trew, and stvt, and open ha tit,
 Condol with me that he so sone departit ;
 For I avow he never veyld a sheir
 Haid beter pairts nor he thate bvid heir.

Walteir Coper, he deit 25 Desem. 1628, his age 52. Janet Mortimer his wyf.

No. 103.—Heir lyis tua honest men, Thomas Peirson and William Dvf, boith Maltman and Bvrgessis of Dvndie, svmtym Husbands to Magdalene Edeson. The said Thomas departed the 1607 zeir, and the said William, 1620, boith above the age of 50 zeirs.

No. 107.—Heir Lyis entomb'd, who sprung of worthie race,
 Match'd with the prouests dochter of this plaice ;
 Liv'd long in hemen's Knot, thogh fates decried
 For thame no chyld, yet heuens this want supplied
 By good Balzanno, his brother, rather sonne,
 Who honours nou his Asches with his tombe.

Mr Archibald Auchinleck lived in ye state of marriage uith his beloued wyff, Janet Auchinleck, 26 years ; he died in ye Lord ye 27 of Novem., 1647, of his age 47.

Deaths uncontrolled syth mous all men down,
 From poorest slave to him that weares the crown
 Wertew, nor noble birth, doth none exeime ;
 For death such qualities doth not esteime ;
 But suddenlie, and oft in midle dayes,
 As was this worthie on intomb'd heir lyes.

Mr Archibald Auchinleck.

Anagram.

I'll rest in peace, until the time appear,
 That I th' Archangel of the Lord shall hear.

Here lyes Mr John Auchinleck, Parson of Largo, who died 15 of July, 1702, of his age 75.

No. 117.—The monument of sepulture of a man of the greatest honour, Mr David Kinloch of Aberbrothie, of great learning, and adorned through life with many illustrious virtues ; a most skilful Physician to the Kings of Great Britain and France, by whose letters and seals the nobility of his family and descent is amply testified and proved. He died in the year of human salvation 1617, and of his age 58.

Sir James Kinloch Nevay, Baronet, died the 5 February, 1776, aged 72. His daughter, Mary Kinloch, spouse of John Rankine of

Dudhope, died the 23 of September, 1782, aged 41. His daughter, Henrietta Kinloch, died the 28th December, 1791, aged 52. His daughter, Anna Kinloch, died on the 15 October, 1793, aged 48 years.

No. 130.—The monument of George Brown, a most meritorious Bailie of Dundee, who, having hapily discharged this office for the space of ten years, was mortally wounded by the enemy in the heat of the fight, of which wounds, having become faint in fighting, by death he paid his debt to nature, and to his city and country, on the second of the nones of October, in the year of the Lord 1651, and of his age sixty.

No. 145.—Heir lyes ane godly, vertevs, honest man, calit Robert Frecser, Marchant and Bvrgis of Dundie, quha departit to the glory of God the 30 day of Mairche, the zair of God, 1628, of his aig 75.

All thingis most die that lyf has tane,
And so most it had never ane.

I live to die, I die to live for ever.

No. 156.—The monument of Andrew Archibald, a famous Lithotomist, who died 1st September, in the year of human salvation 1662, and of his age 67. As also of his most loving wife, Catherine Pourie.

Here lies good Andrew Archibald, to his art
Chirurgeon, to the poor he did impart
His helping hand; still minding God, who bids
The Christian throw his bread upon the floods.

He, in his art most skilful was, and he
Excelled others in the mystery
Of cutting of the stone; for by his skill
He many healed, but never one did kill.

I studied much to cut the bladder stone,
To poor and rich a kind chirurgeon.

Here learned and skilful Archibald lies, who was
To many life, of death to none the cause.
His loving wife, from his own wealth, did raise
This monument and writing to his praise.
Reader, you ask her name—lo! here,
The silent tomb doth Catherine Pourie bear;
As Pourie named, so she was truly pure,
And by free grace from every stain secure.

Death is accustomed to destroy life with innumerable diseases,
 Devouring all things with a revenous appetite.
 King, Prince, the Wise the Fool, the miserable, Sick,
 Whoever you may be, we are all but dust and shadow.

Revised by James Campbell, mercht., 1819, in memory of Margaret Peter, his mother, who died in March, 1801, aged 66 years.

No. 172.—Passenger, let this stone revive in you the memory of William Raitt, a man of great piety and goodness, shining among the prime citizens of Dundee, as having been honoured several years with the office of Bailie, no less endeared to his neighbours than to his own, now escaped out of the prison of his body 13th December, 1670, and of his age 57.

Lo, truth, zeal, candour, constancy,
 Beneath this tomb all here entombed lye;
 Noe wonder, here within this tomb you see,
 Lyes William Raitt, once Praetor in Dundee,
 Whose rest from worldly cares doth pleasant prove,
 While his immortal soul triumphs above.

No. 178.—This stone was erected in memory of Patrick Brown and Isabella Miller, late of Gallowhill, by their youngest son, David Brown, now a Master in the Royal Navy.

Tho' boisterous blasts and worldly fears,
 Have test me to and fro,
 Yet, by the order of God's decree,
 I harbour here below;
 Where now I ride at anchor safe,
 With many of our fleet;
 Expecting one day to set sail,
 Our Admiral, Christ, to meet.

No. 180.—The monument of a singular matron, Grisell Scott, spouse to George Brown, then a renowned Bailie, now advanced to the Provostship, by the greatest love, honour, and respect of all persons. She died in the year of the Christian era 1667, and of her age 37, and, with six of her children, lies under this slab.

Here Grisell Scott lies in this little tomb,
 With children six sprung from her fruitful womb;
 As many live: was sixteen years a wife
 To her dear husband, in a holy life.

Ah ! cruel fates break bands most sweet and sure,—
 Against their violence, what can endure !
 Chaste, calm, and spotless, prudent, liberal,
 She to the poor and the distressed all.

No. 188.—David Lindsay placed this in remembrance of his wife, Christian Rutherford, adorned by piety and virtue, and accomplished in Greek, Latin, and French literature. She died 9th November, 1603, aged 40 years.

In memory of John Ferguson, mercht., Dundee, who died Octz. 1770, aged sixty years ; and his spouse, Margaret Ramsay, died in Feby. 1781, aged sixty years.

192.—To the memory of his most respected father, John Scrymseure, merchant and Provost of Dundee, who exchanged life for death — August, in the year of the Lord 1657, and of his age 46 ; as also to the memory of his most beloved brother, Mr William Scrymseure, preacher of the Divine Word, who died 14th September, in the year of the Christian era 1666, aged 25 ; and also to the memory of his dearest mother, Catherine Wright, yet alive, and to his whole kindred, John Scrymseure, younger, caused erect this stately but mournful monument.

Here Provost Scrymseure lies, Light of Dundee,
 And to old Rome who might a Provost be,
 This piece of ground now also doth inter
 His first son, William, a Probationer.
 His loving wife and son, surviving yet,
 Desire that here they may interment get. 1688.

Catherine Wright, a most pious and dearly beloved mother, died 30th May, 1675, and of her age 62.

No. 193.—Heir lyis ane godlie and honest woman Besse Brvce, who vas tvyce married, first Georg Dorvart, and nixt with James Bovar, and departit this lyif the 15 of May, 1640, and of hir age 66.

1837.—Revised by Jean M'Naughten and Peter Martin, her husband.

No. 195.—Heir lyis a man of renoyn and faim callit Villem Newton, Litster,¹ Bvrgee and Brother Gild of Dindie, qvha dit in the Lord the 27 of September, 1608, and of age —.

The memorial of the righteovs is in the remembrems of the Lord continvally, and sal not taist of the second deith ; but the memorial of the vikit sal rot, and pass away and decay.

¹ An old and now obsolete term for a Dyen.

Ve lair that Abraham ovr father of old,
To honor the bvrñal ve sovid be bold.

O Lord, qvhov acceptabil is deith to tham qvøm feris & lovis the
Life is death.

No. 197.—Heir lyis Evfame Ramsaye, spouse of Williame Blythe,
skipper, vha depairtit this present lyf the 27 day of Agvst anno 1613.
and of hir age 29 zeirs.

This earthlie tomb so low, and heavene so hie,
Keipis in devydit pairtes my deir from me;
The heavenes her sovl, earth corpa, so mvst ensow,
That this divisione rander'd both ther dew;
Bot vhil that each hes reposest his pairt,
I want the whole, and with the vhol my hairt.

No. 212.—Here lye the Corps of William Henderson, merchant,
and Margaret Hallyburton, his wife, who lived soberly, righteously,
and godly; also gave and left Great Sums of money for the Educa-
tion of poor Children, to poor widows and others, both Men and
Women, in Dundee; and the Records of this Town and Kirk Session
will bear Witness to these Truths. 1766.

This stone was Erected by Miss Euphan Graham, Her Daughter,
by Bailie John Graham, a Former Husband.

No. 214.—1819. Revised by John Dewars, Ship Carpenter, Dun-
dee, in memory of his children, viz., Peter, who died 17th Decr 1800,
aged 2 years; William, who died 31st March, 1808, aged 9 months;
Catherine, who died 7th Feby 1815, aged 9 months; Andrew, who
died 18th Octr, 1818, aged 8 years.

This monument was originally inscribed thus:—Heir lyis ane godlie
honest man namit Valter Govrlay, Maltman, Bvrgis in Dvndie, quha
decessit this lyf 28 of Apryl, 1628, of his age 46 zeiris, with his vyf
and his twentie bairnis.

No. 226.—To the memory of the Reverend James Smith, who was
born in the parish of Leslie, County of Fife, the 12th of February,
1749, and died here the 25th of Sept., 1810, in the 62d year of his
age, and the 32d of his ministry. During the last twenty years of his
life he was pastor of the Chapel of Ease, Chapelshade, by the members
of which this memorial was erected, as a mark of respect for his pro-
fessional exertions, and private virtues.

No. 226.—Heir lies an honourable man, Thomas Muir, Burgess of Dundee, who died 4th December in the year 1577, and of his age 54.
In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me not be confounded.
Revised, in 1834, by Peter Dron for his Parents and Relations.
P.D., C.M.

No. 241.—Heir lyis ane godlie verteous voman calit Margaret Greine, spous to Androv Steinsone, merchant in dondie, qvha departit the 28 day of Maii anno domine 1609, and of her aig 63.
Blissid ar they that diethe in the Lord, for they sal rest from thair laboris, and over them the second deathe sal have no pover.
Commit thy vark to God.

No. 258.—Sacred to the memory of the late Mr Isaac Low, teacher, Chapelshade, who died 7th March, 1816, aged 32 years; and David (son of Thomas Low), who died 24th Feb., 1804, aged 3 months.

"Studious let me sit,
And hold High Converse with
The MIGHTY DEAD."

No. 259, 2d.—This stone is for the memorie of Patrick Hunter & Patrick Henderson, Glasiris, and Richard Davidson, Merchand, Burgessis of Dundie, and Kathrin Man, ther spouses successiuly. She departed 17 day of Septem. 1677, of her age —.

No. 260.—Sacred to the memory of John Pitcairn, merchant and sometime Provost of Dundee, who died 23d November, 1800.

During the whole course of a long life, nearly extended to the utmost limit of human expectation, he exhibited a bright example of the most unaffected piety and virtue. He was an affectionate husband, a tender and indulgent father, a sincere and stedfast friend; beloved as a citizen, and respected as a Magistrate, he died, and carried into his grave the affections of his family, the regret of his friends, and the love and esteem of all.

In July 1748 he married Jean Robertson, daughter of Alexander Robertson, sometime Provost of Dundee, by whom he had issue six sons and three daughters, whereof three sons and three daughters survived him.

No. 263.—Heir lyis ane godlie and honest man, James Wat, Fleasher, Bvrges in Dvndie, who lived in the holy band of matrimonie with

Agnes Theane 38 zeirs, and bvir to him 8 childreng. He departit this lyf the 26 of Sep. 1541, his age 62.

Com, qvirists al, and sing with me,
Hale. lv. ja, Hale. lv. ja.

Into thine hands, Lord, we commit
our soulls, which is thy due ;
For why ! thou hast redeemed them,
O Lord our God most true.

No. 264.—Heir lies a prudent man, John Baxter, Baker, Burgess of Dundee, who died 10th October, 1609, and Helen Seaton, his wife.
Ve live to die and deiis to live for ever.

No. 276.—Here lies a decent man, William Clayhills, Burgess of Dundee, who died the 31st day of the month of October, in the year the Lord 1580, and of his age —.

Death is the utmost boundary of all things.

No. 288.—Heir lies ane godlie and honest father callit Robert B——, Merchant, Burges of Dundie, with his wyf, ane godlie matrone, callit Janet Hvnter, qvha liveit togider in the honorable band of marriage 35 zeirs, and therfter they bothe departit this lyf in the moneth of Aprile, in the zeir of God 1611, he being of age 58 zeiris, and she being of age 63 zeirs.

No. 288.—This stone was erected by James Kinety & Margaret Wobster, in memory of their daughters—Jane Kinety, who died the 28 of March, 1750, aged 16 ; and also Katherin Kinety, who died the 9 of November, 1757, aged 5 years.

Child, wife, and mother dutiful,
In all a pattern wonderful ;
There grace in life makes nou their glory sure,
Ther corpe may rott, their good name shall endure.

No. 291.—1808, This stone was Erected by David Low, Brewer in Dundee, on his own property (!!!), in memory of his son David, who died 11th February 1808, aged 14 months.

No. 303.—Here, along with his most beloved wife, Euphemia Lochmalony, lies Robert Stirling, Shipmaster and Merchant, renowned for

his piety toward God, for integrity of life, and for love toward his fellow citizens. She died in the year of her age 36, and of the Lord 1648; he in the year of his age 75, and of the Lord 1668.

Whilst I, unstable, was carried through the Friths of the World, Hope was my Anchor, the Gospel was my Compass, Sacred Faith was my Helm, the Holy Spirit was the Wind distending my Sails, and thou, Christ, was my only Pole Star; now Heaven is my safe Road-
Stad, my Port is above the Skies, and I despise and laugh at the uncertain Chances of the World.

No. 314.—The bones of Patrick, son of David Maxwell, Merchant in the city of Dundee, and Provost of the same, lie in this burying ground, under this marble, toward the west. He died on the first of the ides of March, 1737.

Under this also, towards the south, rest the remains of Elizabeth Watson, wife of Patrick, and daughter of William Watson, formerly Merchant and Bailie in this place. She died on the ides of April, 1733. She left, born of her, three surviving sons, David, William, and Patrick, and two daughters, Isabella and Margaret. From her also he begat another Patrick, who died on the 12th of the kalends of January, 1730. and Alexander, who died 8th May, 1735, and Euphemia, who yielded to fate 20th May, 1736.

No. 315.—This stone was erected in memory of Alexander Robertson, Merchant and sometime Provost in Dundee, who died on the xxv of October MDCCLXXV, in the LXXXII year of his age; and of Ann Scrym-
soure his spouse, who died on the xvi of December, MDCCLXXV, in the LXXIV year of her age.

Also, John Morrison, who died 22d April 1777, aged 45 years; Isobel Robertson, his spouse, daughter of the said Alexr Robertson & Ann Scrymsoure, died 18th Jany 1812, aged 72 years; Ann Robertson, daughter of said Alexr Robertson and Ann Scrymsoure, died 17th Feby, 1819, aged 80 years.

No. 365.—Here lies an honest man, Robert Peebles, who died 8th November, 1582, and of his age 71.

Patrick Wighton, Wright in Dundee.

No. 368.—1788. Erected by James Cabel, and John Mill, both Ship-
masters in Dundee, in memory of William Myells, their father-in-law, who died 12 February, 1764.

also in
memory
of

M a r g a r e t	Janet Mills,
Cabel, James	John Mills,
Cabels daug-	D a u g h t e r,
hter, who died	who died 31st
the 20 August	of may 1777,
1787, aged 1	aged fourteen
year & nine	month and
days.	a half.

To Screen them from all Earthly Charms,
Death took them from their Mother's arms ;
Happy the Change, they are free from Care,
And Dwell where holy Angels are.

Here also are deposited the remains of the above John Mill, who departed this life 3d March, 1803, aged 57 years.

No. 374.—Heir lyis ane godlie and honest voman, Agnes Dorvart, spous to George Cheplane, Maltman, Bvrges of Dundie, quha depairtit ye 24 of October in ye zeir of God 1603, and of hir aig 46.
Viliame Cheplane vos ye dvair of yis.
Death and life.

No. 432.—Here lyeth the bodie of Bessie Wright, spous to Patrik Rob, Cordiner, who died Jan. 25, 1670, and of age 44.

In tombe although consumed my bodie lyes,
yet my redeemer, Christ, with their same eyes
I shall behold ; Who of my life the prope,
was still my trust, and portion of my lot.
He rest in hope, till Christ in cloud's appear,
Who, with his saints, this bodie will upreare ;
my soule united, from spots of sinne shall free,
me with himself in heaven will glorifie.

No. 435.—Here lies Gilbert Guthrie, a pious man, and an upright honest, gentle, excellent citizen, and an illustrious benefactor to the poor, who died in the 67th year of his age, on the 10th August, A.D 1674.

Let another adorn his tomb with illustrious honours,
This one rejoices in the palm of vital religion ;
For being rich, and spreading the abundance of his good deeds,
His memory is dear on earth, and he reigns in heaven

Christian Wright.

Anag.

RIGHT IN CHRIST.

Faith without works is Dead, the Scriptur saith,—
 Show me thy works, And thou wilt show thy faith;
 Both Faith And works in this blest saint did tryst,
 And sheu unto the world her RIGHT IN CHRIST.

This godlie and vertuous woman, after she had lived in the holie band of marriag with her beloved husband, Gilbert Gvthrie, 31 years, deceased the first of April, 1661, of her age 52.

No. 436.—Under this tomb are laid the bones and ashes of Thomas Steel, illustrious for his piety towards God, and faith towards his King and Country; who lived happily in this city 31 years under the matrimonial bond with Christian Gray, his most beloved wife, who caused this monument to be erected to him. He died 14th of February, in the year of the Lord 1686, and of his age 63.

Passenger, thou thinkest me dead, but thou art in error, which I prove thus:—I have left a famous name on the earth after death, and my spirit lives and rejoices in the highest heavens.

I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to be dissolved, and be with Christ.—Philippians i. 23.

Bring my soul out of prison that I may praise thy name.—Psalm.

No. 437.—Here sleeps a pious man endowed with virtue, William Ramsay, Merchant and citizen of Dundee, who died 2d February, in the year 1640, and of his age 70.

James Ramsay, Mariner, son-in-law of the deceased, with Grisell Ramsay, his chaste wife, daughter of the defunct, caused this monument to be erected at their proper expense.

In on bed ve both did keip,
 In on grave ve both doe aleip;
 I hop the grave sal vs restor,
 Both agane to his heavenly glor.

No. 440.—Heir layes the bodie of Agnes Cwlbart, spws to Olephar Pebels, Wright, who departed this lif the 27 day of Aprill, and of hir age 44 yeires, 1682.

No. 454.—Heir lyis ane honest man Jhone Storrok, Merchant, Bvrges of Dvndie, aged 58, who depairtit the first day of Janvare,

anno 1618; which stone Isabel Crockit, relict of the said vmqvhyale Jhone, hes caved mak in his remembraence.

We leived to die, we die to leive.

To honor ye sepvllor ve may be bald,
Ve lern of Abraham ovr father avld.

No. 461.—To Robert Davidson, younger, Merchant and Heritor of Balgay, a man very conspicuous for the integrity of his life, and for his prudence and industry among his fellow-citizens of Dundee, who often held the office of Bailie with the greatest love and respect. He died the 9th of the Calends of August, in the year 1665, and of his age 65; over whom his loving wife, Grisell Brown, caused this monument to be erected in the year 1672.

Here, you behold great Davidson in dust,
In charges all was faithful to his trust;
A famous Bailie, greatest was his praise,
He sober, wise, and harmless in his ways,
Sharp, wit, and chearful countenance, yea, h
A noble pattern of all honesty,
To whom his dearest wife caused cut this stone,
For his memorial lasting and her own.

No. 470.—Her layes Jhon Lovgot, Elder, and of his ag 67 years and his vif, A. N., hir ag 63 years. Hir layes Vileam Lovgat, Sce-eater, and of hir ag 42 years, and his vif, A. T., and W. L., Younger of ag 3 years, and J. L., of ag 2 years.

Revised, James Law, slater, in 1832, by No. 470, Dundee, William Law, slater.

No. 477.—J. J., A. G. Here lyes James Jack, Husband to Ann Grigory, Maltman in Dundee, who departed this life upon the 11th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1734, and of his age 50 years; as also James, Alexander, and James, & Ann Jacks, children to the said James Jack and Ann Grigory.

No. 493.—To the memory of Susan Ferrier, spouse to David Guild, Merchant, Dundee who died on the 7th January 1824, in the 23 year of her age.

The above mentioned David Guild died at Philadelphia, on the 5th March 1830, aged 35 years.

There is a land of pure delight,
Where saints immortal reign;
Eternal day excludes the night,
And pleasures banish pain.

Sacred to the memory of David Guild, Inspector of Linnens, Dundee, who died March 3rd 1834, aged 66 years.

No. 520.—Wnder this stane, maid for the familie of James Mercer and his posterity, & first her placed his deare and loving spovse, Elspit Chalmeris, ane vomane verteous, ye first of Mairche, qvha ———

No. 524.—Heir lyes ane godlie and honest man; David Zemane, son of Patrick Zemane, Elder, Burges of Dvnde, qvha departit this lyfe the 2 day of November, 1610, of his age 38.
Life in death.

No. 587.—Here lies an honest man, James Fleischer, citizen of Dundee, who died 31st December, 1584, and of his age 58.
Death is the last of all things.
The death of Christ is the life of the faithful.

No. 590.—Sacred to the memory of Bailie John Jobson, Merchant in Dundee, who was born 1698, and died April 1788. His industry and integrity, his piety and beneficence, were equally remarkable. He will long be remembered by his family as an affectionate parent, by his friends and fellow-citizens as a worthy man. His manners were plain, artless, and candid; and held up in the midst of prevailing folly and dissipation, an example of primitive virtue. He enjoyed through the course of his long life uninterrupted health, the fruit of regularity and temperance; the faculties of his mind also continued in full vigour to the last, and he died instantaneously and without pain. He married

1. Mrs Margaret Smith, in 1723, who died in 1737.

2. Mrs Agnes Preston, in 1740, who died in 1741.

3. Mrs Elizabeth Brown, in 1743, who died in 1766.

And left issue, one daughter of the first marriage, and three sons and one daughter of the third.

Margaret, the survivor of the first marriage, died in 1800, aged 70.

Also, John Jobson of Rosemount, Merchant in Dundee, eldest son of the said Bailie Jobson, who died in February, 1824, aged 71 years; and Robert Jobson, his second son, late Merchant in Riga, who was the first popularly elected Dean of Guild of Dundee, in 1818, and the first popularly elected Provost, in 1831, died January. 1836, aged 79 years.

No. 599.—Heir leys ane honest man namit George Pontion, Skipper and Bvrges in the Quinsferie, vho depairtit this lyf the first of September, 1651, and of his age ———

Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.

Into thine hands I do commit
My spirit, for thou art hee,
Oh ! thou Jehovah, God of Truth,
That hast redeemed me.

No. 621-2.—1837. Erected by Charles Fleming, Agent, Dundee, and Mary Beatts, his spouse, in memory of their two sons, who died in infancy.

They glanced into our world to see
A sample of our misery ;
Then turned away their languid eye,
To drop a tear or two, and die, *Sweet Babes !*

They tasted of life's bitter cup,—
Refused to drink the potion up ;
But turned their little heads aside,
Disgusted with the taste, and died, *Sweet Babes !*

No. 624.—1818. Erected by David Watson, Wright, Hawkhill, Dundee, in memory of his spouse, Isabell Lowrance, who died 22nd Octr, 1818, aged 63 years ; also the above David Watson, who died 12th Feby, 181—, aged 102 years.

No. 663.—“ In life and beauty's fairest bloom,
Death came and sank her in the tomb.”

As a tribute of esteem for his deceased spouse, Margaret Mudie, daughter of the late Mr James Mudie, shipmaster, who died on the 20th September, 1813, in the bloom of youth, being only seventeen years of age, this humble memorial is raised by Alexander M'Donald, printer.

“ How are the roses on that cheek decayed,
Which late the purple light of life displayed !
Health in her form each sprightly grace bestowed,
With life and thought each speaking feature glowed.
Fair was the blossom, soft the vernal sky,
Elate with hope, we deemed no tempest nigh ;
When, lo ! sore trouble's overpowering gust,
Left all its beauties mouldering in the dust.”

Margaret Mavor, mother of Margaret Mudie, died on the 19th May, 1815, and is here interred.

No. 634.—The monument of a good man and of known worth, Mr Patrick Gourlay, Town Clerk of Dundee, most faithful in his transactions, who, loosened from the corporeal chain of humanity, died on the 17th of the calends of January, A.D. 1667, of his age 47 ; and Margaret Anderson, his wife.

This Clerk was calm, and kind to Persons all,
His Goodness and his Candour were not small ;
His Life proved this unto the very end,
When trembling points his will could not extend ;
Painful and wise, meek, faithful, and his Days,
Closed in Honour, and immortal Praise,
Son, in his father's Steps, and living Spouse,
Built up this Tomb for the dear Defunct's use.

No. 638.—The monument of Thomas Nicoll, Tailor (or Clothier), a man of known integrity, who married first, Catherine Keil, then Elizabeth Ogilvie. The latter caused this stone to be erected to him. He died 20th May, 1668, and of his age 48.

Under this heap of stones Nicoll's body is laid. He was open, meek, and gentle, and dear to all for the sincere piety of his life, and now he reaps the full fruit of heavenly joys.

Thy spouse, Catherine Keil, lies near thee ; she being dead, another was chosen by thee, to wit, Elizabeth Ogilvie, a loving wife, who has raised this tomb, and honoured thy memory with these lines.

No. 661.—Heir rests ane godlie and honest man callit Iohne Dynnis, Halmerman and Sovrdliper, Bvrges of Dyndie, qvha deceist in the month of October, the zeir of God 1603, qvha levet vith his wife in marriag, callit Elspit Villamsone, the spaiece of xvii zeiris.

To honour the sepvltr ve may be bald
Ve lerne of Abrahame our father ald.

No. 665.—Heir Lies Jean Davidson, spouse to William Small, who died march 9th, 1782, aged 65 yairs.

who in her Life condemned Pride ;
and where strife was, could ne'er abide.

This Stone Blongeth to John Davidson, weaver in Haukhill, in memory of Jean Davidson, with Ground round.

No. 673.—Here lies George Ramsay, Scleater in Dundie, who departed the 17th day of March, 1718, and of his age 68 years.

when you are in your pomp & splendour,
mind, to the grave you must surrender.

Here lyes Helen Lindsay, spouse to George Ramsay, who died y
13th of —.

No. 708.—Under this stone are buried the bones and ashes of a most noble man, Mr Henry Crawford of Seatown, a most skilful merchant, and deservedly honoured with the dignity of a Bailie of the city of Dundee; who having lived happily thirty-two years, to the great grief of all good people he died 19th July, in the year of the Christian era 1684, and of his age 56.

The best of Magistrates here buried lies,
To whom this age an equal scarce supplies.
Considered all things—wonderful was he,
The Graces nurst him in their bosoms free;
On him alone all gifts conferred were—
At length his merits found reward most rare;
Because he loved, hath stayed, spoke, enjoyed,
Virtue, peace, tumults, truth, celestial joys

No. 711.—To the memory of Thomas Webster, Esquire of Heathfield, who died 17th Decr, 1830, aged 62, and of Thomas Webster, his son, who died 14th April, 1821, aged 24.

No. 719.—This stone is erected by Andrew Ross, M.D., in memory of his mother, Catherine Ross, who died the 17th of January, 1781, aged 67 years. Also, to the memory of his sister Christian Ross, relict of William Maiden, Shipmaster. She died the 28th day of October, 1800, aged 50 years.

Here the fond Parent rests and virtuous wife,
They died lamented as rever'd through life.

These died in faith, and confessed they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.—Heb. Ch. xi. v. xiii.

Likewise in memory of his Grand Niece, Margaret Robinson, who, after much suffering, which she bore with fortitude and resignation, died the 10th Novemr, 1821, aged 21 years.

Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord.

No. 723.—Sacred to the memory of Ann Read, daughter of John Read, Esq., of Cairney, Wife of Charles Wedderburne, Esqr. of Pearsia. Married September 11th, 1787, who died November 20th, 1789.

Take, holy earth, all that my soul holds dear
Take that best gift which Heaven so lately gave.
She died. Does Youth, does Beauty read the line,

Does sympathetic fear their breast alarm ?
 Speak, dearest Anna, breathe a strain divine,
 Even from the grave thou shalt have power to charm.

Bid them be chaste, be innocent like thee,
 Bid them in duty's sphere as meekly move ;
 And if so fair, from vanity as free,
 As firm in friendship, and as fond in love ;
 Tell them, tho' 'tis an awful thing to die,
 ('Twas even to thee) yet the dread path once trod,
 Heaven lifts its everlasting portals high,
 And bids the pure in heart behold their God.

No. 725.—Under this tomb is interred Alexander Wedderburne, Lord (or Baron) of Easter Pourie,¹ formerly Provost of this City, and its Delegate (or Representative) to the first Parliament of our Sovereign Lord King Charles II. He died 9th April, A.D. 1683, aged 68.

Here also rests the bones of Elizabeth Ramsay, the wife of his first love, only daughter of John Ramsay, brother of the Lord of Murie, formerly Bailie of this City. She died 2d April, 1643, aged 22

No. 755.—Sacred to the memory of Ann Grant, by her beloved spouse, Lieut. Andw Waid of the Royal Navy. She deparitit this Life 21st Novr, 1799, with the most becoming fortitude and resignation, in hopes of a blessed Resurrection, her age 23 years.

her time was Short,
 the longer is her Rest ;
 God called her hence,
 because he saw it best.

No. 757.—1837. Erected by Helen Reid in memory of her husband, Andrew How, late Shipmaster, Dundee, who departed this life 26th Decr, 1836, in the 56th year of his age.

Life's little stage is a small eminence,
 Inch high the grave above, that house of man,
 Where dwells the multitude ; we gaze around.
 We read their monuments, we sigh, and while
 We sigh we sink, and are what we deplore,—
 Lamenting or lamented all our lot.

¹ Chief of his family.

No. 771.—W. —, H. B.

Stop Passenger, for here doth lye,
Three pleasant jewels of sweet infancie ;
Three harmless baba, that only came & cryed
In Baptism to be washed from sin, & dyed.

No. 776.—This Stone is erected by Robert Lindsay, merchant in Dundee, in memory of his Primogeniture, James Lindsay, who Commenced this Life July 25th, 1760, and departed Feby 21st, 1761, being 6 months and 27 days old.

No. 811.—Sacred to the memory of Lady Margaret Ogilvie, wife of Sir John Wedderburne of Ballindean, Knight Baronet, who died 23d March, 1775, and of her age 27.

No. 814.—Sacred to Virtue and to the memory of Mr Patrick Crichton, Bachelor, Writer in Dundee, who died the xviiith day of July MDCCLXXXVIII, aged LXXV years.

To pass thro' life with honest praise and fame,
To earn a fortune, yet maintain a name,
To guide all actions by the rule of right,
To love our God with all our strength and might,
To give, bequeath, and yet no faults be found,
To die in peace with conscience clear and sound,
To pay to man what to each man is due,—
Such is the blessed lot of very few ;
But this, by grace, attained he that's gone,
Whose dust doth rest in hope beneath this stone.

Reader, reverse where Virtue points the road,—
The way of Virtue is the path of God

Sacred to the memory John Crichton of Bonnybank, who died 8th June, 1824, aged 86 years.

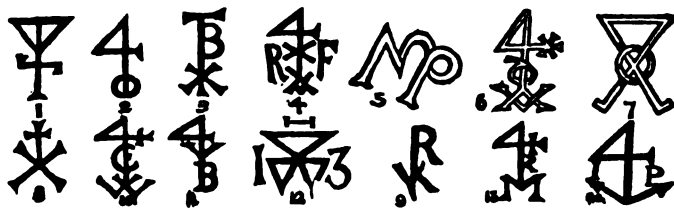
Also, Helen Crichton, who died the 12th day of April, 1838, daughter of the above John Crichton.

No. 923-2.—Erected by the Harbour Porters to the memory of Peter Smith, their late Brother, who died 27th Decr, 1834, aged 57 years.

This monument is raised by the Harbour Porters of Dundee, as a tribute of their regard and esteem for him.

How lov'd, how valu'd once, avails *the* Not,
To whom related, or by whom begot,
A heap of dust alone remains of *the*,
Its all thou art, and all the proud shall be.

MARKS AND MONOGRAMS.—See page 264.



APPENDIX.

NOTE A—page 28.

THE CHARTER of Sir William Wallace to the Scrymseoures is in Latin, beginning—" *Willelmus Wallensis, miles, custos regni Scocie,*" &c. The following is a translation :—" William Wallace, knight, Keeper of the Kingdom of Scotland, and Leader of the Armies of the same, in the name of the renowned Prince, Lord John, by the Grace of God, illustrious King of Scotland, and by consent of the commonalty of the realm, To all honest men, Clergy and Laity, Health. Let your Universities know that we, in the name of our foresaid Lord, King of Scotland, by consent and assent of the nobility of the said Kingdom, have given and granted, and have by this Charter confirmed these grants to Alexander, called the Skirmisher, six merks of land in the Barony of Dundee, namely, that land which is called the Upper Field near the town of Dundee, with those acres in the West Field, near the town of Dundee, on the west side, which were wont to belong to the King ; also the Royal Meadow in the foresaid Barony of Dundee ; and also the Constabulary of the Castle of Dundee, with its pertinents, liberties, and easements, without let or hindrance, doing homage therefore to the foresaid Lord the King, and for faithful service and support in his foresaid Kingdom, and for bearing the Royal Banner in the Army of Scotland to the present time. In witness, &c. At Torphichen, the 23d of March, in the year 1298."—*Anderson's Diplomata ; Wallace Papers, p. 159.*

NOTE B—page 32.

DECLARATION in favour of King Robert I., issued by the clergy, assembled at Dundee, 24th February, 1309 :—" To all good Christians to whose knowledge these presents shall come,—The bishops, abbots, priors, and the rest of the clergy within the kingdom of Scotland, greeting : Be it known to you, that when there was a controversy between Lord John Baliol, late King of Scotland, *de facto*,

advanced by the King of England, and the deceased Lord Robert Bruce, of worthy memory, and grandfather of the present King Robert, which of them was nearest in blood to inherit and reign over the people of Scotland, the loyal people, without hesitation, did always maintain, as they did understand from their forefathers and predecessors, and were firmly persuaded that the said Lord Robert, the grandfather, was, after the decease of King Alexander, and of his niece, the daughter of the King of Norway, the true heir, and should have been preferred to the crown before all others. But the enemy of mankind sowing tares, and by sundry devices and contrivances of the competitors, which are too long to rehearse, the affair took another turn ; and by the injury done to him, and the want of the royal dignity, from that time heavy calamities befel the kingdom of Scotland and its inhabitants, as repeated experience (the best schoolmaster) hath already manifestly demonstrated.

“ Wherefore, the people and commonality of the kingdom of Scotland, harassed with many stinging hardships, perceiving that the said Lord John was, for sundry causes, made captive by the King of England, imprisoned, and deprived of the kingdom and people ; and that the kingdom of Scotland was betrayed by him, and brought into bondage ; was destroyed by huge devastation, watered by the bitterness of frequent griefs, become desolate for want of good government, exposed to all dangers, and left as a prey ; and that the people were spoiled of their goods, and were, by war, tormented, captivated, put in bonds and imprisoned, and were oppressed, subjected, and enslaved by horrid butcheries of the innocent, and by continual burnings, and upon the very brink of perpetual ruin, unless, by Divine Providence, some speedy expedient had been found for repairing of a kingdom so defaced and desolate, and restoring its government.

“ By the wisdom of the great King, by whom kings reign and princes decree judgment, when the people were not able longer to endure so many and so great heavy afflictions, more bitter than death itself, so frequently befalling them in their persons and in their goods, through want of a faithful captain and leader, the people, by the favour of heaven, agreed upon the said Lord Robert, now king, in whom the right of his father and grandfather to the aforesaid kingdom, by the judgment of the people, doth yet remain and continue entire ; and, by the knowledge and consent of the said people and commonality, he is assumed to be king, that he may reform what is disorderly in the kingdom, and that he may correct what is amiss, and that he may direct what is wanting ; and being by their authority advanced to the crown, he is solemnly made king of Scotland, with whom all people will live and die, as with one who, by the favour of God, being enabled to resist all wrong, did, by his sword, repair a kingdom so much defaced and ruined ; as many former princes and kings of Scotland, in ancient times, had by their swords restored the kingdom, when lost, gained back and maintained it ; as is more fully to be seen in the ancient records of the great actions of the Scots, and

the bloody wars of the Picts against the Britons, and of the Scots against the Picts, driven out of their kingdom, with many others of old, put to flight, vanquished, and expelled by war, do fully testify.

"If, on the other hand, any shall claim right to the said kingdom, by any deeds sealed in former times, containing the consent of the people and commonality, be it known, that all these were only deeds extorted by force and violence, against which there could then be no resistance, and by many threats of torture and divers other terrors, which even might distract the spirits of the best of men, and befall persons of the most composed minds.

"Wherefore, we, the aforesaid bishops, abbots, priors, and the rest of the clergy, knowing these things to be confirmed truths, and heartily approving them, have made our fealties to the said Lord Robert, our illustrious king; and we hereby acknowledge and profess that the like is due hereafter, by our successors, to him and his heirs; and in sign, testimony, and approbation of all and sundry the premises—we being neither compelled, seduced, nor misled—but freely of our own accord, have hereto set our seals.

"Given in a General National Council of Scotland, holden in the Church of the Minorites of Dundee, the 24th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1309, and of our King's reign the fourth year."

NOTE C.—page 34.

CHARTER of King Robert I., 14th March, 1327 :—"Robert, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to all good men of his whole territory, greeting; know ye that we have granted, and by this our charter have confirmed to the burgesses of our burgh of Dundee, their heirs, assignees, and successors for ever, all liberties and rights, which, in the time of our sovereign lord, William, King of Scots, they held and possessed before the said King William had conferred the said burgh on his brother David: Moreover, we have granted and confirmed to the same all the liberties and customs, free harbour, market, and fairs, which they enjoyed in the time of our lately deceased sovereign lord, Alexander, King of Scots, of happy memory; as by our special mandate, in presence of our chancellor and chamberlain, was lately certified by trusty and faithful men of the kingdom and neighbouring burghs at Dundee. We likewise grant and bestow, and by these presents ratify, for ourselves and heirs for ever, that our burgesses in the said burgh shall enjoy, exercise, possess, and hold their privileges as freely and fully, peaceably and honourably, as our burgesses of Berwick have, hold, and exercise theirs—the privileges of other burghs being held inviolate: and that they may be free and exempt over our kingdom from tolls, pontages, ferries, pier-dues, pannage, kane, and petty customs on articles of sale, in buying or selling, and from all customs on their goods, our new custom only excepted. We will also and

grant that all frequenting said burgh, may trade in the market with our said burgesses, to the helping of our revenues towards the public burdens, whoever they be, reserving to them whatever royal privileges may have been granted to them. We grant also and confirm to the same their merchants' guild, as freely as ever our burgesses of Berwick have and enjoy theirs; and that those frequenting the markets of the said burgh and the fairs thereof, may hereafter enjoy our peace and protection in coming, remaining, and departing, we strictly prohibit any one from molesting or interfering with them under pain of our high displeasure. We likewise prohibit any one within the sheriffdom of Forfar from buying up wool or skins except burgesses of Dundee; and that no foreign merchant coming within the said sheriffdom and burgh shall trade with any but the burgesses of said burgh under our high displeasure, but reserving the rights of the other burghs within said sheriffdom: and if any merchant is found buying wool or skins otherwise, within said sheriffdom or burgh, his person may be seized and detained by our burgesses of Dundee until our pleasure is known concerning him, and his goods taken to said burgh, and held as forfeited to the said burgesses. Moreover, we forbid foreign merchants disposing of goods brought by land or sea until they shall have first landed and exposed them in the said burgh for sale, under pain of imprisonment and forfeiture of the goods to the burgesses; and no foreign merchant shall buy or sell any merchandise which ought to be measured or weighed but by the steelyard or measure at the Tron, under forfeiture of the commodities—to be applied to the uses of the said burgesses. We will also and grant that no foreign merchant be permitted to sell any goods within said burgh otherwise than wholesale, and that within prescribed seasons, as was the custom in the time of our late predecessor, Alexander, King of Scots; and declaring that no one within our kingdom, within burgh or without, being burgesses of the said burgh of Dundee, shall be sued or put in restraint for any debt, pledge, or forfeit, unless he were the chief debtor or pledger. We have granted, and by this our charter confirmed the privileges aforesaid to the said burgesses, their heirs, assigns, and successors, for ourselves and our heirs, with our sure peace and protection henceforth, prohibiting any one from unjustly infringing, opposing, or evading the enjoyment of them by the said burgesses, under the full penalty of ten pounds. In witness whereof we have caused our seal to be affixed to this charter, in presence of William, John, John, and Roger, by the grace of God, bishops of St Andrews, Glasgow, Moray, and Ross; Bernard, Abbot of Aberbrothock, our chancellor; Hugh, Earl of Ross, James, Lord Douglass, Sir Robert Lauder, and Sir William Montfichet, at Edinburgh the 4th day of March, in the twenty-second year of our reign."¹

¹ From the Latin copy, in Mackie's *Historical Description*, Appendix, pp. 207-8.

NOTE D.—page 47.

EXTRACTS from the Lord Treasurer's accounts, having reference to the burgesses of Dundee who suffered for the reformed opinions, 1538-9. The paragraphs in brackets are translated from the Latin originals.—Ed.

"Item (Sept. 1536) to James Bissat, mr. (messenger), to pass with lettres to the provost and bailies of Dundee and Sanct Johnnestoun to serche and seik John Blacat and George Lowett (Lovell?), suspect of hanging of the image of Sanct Francis, and to his wage.....xxs.

["Item (1537-8), the full composition of the escheat of the goods of Gilbert Wedderburn and John Paterson, burgesses of Dundee, belonging to the Crown, and sold because they were convicted by the courts of the Church of heretical offences,.....£14 6s. 8d.

"Item (1538-9), in full, of the composition for escheat of the goods of Thomas Kyd, Robert Paterson, Alexander Wannand, and John Paterson, residing in the town of Dundee, abjured of certain heresies, of which they were forgiven by royal mandate,.....£10.

"Item, in full, of the composition for certain tenements lying within the burgh of Dundee, belonging to the Crown by decease of David Straiton, of Whitston, sentenced to death for certain heresies, and granted to David Garn and Mariot Erskine,.....£28.

"Item, one moiety of the composition on escheat of the goods of James Rollock, burgess of Dundee, condemned for certain heresies—in favour of his brother, David Rollock,.....£20.

"Item, in full, of the composition on escheat of goods of Mr John Wedderburn, convicted of heresy—in favour of his brother, Henry Wedderburn,.....40s.]

"Item, deliuerit to Johnne Patersone, purseuant,—to pass to Dundee, and serche James Rollock is gudis, and Maister Johnne Wedderburn (is),.....20s."

The following extracts, from the Register of Privy Seal, show that the properties confiscated by the ecclesiastical courts, were restored after payment of the fines :—

"Ane letter maid to James Annand, George Annand, Robert Anderson, Johnne Flescheour, and Alexander Flescheour, burgess of Dundee, mak and mentioun that yai are convict be ane sentence of the spirituale juge of heresy, of the quhilk yai wer dilatit and abjurit, quhairthrow all yare gudis, movabill, and unmovabill, pertenis and suld pertene, to our soverane lord, be resoun of eschete. And for yair gude, trew, and thankfull service, done be yame to his hienes, and composition pait be yame to his thesaurer, his grace hes remittet and forgevin to them the eschete of all yair gudis, movabill and unmovabill, and hes quitclomit and dischargit yaim yair of, and all yat may

follow yairupon, forever. And als his grace, of his speciale grace, autorite, riall and kinglie power, hes rehabilit the saidis personis to stand in prief and witness, and to use and exerce all lefull dedis in jugement, and outwith siclik, and als frelie in all things, as yai myt have done before the tyme yat yai wer convict of the said heresy, and incurrit yairthrow notam infamie. And hes restorit, reponit, and reintegrate yame to yare gude fame, heritage, landis, gudis, and warldie honoris, in all, and be all thingis, as yai wer befor the tyme yai wer convict of the said heresy without ony reproche, murmur, detraction, or blasphematioun to be maid, said or done to yame yairthrow, in word or deid, in onywys in tyme cuming, &c. At Edinburgh the xvij. day of July, the zer of God Im. Vc. xxxviij. zaris,.....lc. lb. —Per Signaturam.

“Ane letter maid to David Wod, in the Craig, his airis and assignais, of the gift of all gudis, movabill and unmovable, quhilkis pertenis to James Hay, burges of Dundee, &c.—(27th July, 1538.)

“Ane letter maid to Gilbert Wedderburn, and Johne Patersoun, burgesses of Dundee, in forme above written, &c. (Linlithgow, 8th Sep., 1538,.....£13 6s. 8d.)

“Ane letter maid to Richart Rollock, burges of Dundee; James, be the grace of God, King of Scottis, to all and sindry our officiaris, liegis, and su bditis, quham it efferis, quhais knowlege yir our letters sal cum, greting. Fforsamekle as Richart Rollok, burges of our burgh of Dundee, was dilatit of certane poyntis of heresy, and wes abiurit and convict yaroff, all his landis and gudis, — &c. (as above), subscrivit with our hand, and under our prive sele, at Abirbrothok, the xiiij. day of October, the zere of God Im. Vc. xxxviij.....Subscript. per Regem.

“Ane letter maid to Thomas Kyd, Robert Patersoun, Alexander Vannand, and Johne Duncane, burges of Dundee, in forme of the letter befor written, &c. (Linlithgow, 30th Sep., 1538).

[“Charter precept in favour of David Gardin, burges of Dundee, and Marion Erskin, his spouse, of all and whole that tenement, with its pertinents lying within the foresaid burgh, on the north side of what is called the ‘Murray gait,’ which subjects lie between those belonging to John Barrie on the east part, and those of Robert Ramsay on the west part, of which land and tenements David Straton was formerly the proprietor, before it reverted to the king by forfeiture, for certain points of heresy of which he was accused, and justified to the death, &c. (Linlithgow, 10th March, 1538).]

“Ane letter maid to David Rollok, burges of Dundee, his airis, and assignais, ane or ma, of the gift of the eschete of all gudis, movabill and unmovabill, heretages, dettis, takkis, stedingis, cornis, cattale, money, gold, silver, jewellis, and utheris quhatsumever quhilkis pertenis to James Rollok, burges of the said burgh, except the said James, part of ane wynd-myln, liand within Dundee, and now pertening to our soverane lord, be resoun of eschete throw being of the said James’

fugitive frae the law for certane poyntis of heresy imput to him, &c. (Linlithgow, 22d March, 1538).

“Ane letter maid to Walter Scrymgeour of Glasswell, his airis and assignais, ane or ma, of the gift of all and haile the takkis and assedationis quhilkis James Rollok, burgess of Dundee, had of the common myln and wynd-myln of the said burgh of Dundee, now fallin and cumin into our soverane lordis handis, be resoun of eschete for certane crymes of heresis committit be the said James, and he adjugit and condemnit yairintill, as the process led yairupon at mair length propertis, with power, &c. (Linlithgow, 28th March, 1539).”

NOTE E.—page 81.

EXTENT ROLL, for allocation of 5000 merks, the burghs' proportion of 20,000 pounds, to James V., for his expenses in France, 1535.—(Edinr. Records, fol. 149.)

Edinburgh,	£833 6 8	Air,	£78 15 0
Dundie,	321 17 5	Glasgow,	67 0 0
Aberdene,	315 0 0	Brechein,	56 5 0
Perth,	247 10 0	Forfar,	16 17 6
Montros,	90 0 0	Aberbroth,	45 0 0

ALLOCATION of 2454 crowns for an embassy toward the Emperor for Peace, 25th August, 1550.—(Ibid., fol. 148.)

Edinburgh	600	Glasgow,	64
Dundie,	304	Air,	56
Aberdene,	226	Brechin,	40
Perth,	180	Aberbrothok,	32
Sanctandrois,	72	Forfar,	12
Montros,	64		

PRECEPT by Queen Mary to tax the burghs, £666 13s. 4d.; 5th June, 1556.—(Ibid., fol. 151.)

Edinburgh,	£168 13 4	Aberbrothok,	£19 0 0
Dundie,	84 7 5	Montros,	18 0 0
Aberdene,	64 0 0	Glasgow,	13 10 0
Perth,	49 10 0	Brechin,	11 5 0
Sanctandrois,	20 0 0	Forfar,	8 7 6

ANCIENT RENT-ROLLS.

*The Book of ye comoun Rentallis of the Burgh of Dundie, Almishous and Kirkwark thairof; This maid and dewys it in the tyme of Mr James Haliburton, Provost; Alexander Scrymgeoure, William forrester, James findlausoune, and Alexander Ramesay, Baillies of ye said Burgh.**

L.—THE TRESAURS CHARGE.

In the first, The Commune Salmond fischingis of this Burgh, Boundand Betwixt ye craig at the West ferry with the pairt of Ballumbies fisching, Quhilk Westward to the burn mouth of Innergowrie, all within the Schiriffdome of forffare; and was Sett, the tyme of the last Rolping thairof for foure hundreth merkis zeirlie.

2 Item. The malt mylnis of the said Burgh, to witt, the twa watter mylnis at the Castill hill, and ye wynd myln be wast the Schoir; and the last tyme Thai wer Rolpit wer Set for ane hundreth and ten merkis zeirlie, with large grissome.

3 Item. The Quheitt myln of Petcarrow, with the Toft and Croft thairof, was Set at the last Rolping for fiftie merkis zierlie, with large grassome.

4 Item. The small Customis of ye said burgh, with the havine Sylwer and Anchorage, wer Sett the tyme of the last Rolping yairof for 780 lib. 13s. 4d.

5 Item. Twelf Bwithis of the new fleschhous, off the Quhilkis Thair is Aucht that hes Loftis. Price of the Maill of ye bwith with the Loft thrie Lib., and price of the maill of the Bwith without ye Loft, foure merkis.

6 Item. Twa Seattis at ye end of the new fleschhous,—Ane Seatt to Andro Cowper for foure lib.; and the other Seatt to James Cossayn for foure lib.

¹ An act of Head Court, dated 4th December, 1565, directed an inventory of the common property belonging to the Corporation to be drawn up; but, as these rentals here given include the munificent grants of Queen Mary to the community, it is evident the date of them cannot be higher than 1567, in which year the "Queen's donation" occurred. The original is inserted at the beginning of the "Lookit Bulk," or Roll of Burgesses.

7 Item. The Chop at ye east end of the said fleschhous Sett to Jhone fwird for Twentie Schillingis.

8 Item. Thomas Ramesay, Goldsmyth, hes his hous at the west end of the fleschhous, and pays furth of ye sam fyve lib. of fewmaill, —was only addebtet in vjs. viijd., and the rest excambit wit Robert barreis hous at ye Murraygate port.

9 Item. Sewine Laich Wolt bwithis Vnder the new Tolbwith, Quhilkis are Sett all in fewferne to Andro plaintreis, James Myln, Andro Daudisoun, George Spenas ; Twa thairof to John ffothringhame, and David Dog vther Twa ; and to Ilk ane of ye rest ane of ye sam—Payand for ilk ane of yame zeirlie Ellewine schillingis fyue penneis, except Andro Plaintreis Bwith pays Ellewine schillingis six penneis.

10 Item. Sewine heich bwithis vnder the said New Tolbwith, The last Sett Thairof wes foure lib. the pece, with the Chop at ye east end of ye said Tolbwith, occupeit by Andrew Gibsoun.

11 Item. The weyhous Is Sett to Alexr. Annand for payment of Twentie Lib. zeirlie.

12 Item. Ten merkis zeirlie of few maill furth of George Lowellis Airis land, Sum tyme callit Sanct Clementis Kirk.

13 Item. Robert Kydis hous and Johne ffothringhams hous are awand fewmaill to ye towne.

14 Item. The auld tolbowith Sett to Alexr. Patersoun and Jacques Richardsoun for ye fewmaill of Twentie merkis, and now is onlie frie to ye Towne threttie ane schillingis four penneis.

15 Item. The few maill of fyve lib. zeirlie, awand to ye Towne furth of William Barreis land, Callit our Ladie Warkstayris.

16 Item. the fewmaillis of ye landis afternamit, lyand on ye south syid of ye Kirk Zeard, To wit:—

furth of Johne Pantonis land, sextene Schillingis.

Item. furth of henrie Nicolsounis land, zeirlie, sextene Schillingis.

Item. furth of ye tenement perteing to Johne Smyth, elder, aucht Schillingis.

Item. furth of James Baldoweis tenement, aucht Schillingis.

Item. furth of David Crawfordis Land, Sex Schillingis.

Item. furth of ye land perteing to george anderson, wricht, Sex Schillingis.

Item. furth of ye tenement of Johne Smyth, zounger, Sex Schillingis.

Item. furth of Andro Crawfordis land, Twelff Schillingis.

Item. Antone Halieburton is debtfull zeirlie for ye maissoun ludg in ye few maill of Sextene Schillingis.

Item. the rest of ye boundis of ye south syid of ye Kirk Yeard ———.

17 Item. Auld James Rollock, for his penteiss in ye nethergaitt, fourtie penneis.

18 Item. the comoun play feild, with the boundis thairof, Limitat as follows, To wit:—the dyk of ye barne daill and ye grey sisteris

dyikis at ye west; the comoune burn or wattergang at ye north; The towne wall on ye east; And ye commune gaittis on the south pairtis.

19 Item. Jhone Allanesounis Land, lyand on ye south syid of Argyllagaitt, payis zeirlie for ye zeard in ye Kirkzeard fourtie-twa schillingis.

20 Item. George Rollokis Land at ye Auld Tolbwith pays zeirlie for his Staire, Sex Schillingis aucht penneis.

21 Item. George Rollok, zounger, and his Airis Ar actir to pay zeirlie for Sanct Clementis Chaip Laurie, fyve merkis,—this vnpayit be ye deceiss of ye chaiplain.

22 Item. Benorth the Murraygaitt port Ane tenement betwix Andro Maissonis Land And ye port, Coft fra Robert barrie, with ye Tayle yairof Lyand to ye Burn, and merchit on ye west with ye Townis wall, pntlie gewand fyve lib., togidder with aucht Schillingis aucht penneis.

23 Item. The twa pairt of ye back medow Callit ye common Meadow, with the Buttis and boundis yairof; and now the third pairt of ye said medow, Coft fra ye Constable of Dundie.

24 Item. The Townis propertie Betwix ye buttir burn and Seagaitt and Cowgaitt portis.

25 Item. The townis wattergang and damis, Quhilk is now ye medow occupeit be James fforrester: And ye haill Toddisburn.

26 Item. The blwidweittis of all persounis Inhabitantis of yis Burgh and Stallangiaris yairof, Coft be ye Townisschip fra ye Constablis predecessors.

27 Item. The boundis at ye Wyndmyln, Sett to Thomas David-soun, Smyth, for twelff schillingis.

28 Item. The superiorities of James Walkeris Aris, the gray sisteris, The Rwidis outwith baith ye nethergaitt port and ye ouergaitt port.

29 Item. Ye fisch Stockis and fleschestockis zeirlie xx lib.

II.—THE KIRKMASTERIS CHARGE.

In the first, furth of Robert Rollokis fairland Lyand on ye south syid of ye flukergaitt, Betwixt ye land of Elizabeth Wedderburn on ye east, And ye land of the Abbott of Scone, now of the Laird of Banff, on ye west Pairtis, zeirlie fyvetene ss.

2 Item. furth of ye land of vmqle George Rollok, zounger, lyand on the south syid of ye said flukergaitt, Betwix ye land of Gilbert Rollandis Airis on ye east, and ye land of the airis of vmqle George Lowell on ye west pairtis, zeirlie Ten ss.

3 Item. furth of ye land of the Airis of vmqle Andro Gairdyne, lyand on the north syid of ye said flukergaitt, Betwix ye land of David Cockburn on the east, and ye land of ye airis of vmquhyle Jhone Jak on ye west pairtis, zierlie twentie twa d.

4 Item. furth of the land of vmquhyle Charles Gibson, now per-teining To Johne hanyis airis, lyand on ye north syid of ye said fluk-

ergaith, betwixt the land of Walter Peatt and Thomas Cockburn on ye east, and ye land of James reid on the west pairtis, zeirlie Twa ss. aucht d.

5 Item. furth of ye said James reidis land aboue-wreittene, haiffand on ye west ye land of Thomas Duncan, zeirlie Sex ss.

6 Item. furth of ye land of ye said Thomas Duncan, now perteing to David Robertsoun, haiffand on ye west the said David Robertsounis new biggit land, zeirlie Twentie twa d.

7 Item. furth of ye land of the airis of vmqle Alexr ffothringhame, Lyand without the port of Argyllsgaith, betwix ye land of ye airis of vmqle Mr Thomass Lowell on ye east, and James Walkeris airis on ye west pairtis, zeirlie fyve ss.

8 Item. furth of ye land of Alexr fyiff, lyand on ye south syid of Argyllsgaith, foranent Dundie stane, zeirlie fowre ss.

9 Item. furth of ye Laird of foirdillis Land, lyand on the south syid of Argyllsgaith, Betwix ye land of Robert Kyd on ye east, and The land of William allerdyiss on ye west pairtis, zeirlie threttene ss. foure d.

10 Item. furth of Alexr Richardsounis airis Land, lyand on ye north syid of Argyllsgaith, Betwix ye land of Robert Barrie on ye east, and ye land of John Duncansounis airis on the west pairtis, zeirlie foure ss. sex d.

11 Item. furth of Robert mylnis land, lyand on ye north syid of Argyllsgaith, Betwix ye land of Christian burn on ye east, And ye land of Robert Barrie on ye west pairtis, zeirlie Twentie ss.

12 Item. furth of ye Laird of Ogillis land, lyand on ye north syid of Argyllsgaith, betwix ye land, sum tyme of James Scrymgeor, now of Thomas Annand, on ye east, and ye land of George bellis airis on ye west Pairtis, zeirlie Sextene ss. sex d.

13 Item. furth of the Land, Sumtyme of Alexr brownis airis, Now perteing to James Duncan, lyand on ye north syid of Argyllis gaith, Betwix ye Land of Masie Watson and Johnne Allanesounis airis on ye East, and ye Land of Johnne ferriare on ye west pairtis, zeirlie Ellewine, ss. thrie d.

14. Item. furth of the land, Sumtyme of James Kynnaird, now of David Tendell, lyand on ye south syid of Argyllsgaith, betwix the land Robert myln on ye east, and the Land of ye airis of vmqle Robert Ramesay on ye west pairtis, zeirlie foure ss.

15 Item. furth of ye said Robert mylnis land aboue wreittene, haiffand on the east the land of ye airis of David watsoun, now of Edward Chalmers, zeirlie Twa ss.

16 Item. furth of the land of ye airis of vmqle Alexr Curaille, Lyand on ye north syid of Argyllsgaith, Betwix ye land of Robert Rolland on ye east, and ye freir wynd on ye westpairtis, zeirlie Twelf ss.

17 Item. furth of ye land, sumtyme of Andro Mitchelsoun, now of James Goldman, James Michell, and James Cowtie, Lyand on ye South syid of Argyllsgaith, Betwix ye land of Gabriel myln on ye east, and ye Kirkzeard on ye west pairtis, zeirlie Twentie ss.

18 Item. furth of ye said Gabriel mylnis Land, haiffand on ye East ye land of Thomas Zoung, zeirlie threttie aucht ss.

19 Item. furth of ye said Thomas Zoungis land aboue wreittene, haiffand on ye east the said Thomas Zoungis Couseit land in ye Thorter raw, zeirlie aucht ss.

20 Item. The said Thomas Zoungis land in the Thorter raw aboue wreittene Payis zeirlie Ten ss.

21 Item. furth of ye land, Sumtyme of Johne broune, now of Alexr Traill, Lyand on ye north syid of Argyllis gait, Betwix ye land of Alexr wedderburn on ye east, and ye land of James Scrymgeoure on ye west pairtis, zerlie ane stane of wax.

22 Item. furth of ye land of Sanct blaise Chaipplanrie Sett in fewferme to George Ramesay, George fyiff, and John Ratray, Lyand on ye west syid of the Thorter raw, Betwix ye land of William Drummond on ye south, and ye land of ye said Thomas zoung on ye north pairtis, zeirlie threttene ss. foure d.

23 Item. furth of ye land of Robert Quhyitt, lyand on ye north syid of ye Kirkwynd, betwix ye land of Alexr Carnegie on ye east, and the land of william Duncane on the west pairtis, zeirlie fyeteene ss.

24 Item. furth of the said william Duncanis land aboue wreittene, haiffand the Kirkzeard on the west, zeirlie Sextene ss.

25 Item. furth of ye land of ye airis of vmqle william Schippert, Lyand on the south syid of ye Maill market, Betwix ye land of vmqle Alexr Michelsoun, now of Walter Ramesay, on ye east, and ye land Callit lewis land, now of George Spenss and James Jakson, on ye west pairtis, zeirlie fyveteene ss.

26 Item. The said walter ramesayis land aboue wreittene, haiffand on ye east ye Land of ye airis of vmqle Richard gudlet, zeirlie payis fyveteene ss.

27 Item. furth of ye land of ye airis of vmqle William Clepen, Lyand on ye South Syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of James broun, on ye east, and ye lands of the airis of vmqle David Wedderburn on ye west pairtis, zeirlie sex ss.

28 Item. furth of the wester Land of ye airis of vmqle David Carnegy, now of James zoung, Lyand on ye Castell burnheid, Betwix ye said vmqle Davidis Easter Land on ye east, and ye land of David Ramesay on ye west pairtis, zeirlie aucht ss.

29 Item furth of ye land of David Strauchachine, Cordiner, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Cowgaitt, betwix ye land of on ye east, and ye land of on ye west pairtis, zeirlie thrie ss.

30 Item. furth of ye land, Sumtyme of Thomas Thomsoun, Maisoun, now of Alexr Mathew, Lyand on ye Sowth syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye land of Johne Cowperis airis on ye east, and ye land of David Cockburn on ye west pairtis, zeirlie, Sex ss.

31 Item. furth of Andro Maillis land, Lyand at Lundeis wall on ye north Syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye land of George gairdner on ye east, and the hors wynd on ye west pairtis, zeirlie foure ss.

32 Item. furth of ye land of william williamsoun, Cordiner, Lyand on ye south syid of Argyllisgait, Betwix ye land of on ye East, and ye land of on ye west pairtis, zeirlie threttene ss. foure d.

33 Item. furth of William Duncane his land, for the boundis of the Chop in ye Kirkzeard, now Occupeit be Alex Duncane, twentie ss.

III.—THE CHARGE OR RENTALL OF THE MASTER OF THE HOSPITALL OF
YE BURGH OF DUNDIE,

Conteaning the Annualrentis, fewmailles, and vtheris dewteis, Croftis, landis and tenementis, Quhilkis perteint of auld to ye said Hospitall; as also of the Greyfreiris, Blackfreiris, Graysisteris, Choris-teris, and hail Chaipplanreis of ye said Burgh of Dundie, now dotit to ye said Hospitall Be oure Souverane Lord, and his Hienes maist noble Progenitouris, faithfullie Collectit Be the Bailleis and counsall of The Said burgh, Be vertu of Evidentis, decreittis, and possessioun haid yairof.

Item. in the first, furth of the land of ye airis of vmqle George hay, Lyand On ye South syid of the Mercatt gaitt, Betwix ye land of ye airis of vmqle Andro Barrie on ye east, and ye landis of ye airis of Richard gudlet, Robert Lowell, and Petir forrester, on ye west Pairtis, zeirlie to the Choristaris Threttie twa ss. vj d.

And furth of ye Samy land to ye said Hospitall zeirlie threttene ss. foure d.

2 Item. furth of ye east end of ye Tenement Callit the auld Tolbwith, pertaining to ye airis of vmqle Alexr Pattersoun, To ye said Hospitall, fiftie ss.; and to the Samy Hospitall vyer ten ss.—Quhilk wes exchangeit with the annual rent of ten ss., Quhilk ye said Hospitall paid furth of ye land of vmqle James Stewart, now pertaining to Alexr Scrymgeor, lyand without the Nethergaitt port of yis Burgh. And als furth of ye Samy tenement callit ye auld Tolbwith, zeirlie to Sanct Katharinis Chaipplanrie thretty ane ss.

3 Item. furth of ye west end of ye said tenement Callit ye auld Tolbwith, now pertaining to Thomas Ogilvie zeirlie to ye said hospital fiftie ss.; and to the said Chaipplanie of Sanct Katharine threttie ane ss.

4 Item. furth of ye Tenement Callit the Ladie warkstairis, Sumtyme pertaining to Mark Barrie, now to John Cowstoun, Lyand nixt at ye west end of ye said tenement Callit ye auld Tolbwith, zeirlie to ye choristairs fyvetene ss.

5 Item. furth of William Drummond's tenement, Angulare lyand ye east end of ye Kirk wynd, and north syid yair of, zeirlie To Sanct Ninians Chaipplanrie four lib. threttene ss. four d.

6 Item. furth of Robert Lowell's land, lyand on ye South syid of ye mercatt gaitt, Betwix ye land of George hay's airis on ye east, and ye Land of Valter Ramesay on ye west Pairtis, zeirlie to ye Choristaris threttene ss. foure d.

7 Item. furth of Alexr Carnegyis Land, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Kirke wynd, betwix ye land of William Drummond on ye east, and ye Land of Alexr Galloway on the west pairtis, to ye hospitall ten ss.

8 Item. furth of Johne zoungis land, Lyand on the north syid of Oure Ladygaitt, Betwix ye land of Johne gairdyne on ye east, and ye land, sumtyme of Johne Souatar, now of Johne Kynloch, on ye west pairtis, to Sanct Johne The Baptistis Chaipplanrie zeirlie sewine merkis ; and furth of ye samyn land zeirlie to Sanct ninianis chaipplanrie twa ss. vj d.

9 Item. furth of ye said Johne Kynlochis land, haiffand on ye west Johne Rayis Land, To ye said Chaipplanrie of Sanct Johne ye baptist zeirlie fyve merkis ; and furth of ye samy land to Sanct ninianis chaipplanrie zeirlie twa ss. vj d.

10 Item. furth of ye said Johne rayis land, haiffand on ye west the sowth east Kirkstyll and ye Kirkzeard, to ye said Chaipplanrie of Sanct Johne ye baptist zeirlie fyve merkis ; and furth of ye samy [land] to ye Chaipplanrie of Sant Ninian zeirlie twa ss. vj d.

11 Item. furth of ye land of James Scrymgeor, alias *franche* James, now sett in few to James Ramesay, Richard Cathrow, James Ker, Johne Patersone, and George Durward, Lyand on ye east syid of Spaldingis Wynd, zeirlie to Sanct Androis Chaipplanrie thretie ss.

12 Item. furth of ye land of ye airis vmqle John fairny, Lyand on ye south syid of Oure lady gaitt, Betwix ye land of william Kynneir and william Cowteis airis on ye east, and ye land of Thomas howie and Thomas Mwriss airis on ye west pairtis, zeirlie to ye Choristaris twentie aucht ss.

13 Item. furth of ye foirland of Alexr Scott, Quhilk is ye front of ye said Johne fairneis airis land, Lyand as said Is, to ye Choristaris zeirlie twentie ss.

14 Item. furth of ye vast pece land Perteining to Mr Johne Lyndesay, Lyand on ye south syid of ye flukergaitt, Betwix ye land of ye laird of Banff On ye east, and ye said Mr Johnis gryit tenement on ye west pairtis, to ye Choristairs zeirlie aucht ss.

15 Item. furth of ye land of James Lowell, lyand on the south syid of ye flukergaitt, Betwix ye land of Mr Hercules Rollok on ye east, and ye land of Robert gairdyne on the west pairtis, to ye Choristaris zeirlie fiftie ane ss. ; and furth of ye samy land to ye Hospital zeirlie ten ss.

16 Item. furth of ye said Robert gairdynis Land, Lyand as said Is, to the Chaipplanrie of Sanct Johne ye Evangelist zeirlie fourtie fyve ss.

17 Item. furth of ye land of James forrester, lyand on the north syid of ye flukergaitt, Betwix ye land of the airis of Johne Wedderburn on ye west, and the land of the Laird of Ogilwie on the west pairtis, to ye Choristaris zeirlie fiftie ss.

18 Item. furth of John Baxteris Land, Lyand on the north syid of ye flukergaitt, Betwix ye land of Mr Dauid Scrymgeor on the east,

and ye land of ye airis of vmqle Thomas Walker on ye west pairtis, zeirlie to ye Choristers thrie ss.

19 Item. furth of ye land of Maister Androw forrestaris airis, lyand on ye north syid or ye flukergaitt, Betwix ye land of Thomas Walkeris airis on the east, and ye land of David Cokburn on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristairs zeirlie fourtene ss.

20 Item. furth of ye Said Dauid Cokburnis Land foirsaid, haiffand on ye west the Land of Johne Jakis airis, To ye grayfreiris zeirlie sewine ss. vjd.

21 Item. furth of ye land of John Jakis airis forsaidis, haiffand on ye west Seres Wynd, To ye Choristairs Sex ss. vijd.

22 Item. furth of ye land of Thomas Cokburnis airis, Quhilk sumtyme ptenit To vmqle Alexr Lowell, Lyand on ye north syid of ye flukergaitt, Betwix ye land of Edmond fermorare on ye east, and ye land of ye airis of James gibsoun and Johne Hany on ye west pairtis, To ye grayfreiris zeirlie thrie lib. iiij ss.

23 Item. furth of ye said Johne haneis Land, havand on ye west James Reidis Land, to ye Choristairs zeirlie twentie for ss.

24 Item. furth of ye land of Andro Gibsoun, lyand nixt adiaacent to ye said Johne Hanyis land, To ye Choristairs termelie fyve ss. iiij d.

25 Item. furth of ye land of Robert Drone and Marioun Paterson his spous, Lyand nixt adiaacent to ye said Andro Gibsounis Land, to ye Choristairs zeirlie fyve ss. iiij d.

26 Item. furth of ye land of ye said James Reid, Lyand as said is, haiffand on ye west The land of vmqle Thomas Duncan, mariner, To ye zeirlie fiftie thrie ss. iiij d.

27 Item. forth of ye Land of Dauid Robertsoun, Minister, Lyand on the north syid of The flukergaitt, Betwix ye land of ye said Thomas Duncane on ye east, and ye land of ye airis of vmqle Thomas Symesoun on ye west pairtis, zeirlie to ye hospitall aucht ss.

28 Item. furth of ye said Thomas Symesounis airis land, Lyand as said Is, and havand on ye west ye Vast land of Dauid Cokburn or [and] James Rollok Callit ye Ketchpeill, To ye Choristairs zeirlie Sex ss. ; and furth of ye samy land to Sanct thomas Chaipplanrie in Kaitinss zeirlie foure lib.

29 Item. furth of ye land of Peter Cokburne, Lyand Nixt adiaacent to ye said Vast land callit Ketchpile, and havand on ye west the Almshous zeardis, to ye hospitall zearlie fourtie ss.

30 Item. furth of ye Teynd zeard, Perteining to ye airis vmqle James smith, Lyand nixt adiaacent to ye Nethergaitt Port of this burgh, To the Choristers zeirlie sex ss. viij d. ; and furth of ye samy land To ye Hospitall zeirlie thretteine ss. iiij d.

31 Item. furth of ye land of william Palmeris airis, Lyand without the nethergaitt port, Betwix ye land of ye said James Smithis airis on ye east, and ye Land of ye airis of vmqle william Maisoun on ye west pairtis, to the grayfriaris zeirlie fyve ss. ; and furth of ye sam to ye hospitall zeirlie Sex ss viij d.

32 Item. furth of ye land of Maister Thomas Lowell's Airis, Lyand wtout ye west port of This Burgh, Betwix ye land of ye airis of vmqle Thomas Robertsoun On the east, and ye land of Patrik Carneggys Airis on ye west, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Twentie ss.

33 Item. furth of ye land of Robert Spink, Lyand adjacent to ye Port of Ergyllisgaitt, havand on ye west the land of ye said Thomas Robertsoun, To ye Choristaris zeirlie aucht ss. vj d.

34 Item. furth of the Land of dauid Baxter, alias Rannald, Lyand on ye South syid of Ergyllisgaitt, Betwix the land of dauid fleming on ye east, and ye land of ye Said Robert Spink on ye west pairtis, To ye hospitall zeirlie fyvetene ss.

35 Item. furth of ye Said dauid fleming land, Lyand as Said Is, And havand On ye east Maister Edward Henrysonis Land, To the grayfrieris zeirlie ten ss.

36 Item. furth of Said Maister Henrysonis land, Lyand as Said is, and haiffand On ye east George Andersonis Land, To the Gray frieris zeirlie Sewine ss. vj d.

37 Item. furth of ye Said George Andersonis Land, Lyand as Said Is, And havand On ye east Alexr fyffis Land, To the Choristaris zeirlie Auchtene ss.

38 Item. furth of ye Said Alexr fyffis Land, Lyand as Said Is, haiffand on ye East Johne feirnis Land, to ye hospital zeirlie Twentie twa ss. viij d.

39 Item. furth of ye land of Johne ferriar, Sumtyme perteing to Thomas henrysoun, Lyand on ye north syid of Ergyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of George baxter, On ye east, And ye land of ye Airis of william browne on ye west pairtis, To ye Gray freiris zeirlie threttene ss. vj d. ; And furth of the samyne land To ye Hospitall zeirlie auchtene ss.

40 Item. furth of ye Said George baxteris land, lyand as Said Is, havand on ye East the land of Johne browne, Cordiner, To ye Choristaris zeirlie ten ss.

41 Item. furth of ye land of ye Airis of vmqle James Symesoun, Alias *Swyne*, Lyand on ye South syid of Ergyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of on ye east, And ye land of Johne feirne on ye west pairtis, to ye Choristaris zeirlie foure ss. vj d. ; And furth of ye samy Land to ye hospitall zeirlie Ten ss. ; And to ye gray freires fyvetene ss.

42 Item. furth of ye Land of william williamsoun, Lyand on ye south syid of Ergyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of on ye east, And ye land of on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie threttene ss. iiij d.

43 Item. furth of ye land of Patrik Durham, Lyand on ye north syid of Ergyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of Johne merschell and James bower on ye south, the land of James Goldman on ye east of pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Twentie foure ss.

44 Item. furth of James Boweris land foirsaid, lyand at ye front of ye Said Patrik Durhamis Land, To the Choristaris zeirlie Twentie ss.

45 Item. furth of findlo duncanis land and zeardis, Lyand on ye South syid of Argyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of James Goldman on ye east, And ye land of ye Airis of vmqle Jhone hoppringle on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Sex ss. viij d.

46 Item. furth of walter lowellis Land, Lyand on ye north syid of Ergyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of Robert Smith on ye east, And ye land of James Dikis airis on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Threttie thrie ss.

47 Item. furth of ye said Robert Smithis land foirsaid, hawand on ye west ye land of Daid Carmannowe, To ye Chaipplanrie of St Johne of ye Sklethewchis, zeirlie fyvetene ss.

48 Item. furth of ye said Daid Carmannowis land foirsaid, hawand on ye east william duncanesounis land, To the Choristaris zeirlie Twentie twa ss.

49 Item. furth of ye said william Duncanesounis land foirsaid, hawand on ye east The land of ye Airis of vmqle Alexr Richardsoun, To ye Choristaris zeirlie ellewine ss viij d.

50 Item. furth of ye laird of foirdillis Land, Callit the Chanteris land, lyand on ye south syid of Ergyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of Robert Kyd on ye east, and ye land of william allerdysse on ye west pairtis, To the Choristaris zeirlie fyve lib. sex ss. viij d.

51 Item. furth of ye land of ye said Robert Kyd foirsaid, having on ye east James Carmichellis land, To ye Chaipplanrie of Sanct Androw zeirlie fyve ss.

52 Item. furth of ye said James Carmichellis land foirsaid, hawand on ye East James Johnstounis land, to ye Chaipplanrie of Sanct Androw zeirlie threttene ss. iiij d.

53 Item. furth of Christian burnis land, Lyand on ye north syid of Argyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of George bellis airis on ye east, and ye land of Robert Myln, on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Twentie sex ss. viij. d.

54 Item. furth of the land of James Johnstoun, Lyand on ye south syid of Argyllis gaitt, Betwix ye land of ye Airis of vmqle Alexr alanesoun on ye east, and ye land of James Carmichaell on ye west pairtis, To ye Chaipplanrie of Sanct Androw zeirlie Twentie for ss.

55 Item. furth of ye land foirsaid of ye Airis of vmqle Alexr alanesoun, havand on ye east The Kirkstyll and ye land of Peter Wedderburn, To ye grayfreiris zeirlie Thrie lib. sex ss. viij d.

56 Item. furth of ye (land of the) Saidis Airis of Alexr Alanesoun, Lyand on ye north syid of Argyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of David Spanky On ye east, and ye land of James Duncan on ye west pairtis, To ye hospitall zeirlie Thrie lib. sex ss. viij d.

57 Item. furth of ye laird of Ogillis Land, Lyand on ye north syid of Argyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of Thomas Annand, on ye east, The land of George bellis airis on ye west pairtis, To the Chaipplanrie of Sanct Agatha zeirlie aucht lib. ; and furth of ye samyn land To the Hospitall zeirlie Twelff ss. ; and to ye grayfreiris zeirlie fyve ss.

58 Item. furth of ye foirsaid Land of Thomas Annand, Quhillk

sumtym Perteint to James Scrymgeor, havand on ye east The land of Alexr annand, To the said chaiplanrie of Sanct Agatha zeirlie fyve merks.

59 Item. furth of ye Said Alexr. Annandis Land foirsaid, Quhilk sumtyme Pertenit to Johne bell, Lyand on ye west syid of ye Turne-peck, To Sanct Androwis Chaiplanrie zeirlie for ss. vj d ; And furth of ye said Alexr Annandis land Lyand on ye east syid of ye said Turne-peck, To ye Choristaris seirlie Ten ss.

60 Item. furth of ye land of Masie Watsoun, Lyand on ye north syid of Argyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of dauid Spankie On ye east, and the land of James duncan on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristaris Zeirlie fourtie ss.

61 Item. furth of ye Said Dauid Spankies Land foirsaid, haiffand on ye East the Land of dauid Scrymgeor of foudy, To ye Chaiplanrie of Sanct Salvator zeirlie foure lib. ellewine ss iiij d.

62 Item. furth of ye Said dauid Scrymgeor of foudie his land foirsaid, havand on ye east the land of ye Airis of vmqle James myln, to ye Choristaris zeirlie Ten ss.

63 Item. furth of ye land of Dauid Ramesay, zounger, baxter, Lyand on ye south syid of Argyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of Dauid Tendell On ye east, and ye Mid Kirk-Styill on ye west pairtis, To ye hospitall zeirlie aucht lib.

64 Item. furth of ye land of dauid Ramesay, elder, baxter, Lyand on ye North syid of Argyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of James Man on ye east, and ye land of James mylnis Airis on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Twelff ss.

65 Item. furth of ye land of ye Said James Man foirsaid, havand on ye east ye land of ye Airis of vmqle Alexr Maill, To ye Choristaris zeirlie fyve ss. iij d.

66 Item. furth of ye land of Johne Baxter, Lyand on ye east syid of ye buriall Wynd, Betwix ye land of James Craill on ye south, and ye land of Mr dauid Campbell on ye north pairtis, To the grayfreiris zeirlie threttie twa ss. viij d.

67 Item. furth of ye said James Craillis Land foirsaid, havand on ye east the land of Robert Rolland, To the Choristaris zeirlie Threttene ss. iiij d.

68 Item. furth of ye said Robert Rollandis Land foirsaid, havand on ye east the land of ye Airis of vmqle Alexr Patersoun, To ye Chaiplanrie of Sanct Androw Zeirlie fyvetene ss.

69 Item. furth of ye said Alexr Patersounis Airis [land] foirsaid havand on ye East the Land of Robert Kyd, To ye Chaiplanrie of Sanct Androw zeirlie Threttene ss. iiij d.

70 Item. furth of ye land of Thomas zoung, Lyand on ye South syid of Argyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of ye airis of vmqle Gabriel myln on ye west, and The Thorter Raw on ye east pairtis, to the choristaris zeirlie aughtene ss iiij d.

71 Item. furth of Sanct blaise chaiplanrie, Lyand on ye west syid of ye Thorter raw, Betwix ye land of william drummond on ye south,

and ye land of Euphame bell on ye north pairtis, To the said Chaip-
lanrie of Sanct Androw zeirlie Sex ss. viij d.

72 Item. furth of ye land of Petir Clayhillis, Sumtyme of Petir
newman, Lyand on ye east syid of ye Thorter raw, to ye Choristaris
zeirlie Twentie ss.

73 Item. furth of ye land of Thomas Traill, sumtyme pertening to
harbert Glaidstainis, Lyand on ye north syid of Argyllisgaitt, Betwix
ye land of James Scrymgeor, litster [dye], on ye south, The comoun
buriall place on ye north, The land of Alexr Traill on ye east, and ye
land of william Kyd on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Auch-
tene ss.

74 Item. furth of ye syid Alexr Traillis Land foirsaid, haiffand on
ye east the Land of Alexr Wedderburn, to the Choristaris zeirlie
threttene ss. iiij d.

75 Item. furth of ye said alexr wedderburnis land foirsaid, havand
on ye east The land Callit mathowis Land, ptening to Johne Kyn-
mounth, to Sanct Katharinis Chaiplanrie threttie ss.

76 Item. furth of ye said Johne Kynmounthis land foirsaid, havand
on ye east the land of James lowell, sumtyme pertening to Patrik
Lyoune, To the Choristaris zeirlie foure lib. threttene ss. iiij d.

77 Item. furth of ye land of Alexr maill, wtin ye zitt, Lyand on ye
nort syid of Argyllisgaitt, to ye Choristaris zeirlie v s. iij d.

78 Item. furth of James Lowellis Land foirsaid, Quhairin the
Ketchpile Is biggit, havand on ye east Sanct Salvatoris Landis, To ye
grayfrieris zeirlie Ten ss.

79 Item. furth of ye landis of the Closs Callit Sanct Salvatoris
Closs, Lyand on ye north syid of Argyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of ye
Said James Lowell on ye west, and ye land of ye Airis of vmqle James
Rollok on ye east Pairtis, To ye Chaiplanrie of Sanct Salvator the few-
maillis vnderwreittine Rexue [respective], awand be ye persounis Par-
ticulare Proprietaris of ye said Closs efter following, To wit, Begin-
ning at ye fairland on ye west syid of ye Closs Pertening to Petir
newman, zeirlie Thrie lib. sex ss. viij d.

The nixt land northwart Pertening to James Goldman, zeirlie
Threttie ss.

The Thrid land northwart Pertening to Christopher Traill, zeirlie
Twentie ss.

The fourt land northwart Pertening to James Donaldsoun, zeirlie
fourtie ss.

The fyft land northwart Pertening to ye Airis of Johne watt,
zeirlie twentie sex ss.

And on ye east syid of ye Closs, Beginand at ye fairland Pertening
to Patrik Ratray, zeirlie foure lib.

The Second land at ye north pertening to Johne lowsoun, zeirlie
Twentie sex ss. viij d.

The third land northwart, with the Back zeard, Kill and malt-
houss, Pertening to Johne Jak, zeirlie foure lib.

The fourt land northwart pertening to Johne adame, zeirlie Nyne

ss.; Quhilk land pertenit of Befoir to Johne Jamesoun, saidler.

The fyift land pertening to dionise Conqueror, sumtyme pertening to John Spenas, zeirlie Sex ss.

80 Item. furth of ye land foirsaid pertening to ye Saidis Airis of James Rollock, having on ye east Sanct Margaritis land to Sanct Johne the Euangelist his Chaipplanrie, zeirlie fortie twa ss.

81 Item. furth of ye land of Patrik Rattray, Lyand on ye South syid of Argyllisgaitt, Betwix ye land of George Rollokis Airis on ye east, and ye land of Johne Stewart on ye west pairtis, To the Chaipplanrie of Sanct Johne the Baptist zeirlie fourtie sex ss. viij d.

82 Item. furth of ye Land of ye Airis of vmqle william barrie, Lyand on ye north syid of the mercat gaitt, Betwix ye land of Thomas man on ye east, and ye land of Sanct Thomas Chaipplanrie on ye west Pairtis, to the zeirlie threttie sex ss.

83 Item. furth of ye said Thomas Mannis Land foirsaid, havand on ye east ye land of ye Airis of vmqle Andro Barrie, To ye Chaipplanrie of St George zeirlie sewine lib. ten ss.; and furth of ye samy land to ye Rwid chaipplanrie zeirlie ten ss.

84 Item. furth of ye land of ye airis of vmqle Andro Barrie on ye North syid of ye mcatgaitt, Betwix ye land of ye saidis airis of Andro Barrie on ye east, and ye land of ye said Thomas man on ye west pairtis, to ye Rwid chaipplanrie zeirlie fourtie ss.

85 Item. furth of ye tenement pertening To ye airis of vmqle Johne ferriare and william Ker, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betix ye land of Robert barreis airis at ye west, and ye Landis of Andro guthrie at ye eist, zeirlie vj s.

86 Item. furth of ye land Pertening to Johnne Andersoun, Lyand on ye North syid of ye mercatt gaitt, Betwix ye land of Robert Barrie on ye east, The land of Johne gairdyne and alexr Kyd on ye west pairtis, to ye Hospitall zeirlie Threttie ss.; Quhilk annual rent wes bocht be vmqle Tibbie barrie fra andro barrie and James barrie.

87 Item. furth of ye land of dauid Robertsoun, Lyand on ye north syid of ye flesche hous and ye north end of ye Closs yat ye Castell burn cumis throch, to ye Choristaris zeirlie twelff ss.

88 Item. furth of Andro ffothringhames airis Landis Lyand in ye Closs foirsaid, on ye east syid of ye zett yair of, havand on ye east the land sumtyme Pertening to Robert Cheild, now to dauid Robertsoun, mariner, To ye Choristaris zeirlie threttene ss. iiij d.

89 Item. furth of ye land of ye airis of vmqle william Cabell, Lyand on ye east syid of ye Castell burn, Betwix the Murraygaitt on ye north, and ye land of Richard gilgor on ye South pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Sextene ss sex d.

90 Item. furth of ye said Dauid Robertsoun, mariner, his Land foirsaid, havand on ye east ye land of dauid Ogilwies airis, to ye hospitall zeirlie fourtie ss.,—Quhilk Annalrent wes bocht be vmqle Tibbie barrie fra andro Barrie and James Barrie his sone; and furth of ye

samy land to ye Chaipnanrie of Sanct androw zeirlie threttene ss. iiij d.

91 Item. furth of ye land of william walker, sumtyme pertening to thomes Logy, lyand on ye north syid of ye murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of Andro Robertsoun on ye east, and ye land of ye said dauid Ogilwies airis on ye west pairtis, to ye hospitall zeirlie Sextene ss. viij d.; and furth of ye Samy land to Sanct Katharinis chaipnanrie zeirlie fyve ss.

92 Item. furth of ye land of alexr Richardsoun and Jonat Saidler his spous, Lyand on ye South syid of ye murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of James Andersounis airis on ye east, and ye land of Robert barrie on ye west pairtis, To our ladie Chaipell In ye Kowgaitt zeirlie Twelff ss.; and furth of ye samy land ane vther annual rent bocht be James forrester, To ye hospitall zeirlie fourtie ss.

93 Item. furth of ye land of James browne, Lyand on ye south syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of william Clepen on ye west, and ye Land of Robert gibsoun on ye east pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Twentie ss.

94 Item. furth of ye land of Robert Smith, Lyand on ye south syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of ye said Robert gibsoun on ye west, and ye land of ye airis of vmqle alexr smith on ye east pairtis, to ye choristaris zeirlie Ellewine ss. iiij d.

95 Item furth of ye land of Thomas buchan, lyand on ye sout syid of ye murraygaitt, to zeirlie xv ss.

96 Item. furth of ye Said alexr smith his airis land foirsaid, havand on ye east ye horswynd, to Sanct Katharinis chaipnanrie zeirlie fyvetene ss.

97 Item. furth of ye Land pertening to Thomas Patersoun, Alias Sandie, & alexr zoung, maissoun, Quhilk pertenit sumtyme to vmqle alexr Piggot, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of James ferriare and James lowell on ye west, and ye land of James Roch his airis on ye east Pairtis, zeirlie to our lady chapell in ye Kowgaitt Twentie ane ss. iiij d.; and furth of ye samy land to ye grayfreiris zeirlie fyve ss. iij d.

98 Item. furth of ye land of william mathow, Sumtyme pertening to vmqle William merschell, Lyand at ye head of ye horswynd, Betwix ye said horswynd at ye west, and ye land of Nicoll smysoun at ye east pairtis, to zeirlie Auchtene d.

99 Item. furth of ye said Nicoll symsonis land foirsaid, Lyand on ye south syid of ye murraygaitt, and haiffand on the east the land of Richard dauidsoun, zeirlie to ye Choristaris Ten ss.

100 Item. furth of ye land of Richard dauidsoun foirsaid, havand on ye east the land of Robert drummond, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Twentie ss.

101 Item. furth of ye said Robert drummond's Land foirsaid, havand on ye east the land of Patrik Matheson, To ye Choristaris zeirlie threttene ss. iiij d.; and furth of ye samy land to Sanct Johne of ye Sklethewchis zeirlie Twentie ss. viij d.

102 Item. furth of ye land of ye airis of vmqle Robert Clayhillis Lyand on ye north syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of James Andersounis Airis on ye east, and ye land of alexr wedderburn on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Sex ss. vj d.

103 Item. furth of ye land of the airis of vmqle James Andersoun Lyand on ye north syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of William duncan on ye east, and ye land of Robert Clayhillis airis on ye west Pairtis, To zeirlie fyve ss.

104 Item. furth of ye land of ye airis of vmqle James Ademan, Lyand on ye North syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of william Duncan on ye east, and ye land of Robert Clayhillis airis on ye west Pairtis, To zeirlie twa ss. vj d.

105 Item. furth of ye land of ye airis of vmqle Thomas Nicoll, Lyand On ye North syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of Jhone duncan at ye west, and ye land of Thomas dauidsoun at ye east pairtis, To ye Chaiplanrie of Sanct clement zeirlie Twentie ss.

106 Item. furth of ye said thomas dauidsounis land foirsaid, hav- and on ye east the land of Thomas stewart, to ye grayfrieris zeirlie fyve ss.

107 Item. furth of ye land of Patrik Mathesoun, Lyand on ye south syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of ye airis of Johne wallace at ye east, and ye land of Robert Drummond at ye west pairtis, to ye hospitall zeirlie Twa ss. ; and furth of ye same land to ye chaip- lanrie of Sanct Clement zeirlie sex ss.

108 Item. furth of ye land of James fyndlausoun, Quhilk pertenit to vmqle Johne wallace, Callit ye easter land, Lyand on ye south syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of Robert Carmannowis airis at ye east, and ye land of Patrik Mathesoun and Johne haye at ye west pairtis, to ye Choristaris zeirlie Nyne ss.

109 Item. furth of ye land of the airis of vmqle Robert Carman- now, Lyand on ye south syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of ye airis of Alexr Grene at ye east, and ye land of Johne wallace airis at ye west pairtis, to ye Choristaris zeirlie Ten ss.

110 Item. furth of ye land of Andro Stewinesoun, Lyand on ye south syid of ye Murraygaitt, Sumtyme pertening to Alexr Grene, Betwix ye land of ye ladie of Claverhous on ye east, and ye land of Robert Carmannow on ye west pairtis, To ye Hospitall zeirlie sewine ss. vj d.

111 Item. furth of ye land of william Cathrow, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of Thomas dauidsoun on ye west, and ye land of Alexr browne on ye east pairtis, To ye hospitall zeirlie Ten ss.,—Quhilk wes bocht be william man, Mr of the Hos- pitall, fra Robert Barrie ; and furth of ye samy land to ye Choristaris zeirlie Ten ss.

112 Item. furth of ye said thomas stewartis Land foirsaid, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of Thomas dauidsoun on ye west, and ye land of alexr browne on ye east pairtis, to ye hos- pitall zeirlie ten ss.,—Quhilk also wes bocht be ye said william man,

Mr of ye hospitall, to ye sam, fra Robert barrie; and furth of ye sam to ye Choristaris zeirlie ten ss.

113 Item. furth of ye land of Gelis Gaw [Giles Gall], ladie Claverhous, lyand on ye south syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of Bartie mathew on ye east, and ye land of Andro Stewinesoun on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Twentie twa ss.

114 Item. furth of ye Said Bartie mathowis Land foirsaid, havand the Murraygaitt Port on ye east, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Twentie twa ss. iiij d.

115 Item. furth of ye land of Johne Lyoun, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Murraygaitt, Betwix ye land of Andro browne on ye west, and ye said Murraygaitt port on ye east pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Twentie ss.

116 Item. furth of ye Townis Land, Lyand wtout the Port, Contigue adiacent to ye sam, Lyand on ye north syid of ye gaitt, To ye Hospitall zeirlie for ss. vj d.; and to our ladie chaipell in ye Kowgaitt, furth of ye sam, Twentie twa ss.

117 Item. furth of ye land of Andro Maissoun, Lyand on ye west syid of ye welgaitt, Betwix ye land of ye Airis of vmqle James gulde on ye north, and ye said land pertening to ye towne on ye south pairtis, To Sanct Androw zeirlie fyve ss.

118 Item. furth of ye land of Johne Swankie, Lyand on ye west syid of ye welgaitt, Betwix ye land of ye laird of Kyngany at the south, and ye land of David zeman at ye north pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie foure ss.

119 Item. furth of ye land of Johne Mathew, Lyand on ye west syid of ye wellgaitt, Betwix ye land of dauid hay on ye south, and ye land of Alexr Kynmonth on ye north pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Ten ss.

120 Item. furth of ye land of Johne Mathew, Lyand on ye west syid of ye welgaitt, Betwix ye land of dauid hay on ye south, and ye land of Adam smyt on ye north pairtis, To ye Hospital zeirlie Sewine ss. vj d.

121 Item. furth of ye land of Robert Makie, Lyand on ye west syid of ye Wellgaitt, Betwix ye Port at ye north, and ye foirsaid land of Adam smith on ye south pairtis, to ye hospitall zeirlie fyve ss.

122 Item. furth of Johne merschellis pairt of ye tenement of land sumtyme Pertening to Michael andersoun, Lyand on ye east syid of ye welgaitt, Betwix ye vyer pairt yairof Pertening to Johne mylne at ye south, and ye land of Alexr Butchart on ye north pairtis, to . . . zeirlie Twa ss. nyne d.

123 Item. furth of ye Said Johne mylnis Pairt of ye Said land, havand on ye south ye land of Thomas Thomesoun, Cordiner, To . . . zeirlie Twa ss. nyne d.

124 Item. furth of ye land of George Quheitt, Potter, Lyand on ye east syid of ye welgaitt, Betwix ye foirsaid land of Thomas thomesoun at ye north, and ye land of dauid fleming at ye south pairtis, to ye hospitall zeirlie ellewine ss. iiij d.

125 Item. furth of ye said Thomas Thomesounis land foirsaid Betwix ye land of ye said George Quheitt at ye south, and ye said Johne myln his land on ye north pairtis, To ye hospitall zeirlie Twa ss.

126 Item. furth of ye land of James allane, Lyand on ye east syid of ye Welgaitt, Betwix ye land of at ye east, and ye land of at ye west Pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Threttie ss.

127 Item. furth of ye land of Johne Jak, Lyand on the east syid of ye Welgaitt, Betwix ye land of George Quheitt on ye north, and ye land of Johne fleming on ye south pairtis, to Sanct Johne ye euangelist, zeirlie ten ss. vj d.

128 Item. furth of ye land of Johne bwith, Lyand on ye east syid ye welgaitt, Betwix ye land of dauid hay on ye south, and ye land of ye airis of Jonkine smith on ye north pairtis, To or ladie Chapell in ye Kowgaitt zeirlie Auchtene d.

129 Item. furth of ye [said] Jonkine smith his airis land foirsaid, havand on ye north ye land of To or ladie Chapell in ye Kowgaitt zeirlie Twa ss.

130 Item. furth of ye land of Robert Alanesoun, smith, lyand on ye east syid of ye wellgaitt, Betwix ye land of Mr James Thomesoun on ye south, and ye land of Johne duncane, Cwik, on ye north pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Aucht ss.

131 Item. furth of ye said Mr James Thomesounis land foirsaid, havand the Kowgaitt upon ye south, To ye Choristaris zeirlie fourtie ss.

132 Item. furth of ye land of Thomas Auld, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Kowgaitt, Betwix ye land of at ye east, and ye wellgaitt zeardis on ye west pairtis, To Sanct Johne ye Euangelist zearlie ellewine ss. iij d.

133 Item. furth of ye land of James Twring, Lyand on ye south syid of ye Kowgaitt, Betwix ye land of dauid abirdene on ye west, and ye land of Johne duffe on ye east pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie thrie ss. nyne d. ; and furth of ye samy land to ye Blakfreiris zeirlie fyveteene ss.

134 Item. furth of ye land of James dickesoun, zounger, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Kowgaitt, Betwix ye land of Johne Bennettis airis on ye East, and ye land of on ye west Pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Nyne ss. j d.

135 Item. furth of Johne Patersounis Airis land, lyand on ye north syid of ye Kowgaitt, Betwix ye land of Robert Coutie on ye east, and ye land of walter Carmanowis airis on ye west, to Sanct clement zeirlie threttene ss. iiij d.

136 Item. furth of ye land of James Dickesoun, elder, lyand on ye north syid of ye Kowgaitt, Betwix ye land of Dauid Strauchauchine on ye east, and ye land of Johne Thomesoun on ye west pairtis, To ye Blakfreiris zeirlie fouretene ss. ; and furth of ye sam land to or lady Chapell in ye Kowgaitt zeirlie foure ss. ; and to ye Chaiplanrie of Sanct Katharine zeirlie —.

137 Item. furth of ye land of Daid Strauchachine, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Kowgaitt, Betwix ye land of James Dickesoun on ye East, and ye land of John boyak and James Jak on ye West Pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie fyve ss. ; and furth of ye samy land to ye Hospitall zeirlie thrie ss. iij d. ; and furth of ye sam to ye Chaipplanrie of Sanct Katharine sex ss.

138 Item. furth of ye land of Richardus wedderburn, Callit the Chaipell Zeard, Lyand on ye south syid of ye Kowgaitt, Betwix or ladie wynd on ye east, and ye zeardis of walter Carmanow on ye west Pairtis, To Oure Ladie Chaipell, Kowgaitt, zeirlie fourtie twa ss.

139 Item. furth of ye land of Johne Boyak and James Jak, Lyand on ye North syid of ye Kowgaitte, Betwix ye land of Alexr browne on ye east, and ye land of Daid Strauchachine on ye west Pairtis, To ye Chaipplanrie of Sanct Andrew zeirlie fyve ss.

140 Item. furth of ye land of Robert Coutie, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Kowgaitt, Betwix ye land of James Dickesoun at ye east, and ye land of Johne Patersounis airis at ye west Pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Thrie ss. ix d.

141 Item. furth of ye Airis of vmqle Robert Thomesoun, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Kowgaitt, Betwix ye land of At ye west, and ye land of at ye east Pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie fyve ss. ; and furth of ye sam land to ye grayfreiris zieirle sewine ss. vj d.

142 Item. furth of ye land of Henrie Cowstoun, Lyand on ye north syid of The Cowgaitt, Betwix ye land of ye airis of vmqle Robert Carnanow On ye east, and ye land of vmqle Daid Jak on ye west Pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirle Twelf ss.

143 Item. furth of ye land of James Makie, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Cowgaitt, Betwix ye Port at ye east, and ye land of on ye west Pairtis, To ye hospital zeirle Ten ss. vj d.,—Quhilk wes bocht be William man, Maister, of ye hospitall for ye tyme, fra Robert Barrie.

144 Item. furt of Gilbert findlouis airis land, lying on ye west syid of ye Kowgaitt, to S. clement iij ss.

145 Item. furth of ye land of alexr Mathow, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye Seagaitt Port and ye Townis comoun landis on ye east, and ye land of Robert smith on ye west Pairtis, To ye grayfreires zeirle sewine ss. vj d. ; and furth of ye sam land to ye Hospitall zeirle Ten ss.,—Quhilk wes bocht be william man, Mr of the sam to ye chaipplanrie of Sanct Katharine zeirle —.

146 Item. furth of ye zeardis callit Symsonis zeardis, now ptening to alexr Kyd, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye land of ye airis of hew Lyndesay on ye west, and ye landis of James haiys Airis on ye east pairtis, To our ladie chaipell in ye Kowgaitt zeirle Twelf ss.

147 Item. furth of ye land of ye airis of vmqle Thomas Cowstoun, Lyand on ye south syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye Sea vennel on ye east, and ye land of Johne Cowstoun on ye west pairtis, To owre

lady Chaipell in ye Kowgaitt zeirlie twelff d. ; and furth of ye sam to ye Chaipellanrie of Sanct Katharine zeirlie sex ss. viij d.

148 Item. furth of ye land and gryit zeard of david Ogilwie, Lyand on ye sout syid of ye seagaitt, Betwix ye sea vennel on ye west, and the Ruidis of Alexr Kyd on ye east pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie fyvetene ss. and furt of ye sam to or lady Chapell in ye Kowgaitt, zeirlie twelff d.

149 Item. furth of ye Laird of Murthle his land, lyand on ye north syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye land of Thomas Cowstounis airis on ye west and ye Land of Robert manis airis on ye east pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie ten ss. vj d.

150 Item. furth of ye laird of glaswalls Land and zeard, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye land of walter Carmanow on ye west, and Oure ladie wynd on ye east pairtis, To or lady Chaipell in ye Kowgaitt zeirlie Twentie ss.

151 Item. furth of ye syid Walter Carmanowis land, havand on ye west the land of Alexr Cvline, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Ten ss.

152 Item. furth of ye Said Alexr Cvline his land foirsaid, havand on ye west the land of Andro Kynneris airis, to ye Choristaris zeirlie sewine ss. vj d. ; and furth of ye syid alexrs wester rewids, to Sanct clement zeirlie Thrie ss.

153 Item. furth of ye land of vmqle Johne dog, Lyand on ye sout syid of ye Seagaitt, Quhilk wes James man his airis land, Betwix ye said Johne dogs wester Land on ye west, and ye land of Robert Thomesounis airis on ye east Pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie twelff sa.

154 Item. furth of ye land of George gairdiner, Quhilk sumtyme pertenit to Hector Michelsoun, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye land of Andro Maill on ye east pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie fyve ss. ; and furth of ye samy land to ye hospitall zeirlie sex ss. viij d.

155 Item. furth of ye land of Johne Cowstoun, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye hors wynd on ye east, and ye land of William man on ye west pairtis, qlk pertenit to Andro bennet, To ye Choristaris zeirlie ten ss. ; and furth of ye sam to ye Chaipellanrie of Sanct andro zeirlie fyve ss.

156 Item. furth of ye said William man his land foirsaid, havand on ye west ye land of ye airis of vmqle Gilbert Quheitt, To ye hospitall zeirlie fiftie thrie ss. viij d.

157 Item. furth of ye Said gilbert Quheittis airis land, now perteneng to ye airis of William lochmalony and henry lowell, To witt, furth of ye said William lochmalonies airis pairt, Quhilk Lyis at ye north, to ye Chaipellanrie of Sanct Ninian zeirlie fourtene ss. ij d. ; and furth of ye said Henrie lowellis airis pairt yof, Quhilk lyis at ye south, to ye said Chaipellanrie of Sanct Ninian zeirlie fourtene ss. ij d.

158 Item. furth of ye Innerland of ye airis of vmqle Patrik nicoll, lyand on ye south syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye land of Alexr Kyd on ye East, ye land of Thomas annand on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie sewine ss. vj d.

159 Item. furth of ye fairland of ye said Patrik Nicolls tenement, Now Pertening to William man, bounded as said Is, To our ladie Chaipell in ye Kowgaitt zeirlie sewine ss. vj d.

160 Item. furth of ye said William man his tenement, Lyand on ye North syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye land of the airis of vmqle Andro Robertsoun on ye east, and ye land of ye airis of vmqle Thomas man on ye west Pairtis, To ye Chaiplanrie of Sanct Katharine zeirlie fyve merkis sewine ss.

161 Item. furth of ye land of ye said thomas Annand foirsaid, Lyand on ye south side of ye Seagaitt, havand on ye east the land of Daid dog his airis, To or ladie Chaipel in ye Kowgaitt zeirlie sewine ss. vj d.

162 Item, furth of ye land of Alexr Mathow, Lyand on ye sout syid of ye Seagaitt, to S. Katharine zeirlie iv ss.

163 Item. furth of ye land of David Griew, Sumtyme pertening to Thomas Man, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye land of william Man on ye east, and ye land of Patrik mustert on ye west Pairtis, To ye Chaiplanrie of Sanct Ninian zeirlie Twentie d.

164 Item. furth of ye said vmqle Thomas manis Inner land, now pertening to William man and Thomas man his brother, Lyand and bounded as said Is, To zeirlie thrie ss. iiij d.

165 Item. furth of ye land of Daid Robesoun, Lyand on ye south syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye land of Thomas Annand on ye east, and ye land of Johne dog his airis on ye west Pairtis, To owre ladie Chaipell in ye Kowgaitt, zeirlie Twelff ss.

166 Item. furth of ye land of Patrik Mustert, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix ye land of Daid grewe on ye east, and ye land of ye airis of Daid ramesay, on ye west Pairtis, To ye Chaiplanrie of Sanct Ninian zeirlie sex ss. viij d. ; and furth of ye samy land to ye hospitall zeirlie Threttene ss. iiij d.

167 Item. furth of ye land of James Peirsoun, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix Prattis wynd on ye east, and ye land of at ye west, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Aucht ss. iij d.

168 Item. furth of the land of Christian burn, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Seagaitt, Betwix the land of at ye west and ye land of at ye east pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie viij ss. viij d.

169 Item. furth of Thomas Buchans Malthous beside the Castell Mylnis, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Ten ss.

170 Item. furth of ye land of William guild, Lyand on ye north syid of ye Castell hill, foranent ye flesch hous, Betwix ye land of Daid Ramesay on ye east, and ye land of Johne fyndlauson aud Andro flescheor on ye west pairtis, To ye Chaiplanrie of Sanct Niniane zeirlie Threttie Sewine ss. iiij d.

171 Item. furth of ye land of ye airis of vmqle Johne small, Lyand on ye south syid of ye mercatt gaitt, Betwix ye land of Andro flescheor, Thomas Scrymgeor, and Johne fyndlausoun, on ye east, and ye land of Daid layngis airis on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristaris

zeirle aughtene ss. ; and furth of ye samy to ye Hospitall zeirle foure lib. threttene ss. iiij d. ; Mair furth of ye sam to ye Hospitall for ss. vjd. Quhilk was gottine for ane anuall awand furth of George Rolands Land, lyand on ye schoir head, fra Robert barrie.

172 Item. furth of ye land of Dauid Tendell, Lyand on ye south syid of ye mercatt gaitt, Betwix ye wynd Callit Skirlingis wynd on ye west, and ye land of ye airis of vmqle Dauid Layng on ye east Pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirle Twentie ss.

173 Item. furth of ye land of James Auchinlek, Lyand on ye east syid of Skirlingis wynd, qlk sumtyme pertinit to Thomas Kynloch, Betwix ye land of ye airis of vmqle Dauid gairdine on ye west, and ye land of ye airis of vmqle Johne lyn on ye east Pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirle Twentie ss.

174 Item. furth of ye said Dauid gairdinis airis land foirsaid, havand on ye west Skirlingis wynd, To ye Choristaris zeirle Twentie ss.

175 Item. furth of ye land of Thomas Cristell, Lyand on ye East of Skirlingis wynd, Betwix ye land of ye airis of vmqle Dauid gairdine on ye north, and ye land of ye airis of vmqle Dauid gairdine on ye north, and ye land of Robert Kynloch on ye south pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirle Ten ss.

176 Item. furth of ye land of Johne Cowstoun, Lyand on ye south east end of Sanct Clementis Kirk zeard, Betwix ye Comoun Passagis on ye North and south pairtis, To ye Chaipplanrie of Sanct Andro zeirle Sex lib. threttene ss. iiij d. ; and furth of ye sam land to Sanct Clementis Chaipplanrie zeirle sex ss. ; Mair, furth of ye said John Cowstounis tenement on the east syid of ye Comoun volt, to ye Chaipplanrie of Sanct Clement zeirle sextene ss.

177 Item. furth of ye land of Robert Jaksoun, Lyand on ye west syid of ye wolt foirsaid, Betwix ye land of ye airis of vmqle George Lowell on ye west, and ye land of Johne Cowstoun on ye east, To ye Choristaris of Sanct Clement zeirle Thrie lib. sex ss. viij d.

178 Item. furth of ye land of ye airis of vmqle Johns browne, Lyand on ye schoir head, Betwix ye land of on ye east, and ye land of on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristaris zeirle fyve ss. ; and furt of ye sam to ye hospitall zeirle sextene ss.

179 Item. furth of ye land callit Makesounis closs, Lyand on ye south syid of ye Meill mercat, Betwix ye land of George Hayis airis on ye east, and ye landis of walter ramesay, Alexr Annand, James gudlet, Jonkine Croill, and Johne Ker, on ye west pairtis, To ye Choristaris threttene ss. vj d. ; and furth of ye sam to ye Hospitall zeirle fiftie thrie ss. iiij d.

180 Item. furth of ye land callit the Rwid Land, Pertening to ye airis of vmqle James Rollok, Betwix ye land of Petir wedderburn on ye east, and Spaldingis Wynd on ye west Pairtis, To ye Rwid Chaipplanrie zeirle sex lib.

181 Item. furth of ye land of William Kynloch, Lyand on ye North syid of ye Wind Myln, Betwix ye land of ye airis of Dauid Spalding

on ye east, and ye said Williams Land on ye west Pairtis, To ye Choris-taris zeirlie fourtene ss. iij d. ; and furth of ye sam to ye Hospitall zeirlie Threttene iij d. ; and als furth of ye Medow Pertening to ye said william Kynloch, lyand on ye north syid of Buriall Place, To ye grayfreiris zeirlie fourtene ss.

182 Item. furth of ye Temple land of Kaitnis, Pertening to David Daudsounis airis, To ye Chaipplanrie of Sanct Thomas zeirlie foure lib.

183 Item. furth of ye Midle Thrid Pairt of ye Hiltown of Craigy Pertening to James Scrymgeor of Glasswal and Robert Jaksoun, Lyand wtin ye Srefdome of forffare, To the Chaipplanrie of St Clement zeirlie fyvetene lib. money ; And furth of the sam midle thrid Pairt To ye said Chaipplanrie zeirlie, Sextene Bollis wictwall, Meill and quheitt, viz.—

184 Item. furth of ye thrie bwithis vnder ye new Tolbwith, occupeit be Olipher Lyndesay James blyith, and William Kynloch, To ye hospitall of maill zeirlie fyvetene lib.

185 Item. The Chop at ye east end of ye Tobwith, occupeit be Andro Gibsoun, set for ze zeirlie maill of Threttene ss. iij d.

186 Item. The almishous zeard Sett for ye zeirlie maill of sex ss. viij d. ; Provyding ye occvpiars yof [thereof] also fynd Herbis in symmer to ye hous, and Delywer in Wynter ye half of ye Keall that growis in ye sam, to ye psonis [persons] being yin [therein].

187 Item. the zeard occupeit be dauid duncan, Lyand on ye north syid of ye flukergaitt, Betwix ye Townis Wall on ye west, And ye land of Petir Cokburn on ye east Pairtis, Now set for ye zeirlie maill of Ten lib. sewine ss. viij d.

188 Item. the zeard callit the blackfreiris zeard, Sett to Petir wedderburn for ye zeirlie maill of sewine lib.

189 Item. the blakfreir Acre, occupeit be Johne Rattray, Lyand wtout ye nethergaitt Port, on ye north syid of ye common gaitt, Betwix ye Acris of James Walker on ye east, and ye acris of On ye west pairtis, set now for ye zeirlie maill of thrie lib. threttene ss. vj d.

190 Item. furth of ye Acre of Land Lyand wtout the nethergaitt port, Pertening to William Rollok, Betwix ye acris of on ye west, and ye Acre of on ye east pairtis, To the Blakfreiris zeirlie sex ss.

191 Item. The Acre of land Callit the Graysisteris Acre, occupeit be George Andersoun, Lyand Betwix ye Comoun gaittis yat passis to Innergowrie and blakness on ye north and south pairtis, To ye Hospitall, Sett for ye zeirlie maill of Threttie ss.

192 Item. The grayfreiris Acris of Land and Croft Lyand about Sanct francesis well, occupeit be dauid Abirdene, Last Sett for ye zeirlie Maill of Twentie Nyne lib. ten ss.

193 Item. The zeard callit the Covent zeard, Conteaning threttene Rwidis, Ilk Rwid yairof now sett for ye zeirlie maill of foure merkis money. The maill of ye haill Rwidis extending to threttie foure lib. threttene ss. iij d.

194 Item. The Medow Callit Andro Barreis medow, conteaning twa Medowis, Lyand vpon ye east syid of ye buriall place, occupeit be James fyndlausoun, sett for ze zeirlie maill of Auchtene ss.

195 Item. The land Callit the Seikmenis zeardis, Lyand on ye east end of Blaks Croft, pertening in property to the Hospitall, now occupeit be James Cownstoun, and Set for ye Zeirlie maill of thirie lib. sex ss. viij d.

196. Item. the zeard callit ye Chaipel zeard of Sanct Johne of ye Sklaithewchis, occupiet by william ffothringham, sett for ye zearlie maill of Threttene ss. vjd.

197 Item. furth of ye landis of drumcarne and fymock, Lyand in Glenesk, Pertening to ye Laird of Edzell. To ye grayfreiris zeirlie threttene lib. sex ss. viij d.

198 Item. furth of ye land of Montaigo, Lyand in ye Carrs of Gowrie, Pertening to ye Laird of Ewlik, To ye Gray freiris zeirlie threttene lib. sex ss. viij d.

199 Item. furth of ye landis of Pitmidle, Lyand in ye bray of ye Carrs of Gowrie, Pertening to ye Laird of Inchmertena, to ye gray freiris zeirlie Aucht lib.

200 Item. furth of ye landis of ye Brethertown, Lyand in ye Mernis, Pertening to ye laird of [of] wachtown, to ye greyfreiris zeirlie fourtie ss.

201 Item. furth of ye land of alexi strang, Lyand in the burgh of forfarore, To ye grayfreiris zeirlie Threttie twa ss. iiij. d.

202 Item. furth of ye laird of fyntries easter myln, lyand upon the water of dichty, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Threttie ss.

203 Item. furth of ane other myln pertening to ye laird of fyntrie, occupiet be Thomas Quhittet, Lyand on dichtie, To ye Choristaris zeirlie Threttie ss. iiij d. ; And furth of ye sam myln to ye Rwid Chaiplanrie zeirlie twentie sex ss. viij d.

204 Item. furth of ye myln of Ballumbie, to ye Choristaris zeirlie twentie for ss. iiij d.

205 Item. furth of ye myln callit Trottok myln, Lyand on ye west syid of The Claverhous, Pertening to ye laird of west Powrie, to Sanct John the baptist zeirlie foure lib.

206 Item. furth of ye meadow Occupiet be James lovell, Lyand on ye South syid of Sanct Francisces well, to ye grayfreiris zeirlie thretten ss. iiij d.

207 Item. furth of ye comoun Weyhous, to ye Almishous sex lib. xij ss. iiij d.

208 Item. the bwith vnder the tolwith occupiet be Johne goldman, ye maill yrof zeirlie vj lib.

Suma of ye Haill Rentall is foure hundred fiftie ane lib. five schillingia.

NOTE G.—Page 255.

THE GUILDY—CHARTER BY JAMES V., INCLUDING THE
“MERCHANDIS LETTER.”

“James, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to all honest men of this land, clergy and laics, greeting: Know ye that we give and grant the foundation and erection of a chaplain of the holy blood altar, situate in the south aisle of the Parish Church of our Borough of Dundee, made by the collector of the holy blood silver and whole body of the Merchants of the said Borough, for themselves and their successors, with consent of the Provost, Bailies, Council, and Community thereof, for saying mass at the said altar, in honour of the holy blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; for certain duties and contributions, and under the conditions, circumstances, and rules specified and contained in the said foundation; which, by our command, is read, seen, inspected, and duly compared, being whole and entire, not vitiated or razed, or anywise suspected, and is known to be at full length, in this form:—

“Be it kend till all men, be thir present lettres, we, ye collector of ye halie bluid silwer, and whole merchandis of ye brugh of Dundie, with one consent and assent, for vs and our successoris, merchandis, present and for to cum, frielie and irrevocablie, to have giwen and granted, and be ye tenour of thir lettres giwes and grantis for ws and our successoris, with the full consent of ye Provest, Bailies, Counsell, and comminatie of ye said brugh, to ye loving of God Almichtie and of his pretious bloode, and to his blessed mother ye Virgine Marie, and to ane chaplaine, daylie to sing and say devine service, at the halie bluid alter, situat in ye south ile of ye parochie-kirk of ye said brugh, and for ane singing mess solemnlie ilk Thursday, in honour of ye halie bluid of our Lord Jesus Chryst, continualie to be singing at ye said alter,—thir contributionis, dewties, wnderwretten. That is to say, in ye ferst, yat we sall have power, with the whole bodie of ye merchandis, or most part of this brugh zearlie, to chose ane Deane of Gild; ye whilk Deane of Gild sall hawe power of collectorschip of ye halie bluid siluer. and wther duties of ye halie bluid; and till exerce, hant, and vse ye office and awthoritee pertaining to ye Deane of Gild, according to ye statutes of ye Gild and ye burrow-lawes. The whilk Deane of Gild sall have power be him and his factores and procuratoris on yis side of ye sea, or bezond ye sea, to gather and tak vp fra ye merchantes, and ilk ane of yem beyond ye sea in Zealand or in Flanders, twelf gryt of ilk seck of guid, ane gryt of ilk stick of cloth, and ane gryt of ilk barrell guid, and ane gryt of ilk kip of hydes, and of all wther guidis seclyk effeirand yairto. And yis to be taken of all guidis laidned or passand from ye port of ye said brugh, and till all wther landis, French, Dantzick, Denmarck, and all wther partis, in monie of ye land effeirand yairto, to seck, pock, stick of cloth, barrell and other guide; and yis als long tyme to be taken vp as ye whole merchandis thinkis expedient be taken up in wther pairts, to ye repa-

ration of ye said altar, and vphold of ye said seruice as said is; and when ye whole bodie of ye merchandis, or ye most part of them, thinkis not expedient yat ye said dewties be not taken vp in Flanderis, and wther pairtes, as said is, than ye sall geive heir ane weeklie pennie Scottes money, to be gathered in ye said brugh, be ye said Deane of Gild, or his factoris or procuratoris, of ilk merchand and seller; to be gathered at four tearmes in ye zeir quarterlie. And ye said Deane of Gild, or his factoris, till have power to poind and distrenzie the holderis of ye said dueties on ye zon side of ye sea, and sicklyke for all wther dueties pertaining to ye halie bluid, bot any officiar of law, and no cryine to imput yairthrow. Alsua, that all merchandis settand vp ane buith within this brugh, at ye first upsett of ye buith sall pay to ye Deane of Gild fairsaid, and to ye reparation of ye said altar, fourtie schillingis; except freemen's sones, the whilk sall pay sex schillingis aucht pennies, yat is borne within yis brugh, for yair buith upsett. And gif it sall happen any merchand to begin to pack and peil yair geare, or any wthers within this brugh, at thaire first entrie, ilk ane to pay sex schillingis aucht pennies; exceptand freemen's sones of ye brugh, ye whilk sall be free yairof; and als oft as any owt burges packis and peillis within ye town, to pay sex schillings viiid., to ye effect fairsaid. Alsua, yat euerie man yat is made gild-brother within yis brugh, except ane burges sone of yis brugh, sall pay to ye said Deane of Gild, to ye effect fairsaid, sex schillingis aucht pennies when he is made gild-brother. Alsua, as oft as ye seruand of ye Gild, warnes any gild-brother to cum before ye Deane of Gild, and ye leawe of ye brother of the Gild, for ye guid of ye said brother, or gif the seruand warnis any of yem to gang weeklie with ye holi bluid bread, als oft as any beis warand yairto, and disobeys and will not cum, he sall pay two schillingis for ye dissobeying, to ye effect fairsaid; and gif yat any brother of Gild is merchand at hame, or beyond ye sea, till any wther man nane dwelland within yis brugh fairsaid, als oft as yai be tantit or convict yairwith, to pay at hame in Scotland ye sowme of fywe markis usuall money of Scotland to ye effect fairsaid. Alsua, yat nane merchand, drepar, nor cheapman, stand with his merchandice in ye Hie Mercat-Gaite without his easedrop, but on ye mercat day, under ye pane of fourtie schillingis, to be paid to ye said Deane of Gild, as oft as he beis tant yairwith, to ye said effect.

Item, That na schip be frachtid within this brugh without the advyce of ye Deane of Gild fairsaid, be no merchand of ye samen; but yat ye said Deane be present yairat. Atour, yat no Gild-brother be made Gild-brother but yat ye said Deane of Gild sall be continuallie yrat, and ilk ane of them; and yai be made with his advyse, and first exammed by ye said Deane, gif yai be worthie yairfor or nocht. And we, thir merchandis under-wrettene, for ws and ye leawe of ye merchandis of yis brugh and our successoris, merchandes of ye samen, consentis, confermes, ratifies, and approvis ye fairsaid pointes and articles in all thinges, for ye good, honour, and reparation of ye said altar, and vphold of ye said chaplaine,—That is to say, Alexander Ogilvy, James Rollock, Andre Abercrombie, James Hay, George Rol-

lock, Alexr. Lowell, James Fletcheor, Alexr. Fletcheor, Mr James Kyd, Alexr. Kyd, James Boyce, James Wedderburn, Jhone Lawson, Robert Carmanow, Jhone Cowstoun, Walter Twllo, James Fotheringham, Jhone Richardson, Thomas Young, Robert Clerk, George Buttergeis, Andro Porter, Jhone Smith, Robert Walker, James Thomesoun, Jhone Cheild, Thomas Pyot, Walter Jamesoun, David Guild, Robert Miln, Jhone Aird, William Gray, and Jhone Ramsay. In witnes of ye whilk thing, and in token of ye confirmation and ratificatioun of all and syndrie thir pointes and articles abowewretten, and uphold of ye said service and cheplene, be ws and owre successors, to be maintained and authorized in tyme cuming, and ye said contributionis and dewties to be gatherit, as said is, the Provest, Baillies, Counsell, and commonaltie of ye said brugh, appendit to yair comoun sealle of ye said brugh to yir lettres, at Dundie, ye tent day of October, ye zeare of God ane thousand fywe hundreth fyftein zeires, befoir yir witness, Alexr. Ogilvy, Andro Abercrombie, James Hay, Alexr. Lowell, Mr David Craill, Robert Heres elder, and Robert Heres zounger, notar publick.

“Which foundation and erection, we, for us and our successors, ratify, approve, and for ever confirm, in all points, articles, conditions, and circumstances whatsoever, and in form and effect, and in all things as above premised; saving to us and our successors the prayers of the said chaplain and his successors only. In testimony whereof, to this our present confirmation and erection, we have ordered our great seal to be appended; before these witnesses,—the most Reverend Fathers in Christ, Gavin, Archbishop of Glasgow; George, Bishop of Dunkeld, Keeper of our Privy Seal; Gavin, Bishop of Aberdeen, Clerk of our Council Registers and Rolls; our beloved cousins, Archibald, Earl of Angus, Lord Douglas; James, Earl of Arran, Lord Hamilton; Malcolm, Lord Fleming; and the Venerable Father in Christ, Patrick, Prior of the Metropolitan Church of St Andrews, our Secretary,—at Edinburgh, the 17th day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1526, and of our reign the Thirteenth.”





LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

- Anton, James, spirit merchant, 131 & 135 Perth Road.
 Adams, H., 5 High Street.
 Allan, J. R., perfumer, 54 Reform Street.
 Anderson, P., baker, 76 Nethergate.
 Adamson, John, grocer, Exchange Street.
 Allan, James, perfumer, Crichton Street.
 Anderson, M. E., bootmaker, 16 Union St.
 Anderson, D., baker, 69 Princes Street.
 Ainslie, J. G., accountant, 17 Strawberry Bank.
 Alison, G. Lloyd, merchant, Park Place House.
 Anderson, Patrick, merchant, 55 Magdalen Green.
 Adie, Andrew, spinner.
 Anderson, David, banker, Murraygate.
 Alexander, T., Lloyd's surveyor, 1 Commercial Street.
 Adams, Mrs., spirit dealer, 12 Castle Lane.
 Adie, Jas., spinner, Thornbank, Ferry Rd.
 Anderson, Anne, 25 Nethergate.
 Adamson, Peter, machine and metal merchant, 58 Lochee Rd. & 89 Overgate.
 Aikman, Andrew, banker.
 Adams, H. S., dentist, 89 Murraygate.
 Anderson, J. H., wine merchant, 18 High St.
 Adams, J. D., clothier.
 Alexander, Adam, printer, Grahame Place, Princes Street.
 Archer, Mrs W., matron of female lodging house, King's Road.
 Adamson, James, shoemaker, 191 Perth Road.
 Arklay, James, Kininmouth.
 Allan, Geo., waste merchant, 17 Step Row.
 Allan, P. M., M.D., 1 South Tay Street.
 Allan, D. M., perfumer, 1 High Street.
 Allan, James, compositor, *Chronicle* Office, Newcastle.
 Allan, John, bookseller, 50 Dudhope Crescent Road.
 Anderson, Stewart, agent, 71 Balgay St., Lochee.
 Bruce, John D., solicitor, 116 Seagate.
 Baxter, Walter, solicitor, 31 Bank Street.
 Bell, W., merchant.
 Brown, Andrew, wine and spirit merchant, 10 Meadowside.
 Brodie, W. L., merchant, 38 Cowgate.
 Bisset, Chris. J., C.E. & architect, 4 Reform Street.
 Burden, Jas., spirit merchant, 5 Seagate.
 Bisset, W., junr., saddler, 22 High Street.
 Baker, George, wood merchant, 35 Gellatly Street.
 Ballingall, H., brewer, Pleasance Brewery.
 Brown, W., dairyman, 2 Westfield Place, Perth Road.
 Bissett, Gray, solicitor.
 Bremner, Jas. spirit merchant, 16 Dock Street.
 Banks, Alex., printer, *Advertiser* Office.
 Baxter, John, printer, *Advertiser* Office.
 Barclay, John, printer, *Advertiser* Office.
 Bennet, Thos., bootmaker, 107 Overgate.
 Berry, Thos., manufacturer, 55 Cowgate.
 Burness, Wm., inspector, 29 Lindsay St.
 Beattie, Peter, confectioner, 75 Overgate.
 Banks, W., sub-editor, Dalhousie Terrace.
 Barnet, James, printer and publisher, 160 Newberry Avenue, Chicago, U.S. America.
 Bruce, Colin, confectioner, 233 Overgate.
 Brown, Robt., sen., bootmaker, Orichton St.
 Brown, D., plumber, 55 South Tay Street.
 Boyd, Alex., cabinetmaker, 18 Nethergate.
 Balfour, R., agent, 16 Baltic Street.
 Black, E., gardener, 204 Hawkhill.
 Brownlee, W. B., builder, 9 Windsor St.
 Brodie, R. M., banker, Dundee, Monifeth Road, Broughty Ferry.
 Bell, Alex., merchant.
 Bremner, David, joiner.
 Buist, James, painter, 18 Hunter Street.
 Moyle, Wm., broker, 10 Barrack Street.
 Butchart, James R., basket manufacturer, 30 Overgate.
 Blair, Mrs Wm., spirit dealer, 50 Bell St.
 Brown, David, merchant, Lindsay Street.
 Brown, John, shipbuilder, 10 Airlie Place.
 Brown, Thos., inspector of poor, Liff and Benvie.
 Baird, John, East Coast Railway, Trinity House.
 Brown, David T., clerk, 11 Mid Wynd.
 Balbirnie, James, broker, 54 Hawkhill.
 Boase, Henry S., M.D., Magdalen Place.
 Buchan, David, baker, 85 Perth Road.
 Beaton, Murdoch, spirit merchant, 95 Perth Road.
 Baxter, Robt., merchant, Long Wynd, Nethergate.
 Butchart, Alex., grocer, 57 Overgate.
 Baxter, D. W., manufacturer, Waterloo Cottage.
 Boyd, R., solicitor, 20 Reform Street.
 Ballingall, D., wine and spirit merchant, 55 Dock Street.
 Blackadder, R., C.E. and architect, 29 Bank Street.
 Balfour, Mrs Jane, provision dealer, 12 Yeaman Shore.
 Band, J. & R., contractors, Yeaman Shore.
 Baxter, James W., clerk, Lawrence Street.
 Batchelor, J., & Son, copper-smiths, King William's Dock.
 Barnie, John, copper-smith, King William's Dock.
 Bennet, A., shipbuilder, 18 King's Road Buildings.
 Butter, Jas., spirit merchant, 84 South Tay Street.
 Balfour Bros., watchmakers, 8 West Port.
 Bruce, E., lodgings, 176 Perth Road.

Beattie, John, baker, 308 Perth Road.
 Baxter, Elizabeth, dairy, 1 Strawberry Bank.
 Brown, Thomas, painter, 47 Perth Road.
 Baxter, D. S., shoemaker, 126 Hawkhill.
 Buchan, Thos. auctioneer, Bank Street.
 Banks, W., grocer, Constitution Road.
 Bell, Thos., merchant, Belmont.
 Black, John, baker, 61 Albert Street.
 Bradford, John S., glass and china merchant, Greenmarket.
 Baxter, John M., merchant.
 Bishop of Brechin.
 Boase, Henry, merchant, Bain Square.
 Camperdown, the Right Hon. the Earl of.
 Cox, Thos. H., merchant, Duncarse.
 Cox, William, manufacturer, Lochee.
 Cox, James, merchant, Clement Park, Lochee.
 Cumming, A. W., solicitor.
 Couper, Thos., ship owner.
 Caw, James, restaurateur.
 Cochrane, P. M., merchant, 4 Bain Square.
 Cowper, James, Logie Feus, Lochee.
 Clark, Robt., shopkeeper, 150 Princes St.
 Caldenback, Chas., watchmaker, 5 Crichton Street.
 Christie, John, grocer, New Inn Entry.
 Calder, John F., solicitor, 13 Ward Road.
 Cunningham, John, merchant, Castle St.
 Carmichael, Peter, merchant, Aurtherstone, Meigle.
 Campbell, Alex., merchant, 23 St. Andrews Street.
 Carrey, George, Cowgate porter, Meadow Entry.
 Chalmers, D., drapers' box maker, 6 Union Court, Thorter Row.
 Carrie, Jas. Alex., wine & spirit merchant, 179 Overgate.
 Campbell, Hugh, M.A., 28 Bell Street.
 Connell, William, grocer, 34 Bell Street.
 Colman, Wm., shipmaster, 31 Wellgate.
 Coupar, J. L., physician, King Street.
 Clark, Mary, grocer, 64 Bell Street.
 Clark, Margaret, baker, 5 Mid Wynd.
 Christie, David, game dealer, 70 Hawkhill.
 Colville, David, 1 Dalhousie Terrace.
 Crockatt, Wm., M.D., 17 South Tay St.
 Clark, Jas., dentist, 32 Nethergate.
 Cook, Thomas, agent, 7 Parker Street.
 Carmichael, James, currier, North Tay St.
 Oughton, Mrs J., spirit merchant, 27 Rose Street.
 Cleghorn, W., merchant, Logie House.
 Crabbe, James.
 Cheyne, Sheriff, 4 Airlie Place.
 Coogan, James, wright, 2 Taylor's Lane.
 Campbell, Jas., waste merchant, Temple Lane.
 Croll, Jessie, draper, 211 Perth Road.
 Cox, John, engine driver, 40 Perth Road.
 Chalmers, B. W., merchant, Scouringburn Works.
 Cochrane, James, 87 King Street.
 Christie, James, banker, 19 Windsor St.

Cunningham, Jas., spinner, Douglas House Broughty Ferry.
 Cunningham, D., C.E., Harbour Chambers.
 Clark, Alfred, horse dealer, Jeanfield.
 Comer, W., clothier, Tay View, Newport.
 Clark, John, com. agent, Union Place.
 Cadweallader, W. G., shipowner, 9 Garland Terrace and London.
 Colville, John, banker, National Bank.
 Carmichael, J., spirit merchant, 22 Vault.
 Crow, John, spirit dealer, 1 Castle Lane.
 Cable, John, wine merchant, 2 Arbroath Rd.
 Cumming, Geo., merchant, Albany Terrace.
 Clapperton, Robt., C.C., St. Andrews Street.
 Campbell, Donald, schoolmaster, 13 South Tay Street.
 Donaldson, J., merchant, 11 Meadow Street.
 Duncan, David, junr., solicitor.
 Douglas, Andrew, merchant.
 Douglas, A., & Son, ironmongers, Barrack Street.
 Dow, Patrick, accountant.
 Dow, J., iron merchant, 5 Commercial St.
 Dunn, James, iron merchant.
 Dick, Francis, tinsmith, Kirk Entry.
 Duncan, James, printer, 8 Castle Street.
 Dick, Thomas, provision merchant, 159 Overgate.
 Dick, Jas., teacher, Meadowside Male Sessional School.
 Duncan, Wm., confectioner, 24 West Port.
 Dickie, James A., wire worker and bell hanger, 21 Barrack Street.
 Duff, John M., saddler, 5 Barrack Street.
 Deans, Alex., spirit dealer, 9 Brown St.
 Doig, David, grocer, 97 King Street.
 Dunlop, John, minister, 42 Magdalen Yard Road.
 Duffy, W., soda water manufacturer, 9 Hean's Lane.
 Dower, Robert, wine merchant, 1 West Port.
 Doig, Alex., wine and spirit merchant, 17 Temple Lane.
 Doig, W., baker, 46 Overgate.
 Douglas, David, grocer, 18 Crichton Street.
 Drysdale, Alex., Deaf & Dumb Institution.
 Douglas, J., *Courier & Argus* Office.
 Davidson, Miss E., Rose Cottage, Broughty Ferry.
 Dow, David, accountant, Messrs Cox's Lochee.
 Dundee, Chas. M., compositor, Powrie Place.
 Dow, John, coal merchant, 33 Seagate.
 Duncan, George, the Vine, Dundee.
 Duncan, J., merchant, 38 St. Andrews St.
 Duncan, A. J., M.D., 144 Nethergate.
 Deuchars, Lawrence, engineer, 2 Craig St.
 Don, Jas., china merchant, West Port.
 Dingwall, Thos., tenter, 216 Perth Road.
 Doig, Wm., soda water brewer, 49 Commercial Street.
 Dempster, W., butcher, 71 Wellgate.
 Doig, W., chemist, 1 Castle Street.
 Drummond, A. S., painter, 65 Nethergate.

Dickson, D., *Newport Hotel*, and *Northfield Farm*.
 Davidson, John, collector, 7 *Morison's Court*.
 Dick, David, merchant.
 Dundee Free Library.

Edwards, Chas., architect, *Bank Street*.
 Ewan, John.
 Edwards, Jas. H., grocer & wine merchant, 59 *Murraygate*.
 Easson, John M., draper, 48 *West Port*.
 Esplin, A., house agent, 7 *Cowgate*.
 Edwards, Alex., ship owner, *Newport*.

Frankl, Victor, 10 *Windsor Street*.
 Fyfe, Jas., manufacturer, *Tayport*.
 Fraser, W., clothier, 7 *Seagate*.
 Fraser, G. B., 20 *Dock Street*.
 Flint, John, wine and liquor merchant, 96 *Murraygate*.

Foggie, A. H., merchant, *Windsor Street*.
 Findlay, David, printer, *Advertiser Office*.
 Finlay, Capt. Jas. 'Hibernia,' *Morison's Court*, *Wellgate*.

Fleming, William, compositor, *Advertiser Office*.

Fox, Robert, milliner, 56 *Wellgate*.
 Fleming, Wm., late grocer, 13 *Springfield*.
 Fenwick, Peter, spirit merchant, 97 & 99 *Nethergate*.

Forrester, Alex., baker, *Nethergate*.
 Fairweather, W. R., provision merchant, 80 *Wellgate*.

Farrell, Lewis, broker, 241 *Overgate*.
 Fraser, James, grocer, 86 *Hawkhill*.
 Fairweather, Adam B., hairdresser, 28 *Hawkhill*.

Fleming, James, 7 & 8 *Dock Street*.
 Forrester, D., merchant, 12 *Park Wynd*.
 Forsyth, J. C., Club Master, *Tay St. Club*.
 Fyfe, John, confectioner, 146 *Hilltown*.
 Ferguson, John, grain warehouseman, 41 *Reform Street*.

Fenton, Mrs P., Balhungie, *Monifieth*.
 Ferguson, John, wright, 93 *Overgate*.
 Fairweather & Armit, cabinetmakers, 115 *Murraygate*.

Fleming, Robt. H. manufacturer, 7 *George Street*, *Forebank*.

Fleming, D. H., manufacturer, *Albany Terrace*.

Fletcher, R., spirit merchant, 20 *Fish St*.
 Farquharson, J., plumber, 32 *Barrack St*.
 Forbes, James B., agent and accountant 41 *Reform Street*.

Fenwick, John, messenger-at-arms, 26 *Union Street*.

Findlay, J., blacksmith, 19 *New Inn Entry*.
 Fowler, Mrs, grocer, 25 *Seagate*.

Fyfe, John W., slater, *Bank Street*.
 Fleming, James, ironmonger, 31 *Yeaman Shore*.

Fleming, John, grocer, *Dock Street*.
 Fenton, Chas., 11 *Thomson Street*.

Garvie, W., *Railway Station*.

Gilchrist, Henry, wine merchant, 16 *West Dock Street*.

Gourlay, Henry, engineer, *Balgay House*.
 Gow, Alex., contractor, 1 *Commercial St*.
 Gourlay, W., shipbuilder, 1 *Park Place*.
 Guild, R., merchant, *Tay Mount*, *Broughty Ferry*.

Galloway, D. F., flour merchant, 40 *West Port*.

Gilroy, Alex., manufacturer, *Tay Works*.
 Gordon, John, & Co., merchants.
 Grimond, Joseph, spinner and manufacturer *Carbet Castle*, *Broughty Ferry*.

Gibson, John H., & Co., merchants and manufacturers, *St. Andrews Street* and *South Tay Street*.

Gellatly, David, merchant, 22 *Cowgate*.
 Guthrie, Alex., spinner.

Galloway, James, cooper, 53 *Tyndall's Wd*.

Gourlay, Thomas, sheriff-officer.

Gillan, Peter, tinsmith, 7 *Meadow Entry*

Gray, Alexander, 70 *Bell Street*.

Gardiner, A. G., ironmonger, 166 *Overgate*

Geddes, David, saddler, 41 *Perth Road*.

Gray, J. & J., cabinet makers, 1 *Roseangle* and *Seabraes*.

Gow, Alex., grocer, 123 *Perth Road*.

Gow, John R., gun maker, 27 *Nethergate*.

Gargan, John, grocer and spirit dealer, 16 *Temple Lane*.

Grimond, D., flaxspinner, *Blairgowrie*.

Gow, Chas., cowfeeder, *Temple Lane*.

Gillespie, Hay, painter, 99 *Hawkhill*.

Greig, D., M.D., 140 *Nethergate*.

Guillan, Robt., spirit dealer, 208 *Overgate*.

Gloak, D., shipmaster.

Gourlay, G., (of *Gourlay, Bros.*)

Gibb, W., postmaster, *Post Office*.

Galloway, James, agent, 8 *Wallace Street*.

Gibson, Thomas, printer and stationer, *Scouringburn*.

Gardener, David, engine trimmer, *New Swindon*, *Wilts*.

Graham, J., provision merchant, *Dudhope Street*.

Gold, Alex. G. contractor, 200 *Hilltown*.

Gray, Peter, grocer, *Perth Road*.

Gray, J., sack manufacturer, 89 *Hawkhill*.

Gibson, W., spinner, *Inverlay House*, *West Ferry*.

Godfrey, D., hotel, 48 *Union St*.

Gordon, Jas., merchant, 32 *Castle Street*.

Hunter, Robert, grocer, 29 *Miller's Wynd*.

Hagen, Francis, grocer, 245 *Overgate*.

Hutchison, Stewart, coffee house keeper, 243 *Overgate*.

High, Geo., joiner, 48 *Wellgate*.

Hunter, Thos., Luncheon Bar, *Hilltown*.

Herald, Geo., engine fitter, *New Swindon*, *Wilts*.

Hamilton, Alexander, family victualler, 51 *Murraygate*.

Henry, Alex., draper, 140 *Murraygate*.

Hay, W., restaurateur, 93 *Murraygate*.

Hood, J., coal merchant, 3 *Yeaman Shore*.

Haddo, T., coal merchant, 1 *Thomson St*.

LIST OF SUBSCRIBERS.

- Hutton, Mrs, wine and spirit merchant, 210 Seagate.
 Hunter, David, Esq., Blackness House.
 Hudson & Mitchell, Misses dressmakers, 73 Nethergate.
 Henderson, Frank, the Gows, Invergowrie.
 Henderson, D., grocer, Perth Road.
 Heggie, John, accountant, 31 Reform St.
 Hunter, J. W., clergyman, Park Place.
 Hunter, Rennald F., solicitor, 14 Douglas Terrace, Broughty Ferry.
 Henderson, Jas., 10 Dudhope Place.
 Henderson, John, banker, National Bank House.
 Hendry, Andrew, solicitor.
 Hildesheim, D., merchant.
 Henderson, Alexander, merchant.
 Henderson, John, & Sons, Lindsay Street Works.
 Haggart, George, solicitor, 4 Windsor Terrace.
 Hume, D., & Son, biscuit manufacturers, Castle Street.
 Hardie, James, druggist, 4 Laurel Bank.
 Halley, W., junr., merchant, 2 Royal Exchange Place.
 Hean, W., glazier, 110 Murraygate.
 Harris, David, gardener, 240 Overgate.
 Hendry, Mrs, 48 Wellgate.
 Henderson, Alex., silk mercer, 4 Blackness Terrace.
 Hunter, Wm., draper, 19 Wellgate.
 Hill, James, clerk, 39 Exchange.
 Holmes, Margaret, 25 Springfield.
 Irving, D. W., ham curer, Yeaman Shore.
 Iedale, R. H., merchant, 4 Reform St.
 Inlay, A., cabinetmaker, 132 Seagate.
 Ireland, W. K., & Co., merchants, 41 Cowgate.
 Johnston, Alex., architect, Bank Street.
 Johnston, Alex., clothier, 39 High Street.
 Jobson, David, junr., oil merchant, 40 Castle Street.
 Johnston, James, plasterer, 22 Bell Street.
 Jobson, J. A., spirit dealer, 15 West Port.
 Justice, Thos., upholsterer, Tally Street.
 Johnston, Jas., plumber, &c., 14 Small's Wynd.
 Johnston, Robert, grocer, 174 Hawkhill.
 Jessiman, John, merchant, Sawmills, Seagate and Dock Street.
 Johnston, David, solicitor, 31 Reform St.
 Jack, John, blacksmith, 51 Crescent.
 Kyd, Thos., insurance manager, 2 Cowgate.
 Kelt, John, dentist, Nethergate.
 Keiller, Alexander, 164 Nethergate.
 Kerr, W., solicitor.
 Kinmond, Thos. K., calender.
 Keith, T., bootmaker, 16 Meadow Entry.
 Kelt, Alex., watchmaker and jeweller, 104 and 106 Murraygate.
 Kerr, Chas., chemist.
 Kerr, James F., compositor, *Advertiser* Office.
 Kinnaird, Right Hon. Lord, K. T., Rossie Priory.
 Kerr, George, smokecurer, Baltic Street, Wellgate.
 Kilgour, Robert, cooper, 127 Cowgate.
 Kerr, W., leather merchant, 1 William St.
 Kerr, Misses, dressmakers, 6 Perth Road.
 Kidd, William, calenderer, Broty Ferry.
 Kidd, A. G., baker, 63 King Street.
 Kidd, Thos., wine merchant, 3 & 5 North Tay Street.
 Keiller, Jas., house proprietor, 2 William Street.
 Kerr, W., solicitor, 46 Castle Street.
 Kinnear, John, jun., grocer, 14 West Port.
 Lowson & Lancett, clothers.
 Luis, John H., Cidhmora.
 Littlejohn, D. S. & T., solicitors, Bank St.
 Low, Alexander, merchant.
 Lowson, William, merchant, Gray Bank.
 Logie, Jas., insurance broker, 13 William Street, Forebank.
 Lawson, A. S., chemist, 77 Perth Road.
 Latto, W. D., editor *P. Journal, Advertiser* Office.
 Langlands, Alex., banker, Castle Street.
 Leaburn, Michael, general dealer, 21 Green Market.
 Leuchars, Alex., carpenter, 238 Overgate.
 Low, John, coal merchant, 90 Bell Street.
 Low, Alex., spirit dealer, 34 King Street.
 Lyon, John, confectioner, 195 Overgate.
 Lindsay, M. A., grocer, 60 Murraygate.
 Lawson, Jas. B., spirit merchant, South Lindsay Street.
 Low, Geo, flesher, 5 Castle Lane.
 Lindsay, W., grocer, 184 Hawkhill.
 Lawson, James, tailor, clothier, and draper, 10 and 12 South Union Street.
 Lawson, Robt., builder, 247 Blackness Rd.
 Laing, Robt., builder, 8 Waterloo Place.
 Leslie, W. M., printer, 8 Parker Street.
 Laburn, R. W., slater.
 Lothian, J., surgeon dentist, 74 Nethergate.
 Laing, Robt., grocer and wine merchant, 50 Seagate.
 Lowden, J. D., 20 Cowgate.
 Learmonth, J., bootmaker, 9 Murraygate.
 Low, Henry D., clerk, 10 Shore Terrace.
 Livie, David, boatbuilder, 18 West Dock St.
 Law, Jas., carver, 57 St. Andrews Street.
 Lilburn, Robt., hay and grain merchant, 35 Trades Lane.
 Laing, Alex., joiner, Candle Lane.
 Logie, Alex., clerk, 31 William Street.
 Lamond, A., spirit merchant, 31 Overgate.
 Lawson, C., wine merchant, 22 Nethergate.
 Lawson, Wm., rope maker, 51 Magdalen Green.
 Lowson, H. & M. C., cabinetmakers, and Domestic Registry, 29 Seagate.
 Lee, Christina, 97 Seagate.
 Low, James, grocer, 13 Hunter Street.
 Lawless, Mrs, milliner, 144 Hawkhill.
 Lamb, A. C., Hotel, Reform Street.
 Lee, James F., draper, Croft's Lane.

Leask, A. M., steward, Eastern Club.
 Lee, D. Reid, clerk, Princes Street.
 Leighton, W. B., head weigher, 48 Crescent Lane.
 Logie, John, bootmaker, 32 Overgate.
 Laing, James, 6 High Street, (for School Wynd Library).
 Lawson, David, 2 Somerville Place.
 Laing, John, spinner and manufacturer.
 Luke, James, merchant.
 Mathewson, A., draper, 34 & 36 Wellgate.
 Murdoch, T., merchant, Dalhousie Terrace.
 Mill, G. N., chandler, 8 Commercial Street.
 Mackay, James, pawnbroker, 5 William St.
 Munro, Donald, wine and spirit merchant, 118 Seagate and 72 St. Andrews St.
 Mackay, P., solicitor, 9 Ward Road.
 Moon, James, merchant, 24 Meadow Entry.
 Mudie, P. Spence, merchant, Seaboume, Broughty Ferry.
 Matthew, John, messenger-at-arms, 44 High Street.
 Millar, W., blacksmith, 80 Cowgate.
 Molison, Francis, Invergowrie House.
 More, Thos., solicitor, 24 Meadowside.
 Moffat, Alex., sheriff clerk deputy, 4 Windsor Street.
 Mitchell, D. Bower, O. G. Miller & Co., Meadow House.
 Martin, D., merchant.
 Mudie, J. R., stockbroker, 35 Cowgate.
 Miln, Alex. A., manufacturer, Lochee.
 Mathers, Brothers, merchants, Bain Square.
 Mitchell, John, Cowgate.
 Morison, W. R., merchant.
 Miller, O. G., merchant.
 Mackay, D., superintendent of Police.
 Mackison, W. town surveyor, 8 Constitution Terrace.
 Miln, Chas., printer, Broughty Ferry.
 Miller, James, inspector, 24 Bank Street.
 Martin, Mary, confectioner, 132 Overgate.
 Moon, D. Steel, surgeon, 12 King Street.
 Miller, David S., grocer, 114 Overgate.
 Mackenzie, Robt., merchant, 5 Meadowside.
 Miller, T. Y. M., *Courier & Argus* Office.
 Morgan, John, confectioner, 185 Perth Rd.
 Macdonald, D., proprietor, 24 Thomson St.
 Macdonald, C., 2 Temple Lane.
 Martin, Hugh, clerk, 4 Balfour Street.
 Murray, Robt., glazier, 152 Overgate.
 Minto, J. D., spirit dealer, 103 Seagate.
 Mackie, D., spirit dealer, 15 Hunter Street.
 Matthew, J., draper, 128 Hawkhill.
 Mitchell, John, jun., merchant, Pole Park House.
 Milne, D., house agent, Cliff Cottage, Ferry Road.
 Macfarlane, J., compositor, *Advertiser* Office.
 Mathew, Geo., Res. keeper, 1 East Dock Street.
 Mitchell, T. grocer, 11 Union Street.
 Mathew, James P. & Co., printers, Meadowside.
 Mitchell, Miss E., confectioner, 62 Bell St.

Minto, W., brush manufacturer, 32 Barrack Street.
 Miller, Andrew, shoemaker, 61 Wellgate.
 Mudie, Charles, tinsmith, 76 Overgate.
 Murray, G. B., grocer, 67 Wellgate.
 Moncur, Mary Ann, grocer, 53 King St.
 Melville, Robt., cabinet maker, 14 Small's Wynd.
 Mathew, J. R. engineer, 19 Springfield.
 Myles, Thos., builder, 16 Step Row.
 Millar, Robert, banker, 9 Roseangle.
 Millar, Mrs. M., 7 Westfield Lane.
 Montgomery, Miss, 174 Perth Road.
 Milligan, Robert, minister, 27 Windsor St.
 Murison, Mrs P., Seafeld Lodge.
 Melville, W., tailor, 36 Nethergate.
 Mathew, Mrs., spirit dealer, 15 Exchange Street.
 Muirhead, P. & P., drapers, 56 Overgate.
 Mill, Adam, contractor, Ward Road.
 Martin, J. H., ironmonger, 51 & 53 West Port.
 Mason, Harry, grocer, 98 Overgate.
 Milne, Thomas Weston, Greenfield.
 Matthew, Robert., 1 Renny Place, West Ferry.
 Moir, John, manufacturer, 27 Cowgate.
 Morris, John, schoolmaster, Mains.
 Mills, James, manufacturer, 11 Wellington Street.
 Mathers, A. C., mechanic, 7 Crichton St.
 Maxwell, Chas. C., 28 Springfield.
 Myles, David, accountant, 11 Reform St.
 Mathers, Jas. P. baker, 107 Murraygate.
 Martin, W., junr., Trades Lane.
 Masterton, Mrs D., grocer, 74 Seagate.
 Munro, E., grocer, 8 Castle Lane.
 Marshall, James, S., auctioneer, 14 St. Clement's Lane.
 Marquis, Wm. H., perfumer, 90 Nethergate.
 Moncur, James, proprietor, Wilkie's Lane.
 Melville, D., shipbuilder, 105 Princes St.
 Mollison, James, shipbuilder.
 Murray, J., clerk, 14 St. Clement's Lane.
 Martin, Jas., house agent, 10 St. Clement's Lane.
 Maxwell, Wm., baker, 6 Stewart Court.
 Myles, Jas., provision merchant, 6 Church Lane.
 Moon, Chas., M.D., 30 South Tay Street.
 Melville, Misses, dressmakers, 32 South Tay Street.
 Melville, David, shoemaker, 6 West Port.
 M'Lean, John, 38 High Street.
 M'Naughtan, R., Hotel, Nethergate.
 M'Kenzie, Lewis, coach builder, Yeaman Shore.
 M'Rae, D., fruiterer, Union Street.
 M'Donald, D., ship owner, 114 Overgate.
 M'Gavin, Robert G., merchant 6 Panmure Street.
 M'Kenzie, David, Garland Place.
 M'Lean, Mrs Jas., tobacconist, 10 Perth Road.
 M'Cully, Mrs, Nether Falgay.
 M'Donald, Mrs, baker, 6 Greenmarket.

- M'Lean, Chas.**, blacksmith, Union Court, Thorter Row.
M'Kelvie, W. R., curator of cemeteries, 12 Dalfield Terrace.
M'Gregor, James, rope and sail maker, 3 Dock Street.
M'Farlane, John, sculptor, 3 Laing Street.
M'Donald, W., 94 Blackscroft.
M'Donald, Jas., surgeon, 82 South Tay St.
M'Lauchlan, W., compositor, 11 Hop St.
M'Afferty, Rose, grocer, 296 Hawkhill.
M'Nair, John, seaman, 194 Hawkhill.
M'Farlane, Sam., coal merchant, Temple Lane.
M'Glashan, Peter, mill manager, 6 Perth Road.
M'Donald, David, grocer, 80 King Street.
M'Ritchie, George, baker, 55 Wellgate.
M'Culloch, Wm., insurance agent, 5 Reform Street.
M'Kenzie, William, printer, Liverpool.
M'Leish, Mrs., spirit merchant, 33 North Lindsay Street.
M'Walter, A., silk mercer, 12 Reform St.
M'Lachlan, D., solicitor.
M'Donald, W., Bank Street.
M'Gavin, Robert, Ballumbie.
M'Farlane, J. S., insurance agent, 31 Bank Street.
M'Lean, Jas., merchant.
M'Farlane, John, solicitor 26 Castle Street.
M'Ewan, Francis, merchant, Viewbank, Broughty Ferry.
M'Farland, W., lessee of Music Hall, 10 Shore Terrace.
M'Grady, Henry, merchant, Riversdale.
M'Pherson, W. C., spirit merchant, 105 Cowgate.

Nicoll, T., spirit merchant, 109 Hilltown.
Nicoll, T., jr., ironmonger, 79 Murraygate.
Nicoll, J. B., wine merchant, 3 Park Place.
Nimmo, Matthew, surgeon, 180 Nethergate.
Nagel, Henry, teacher of music, Magdalen Green.
Norwell, William, painter, Hilltown.
Norrie, W. C., upholsterer, Nethergate.
Ness, Thos., town councillor, 25 Thomson Street.
Nicoll, Thomas, iron merchant.
Nicoll, Edw., china merchant, 71 Overgate.
Nicoll, Mrs., 48 Charles Street.
Nicoll, Robt., cabinetmaker, Constitution Road.
Neish, James, the Laws.
Nicoll, Wm., smith, Seagate.
Noble, David, grocer, Pleasance.
Neil, James C., draper, 68 Overgate.
Nicholson, J. H., brushmaker, 25 Castle Street.
Nicoll, W., merchant, Dock Street.

Ogilvy, David, gasman, 13 Derby Street.
Ochterlony, Chas. M., bart., St. Andrews, Fife.
Ogilvy, Alex., manufacturer, 8 St. Andrews Street.

Ormond, R., confectioner, 40 Murraygate.
Ogilvie, W. M., agent, Royal Bank, Loches.
Officer, Thos., confectioner, High Street, Montrose.
Ogilvie, Catherine, fruit merchant, 23 Barrack Street.
Ormond, Chas., wine and spirit merchant, Dock Street.
Oadney, Jas., superintendent V.M.L.H., 97 Overgate.

Peebles, Thos., joiner, Ryehill Lane.
Paterson, Jas., merchant, Heathfield.
Parker, T. L., accountant, 41 Reform St.
Pattullo & Thornton, solicitors, 1 Bank St.
Parker, Sam. C., waste merchant, Small's Wynd.
Paterson, Geo., clerk, 31 Meadowside.
Philip, D., tea and coffee merchant, Sugar House Wynd.
Petrie, James P., railway official, Dundee East Station.
Paterson, D. G. M., fruit and potato merchant, 125 Nethergate.
Parker, Robert O., engineer, Clepington Foundry.
Paterson, J. C., clothier, 12 Castle Street.
Pearson, W., corn merchant, 29 Dock St.
Petrie, W., baker.
Petrie, J. M., reporter, *Advertiser* Office.
Petrie, James, wine and spirit merchant, 33 Wellgate.
Paterson, Mrs M., potato merchant, 4 Union Street.
Pellow, John, printer, 76 High Street.
Pollock, Rudolph, merchant, 17 Bell St.
Pearson, Joseph, umbrella maker, 50 King Street.
Paul, Hugh, foreman, 255 Hawkhill.
Peebles, Peter, coach proprietor, 55 Perth Road.
Peddle, Daniel, grocer, 74 Overgate.
Proven, Thos., rope maker, 249 Hawkhill.
Peter, David, contractor, 39 Hilltown.

Quosbarth, H., shipbroker, Dock Street.
Quin, Chas., confectioner, 52 Hawkhill.
Quirk, Edward, hair dresser, 76 Hawkhill.

Reid, W. sub-editor, *Advertiser* Office.
Ramsay, Wm., grocer, 43 West Port.
Ramsay, Chas., rigger, 2 Westfield Place.
Rough, Geo. merchant, Tayside Villa.
Rattray, Peter, slater, Ward Road.
Robbie, Alex., bootmaker, 58 High St.
Ronald, John, hall keeper, 4 Bank Street.
Robertson, John, spinner, 1 Craigiebank Terrace.
Rutherford, John, waiter, 18 King's Road.
Reid, Peter, solicitor, 31 Reform Street.
Robertson, W., harbour master, Harbour Buildings.
Ritchie, W. M., stock broker, Longforgan Manse.
Ramsay, James, jun., merchant.
Rollo, W., plumber, Law Cottage.
Ree Hermann, manufacturer, Meadowside.

- Ramsay, Jas., goldsmith, 8 High Street.
 Rattray, Jas., cowfeeder, 59 Seagate.
 Robertson, Mrs Thos., butcher, 50 Union Street.
 Ross, W., saddler, Trades Lane.
 Robertson, Jas. D., spirit merchant, 10 Nethergate.
 Rollo, Jas., block maker, 8 Blackscroft.
 Ross, W. R., chemist, Rustic Place, Constitution Road.
 Robertson, W. R., merchant, 11 Wellington Street.
 Robertson, Chas., corn merchant, 8 Union Terrace.
 Robertson, Mrs, pawnbroker, 109 Overgate.
 Rowan, Edward, pawnbroker, 65 Overgate.
 Rodger, David, joiner, 31 Overgate.
 Ramsay, Andrew, joiner, 1 Taylor's Lane.
 Robertson, John, baker, 48 Bell Street.
 Robertson, Henry, merchant, Dalhousie Terrace.
 Robertson, Peter, lathsplitter, 19 Lamb's Lane.
 Robertson, Robert, draper, 74 & 76 King Street.
 Robertson, Robert, house agent, 231 Overgate.
 Robb, Alex. B. baker, 3 Brown Street, West Port.
 Reid, David, fletcher, 186 Perth Road.
 Robertson, Mrs Simon, 23 Springfield.
 Roy, John L., die sinker, Meadowside.
 Robertson, T. S., architect, 8 Bank Street.
 Ritchie, David, flaxspinner.
 Robertson, W., Exchange Street.
 Ritchie, Peter, tobaccoconist, 207 Overgate.
 Roger, Geo. F., photographer, 57 & 59 Nethergate.
 Robb, Peter, spirit dealer, 122 Overgate.
 Reid, John C., banker, British Linen Co.
 Renny, W. W., Broughty Ferry.
 Roger, Alex., builder, Willison Street.
 Robertson, D., merchant, Union Grove.
 Robertson, Peter, grocer, 229 Hawkhill.
 Robertson, Mrs John, 320 Perth Road.
 Robertson, W., Restaurant, Lochee.
 Rollo, David, solicitor.

 Smith, Geo., shoemaker, 198 Perth Road.
 Smith, W., china merchant, Nethergate.
 Stewart, David, wine merchant, 59 Cowgate and 1 Barrack Street.
 Smith, W., hatter, 47 High Street.
 Stephen, G., & Son, ironmongers, 29 Castle Street.
 Scrymgeour, David, mill manager, Ward House.
 Simpson, G. B., mill manager, Ward St. Mill.
 Spence, James, merchant, Coventry Bank, Perth Road.
 Stewart, Sinclair, governor, Viewfield.
 Shaw, Frederick, bookseller, Reform St.
 Small, D., solicitor, 5 Bank Street.
 Shiel, J., junr., solicitor, 5 Bank Street.
 Shaw, Jas., Temple Mills, 12 Constitution Terrace.

 Smith, Thomas.
 Stevenson, Francis, dyer, 3 Forebank Rd.
 Stiven, J. W., accountant.
 Stewart, A., sub-editor, *Advertiser* Office.
 Smith, J. P., clothier, 21, 23, & 25 Reform Street.
 Stewart, William, shoemaker, 36 Overgate.
 Stewart, William, innkeeper, Bro'ty Ferry.
 Scott, Thomas, wine and spirit merchant, 10 Fish Street.
 Stewart, Mrs J., Eagle Inn, 108 Murraygate.
 Sinclair, John, agent, Dock Street.
 Swinton, Thos., coach builder, 17 Small's Wynd.
 Spink, Mary, 22 Barrack Street.
 Strachan, Robert, pickermaker, 84 Bell St.
 Sinclair, A., grocer, 65 King Street.
 Sheach, Wm., boot closer, 7 Overgate.
 Shaw, John F., joiner, 27 Bernard Street.
 Sharp, Miss, West-field Villa, 29 Magdalen Yard Road.
 Smith, John, mate, 40 Seafield Road.
 Stewart, James, grocer, 26 Small's Wynd.
 Stratton, David, grocer, 89 & 91 Perth Rd.
 Smith, James, mason, 9 Bell Street.
 Shafto, W. Y., Inland Revenue, Elmbank, Perth Road.
 Stewart, Miss, dressmaker, 184 Perth Rd.
 Steel, D., potato dealer, 80 & 82 Greenmarket.
 Spreul, A., veterinary surgeon, Yeanian Shore.
 Stalker, Mrs P., & Son, potato and fruit merchants, 38 Greenmarket and 101 Nethergate.
 Smith, W., bottler, Vault.
 Smith, Chas. Broughty Ferry.
 Simpson, R., shipbuilder, Tayport.
 Smith, Jas., veterinary surgeon, 91 Seagate.
 Short, Charles, congregational minister, 2 Nelson Terrace.
 Spence, A., smith and cart wright, Candle Lane.
 Stewart, M., fruiterer, 47 Overgate.
 Smith, Jas. S., cabinetmaker, Queen St.
 Scrymgeour, John, baker, 4 Nethergate.
 Sharp, John, bootmaker, 53 Murraygate.
 Schesselman, Geo. spinner & manufacturer, Balgay Works.
 Shepherd, Peter, hardware merchant, 150 Murraygate.
 Smith, Alex., grocer, 99 Murraygate.
 Stewart, John, dentist, 68 Nethergate.
 Souther, Mrs, draper, 29 Overgate.
 Simpson, A., music-seller, 122 Nethergate.
 Smith, Robert, solicitor, 24 Meadowside.
 Fydey, D., banker.
 Scott, Alexander, banker.
 Steel, Neil, tea dealer, 61 Overgate.
 Scott, W., junr., solicitor, Reform Street.
 Shiel, John, Bank Street.
 Smith, Joshua, spirit dealer, 35 Dudhope Street.
 Speed, W., wine merchant, Perth Road.
 Scott, Jas., manufacturer, Hyndford Cottage.
 Sharp, John, merchant.

- Salmond, James, land surveyor, 6 High St.
 Smith, J. C., insurance agent, 1 Royal Exchange.
 Scott, Robt., manufacturer, Tayport.
 Sheriff, George, builder, 4 Meadowside.
 Shepherd, John W., merchant, 3 Royal Exchange Place.
 Stewart, Peter, accountant, Step Row.
 Small, Jas., broker, 118 Overgate.
 Samson, Geo., tinsmith, 86 Overgate.
 Smith, Mrs, grocer, 144 Overgate.
 Steven, P., surgeon, 11 South Tay Street.
 Scott, David, bootloser, 8 Overgate.
 Speedy, Wm., ship master, 97 Seagate.
 Sydie, D., whitesmith, &c., 14 Hawkhill.
 Saunders, John M., grocer, 186 Hawkhill.
 Sutherland, Thos., grocer, 190 Hawkhill.
 Stewart, James, inspector of markets, 47 Peddie Street.
 Stratton, D., coach proprietor & Inn keeper, 56 Seagate.
 Sime, Jas., house factor, Bro'ty Ferry and 86 Brown Street.
 Scott, Thos., engineer, 183 Overgate.
 Smith, Mrs, Edinburgh.
 Sinclair, Geo., grocer, Hilltown.
 Saeth, George, millwright, New Swindon, Wilts.
 Sandilands, D., joiner, Brook Street, Bro'ty Ferry.
 Soutar, Robt., leather merchant, 20 Barrack Street.
 Stephen, D., *Courier & Argus* Office.
 Simpson, David, printer, 116 Lochee Road.
- Thoms, W., Magdalen Road.
 Thomson, J. W., solicitor.
 Thoms, Henry, weigher, 18 Albert Street.
 Tullis, John, clothier, 18 Castle Street.
 Thomson, Mr., Fort House, Perth Road.
 Thoms, P. H., Crescent House.
 Thomson, Alex. P., Osborne Place.
 Thomson, Miss J., Seafeld Lodge.
 Thompson, D. L., music seller, 102 Nethergate.
 Taylor, James, ironmonger, 38 West Port.
 Tosh, Alex., accountant.
 Taylor, Dr., Perth Road.
 Thomson, D. M., spirit dealer, 5 Greenmarket.
 Thomson, W. Craig, corn merchant, 10 Shore Terrace.
 Thorburn, Wm. M L., grocer and wine merchant, Annan's Cottage.
 Taws, Alex, farmer, Downfield Terrace.
 Thomson, John, spirit merchant, 64 King Taylor, Ann, green grocer, 65 Perth Road.
 Thompson, W., coal dealer, 18 Perth Road.
 Thomson, Chas., builder, 5 Gowrie Place.
 Thomson, James, clothier, 10 Murraygate.
 Thomson, G., engine fitter, New Swindon, Wilts.
 Templeman, John, engine fitter, New Swindon, Wilts.
- Thomson, James, printer, Blackcroft.
 Trail, A., M. M. Office.
- Urquhart, A. shoemaker, 18 Overgate.
- Wrougham, W., Broughty Ferry.
 Werring, Grace, mantle maker, 11 Reform Street.
 Worral, George, hackle maker.
 Welch, Geo. 109 Ferry Road.
 Wilson, Dr., 2 Park Place.
 Wilson, Anna, dressmaker, M'Vicar's Lane.
 Watt, Mrs., 4 Windsor Place.
 Wilson, Christina, matron (the Home), 23 Paton's Lane.
 Willison, Andrew, builder, Candle Lane.
 Wallace, J., iron merchant, 43 Meadowside.
 Watson, R. L., wine merchant, Seagate.
 Wilson, David, blacksmith, 16 St. Andrews Street.
 Wallace, G., accountant, Bain Square.
 Watson, W. N., teacher of music, 30 Reform Street.
- Wyatt, W., hair dresser, 8 Crichton Street.
 Warden, Alex. J., 1 King Street.
 Wilson, David, compositor 22 Gellatly St.
 Whyte, Wm., shipbuilder, Tay Company.
 Wilson, Elizabeth, grocer, 58 Bell Street.
 Wilson, James, grocer, 2 Hilltown.
 Wallace, David, baker, 38 Charles Street.
 Walker, Robert, grocer, 32 King Street.
 Wilkie, John, butcher, 34 Overgate.
 Wanless, W., cowfeeder, 310 Perth Road.
 Webster, Robt., draper, 230 Overgate.
 Wilson, John, upholsterer, 29 Nethergate.
 Whitson, Miss, 33 South Tay Street.
 White, Jas. F., Castle Huntly.
 Wardrope, J., fruit merchant, Strawberry Bank.
 Wann, W., cowfeeder, 29 Smithfield.
 Wighton, Thos., proprietor, Bucklemaker Wynd.
 Walker, Mrs Geo., Uddingston, Glasgow.
 Whitton, C., engine fitter, New Swindon, Wilts.
 White, Ellen, 2 Hillbank.
 Watson, Jas., harbour treasurer, Harbour Buildings.
 Walker, Peter G., 2 Airlie Place.
 Webster, R., wine merchant, 1 Hilltown.
 Watson, James, C.E., 7 Euclid Street.
 Walker, R. C., solicitor, Milne's Buildings.
 Wilson, J. S., sack maker, St. Andrews St.
 Watt, Arch. A., of Denmill, 27 Dock St.
- Yeaman, Jas. Esq., M. P., Craigie Cliff.
 Young, Jas., confectioner, 84 Nethergate.
 Young, P. M., clothier, 28 High Street.
 Young, J. R., solicitor, 37 Tait's Lane.
 Yeaman, R., Secretary Eastern Club, Craigie Terrace.
 Young, Charles, merchant.
- Zoller, John G., merchant, Meadowside.



